

sacris erudiri

A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

XLII
2003



BREPOLS

sacris erudiri

A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

Sacris Erudiri was founded in 1948 by Dom Eligius Dekkers as a *Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, an annual journal for the study of religion. The founder's aim was to bring to public attention specialist studies and research on very diverse aspects of the study of religion and in this way to promote interdisciplinary dialogue. Since the foundation of the *Corpus Christianorum* and its various series *Sacris Erudiri* has grown into an established journal in which studies on Christian texts can be found.

The new editorial team wishes to strengthen this latter line of research so that *Sacris Erudiri* will become a forum to bring to the fore the Christian elements of late antique and medieval culture. To this end a new subtitle, *A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity*, has been supplied. In particular, the editors hope that *Sacris Erudiri* will be a journal in which the contributors to the various activities of *Corpus Christianorum* will wish to present the results of their research into the content, language or style, as well as the textual tradition and critical edition of Christian texts.

ISBN 2-503-51431-6



9 782503 514314

Cover illustration: Man reading. Wall-painting on the wall of the entrance to a burial chamber (Nestori 58) in the catacombe of Peter and Marcellinus in Rome (ca. 300 AD) (J. Wipert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome 1903, tav 94). Adaptation for reproduction by Mathijs Provoost.

sacris erudiri

A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

sacris erudiri

A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

Editorial Board

F. Bossier R. Beyers G. Declercq J. Goossens
M. Lamberigts J. Leemans P. Van Deun G. Quicke W. Verbaal

Editorial Manager

L. Jocqué

Advisory Board

P. Allen P. Bourgain H. Brandenburg M. Cacouros G. Constable
(*Everton Park, Qld*) (*Paris*) (*Münster*) (*Paris*) (*Princeton*)

M.C. Díaz y Díaz G. Di Maria F. Dolbeau U. Kindermann
(*Santiago de Compostela*) (*Palermo*) (*Paris*) (*Köln*)

C.H. Kneepkens M. Lapidge E.A. Matter P. Stotz J. Van Engen
(*Groningen*) (*Cambridge*) (*Philadelphia*) (*Zürich*) (*Notre Dame*)

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editorial Manager:

Sint-Pietersabdij Steenbrugge
Baron Ruzettelaan 435
B-8310 Brugge (Belgium)

Tel.: +32 (50) 359112

Fax: +32 (50) 371457

E-mail: luc.jocque@brepols.net

Sacris erudiri publishes articles in all major European languages. Norms for publication are sent upon request. This journal does not publish any reviews. Publications offered for review are listed in the section *Opera ad redactionem transmissa*.

Subscriptions and back issues should be ordered directly from the publisher.

sacris erudiri

A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

XLII
2003

BREPOLS

Published with the financial support of
“Encyclopédie bénédictine”

Sacris Erudiri is indexed or abstracted in (*inter alia*) the printed (and, where appropriate, electronic) bibliographies of *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, *L'Année Philologique*, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, the *International Medieval Bibliography* and *Medioevo latino: bollettino bibliografico della cultura europea dal secolo VI al XIII*.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

©2003 – BREPOLSE PUBLISHERS . Turnhout (Belgium)
Printed in Belgium
D/2003/0095/171
ISBN 2-503-51431-6
ISSN 0771-7776

The Antichrist in the Fathers and their Exegetical Basis*

by
G.W. LOREIN
(*Kessel-Lo*)

In this study we shall attempt to establish whether the Fathers had a clearly defined idea concerning the Antichrist – perhaps not only a christology but also an “antichristology” developed during the first centuries AD – and how this related to the texts of the Old Testament and of the New Testament they mentioned most in the discussion. Although much has already been written about our subject, we hope to offer by our systematic treatment a fresh view on as well the Biblical as the Patristic writings, by being a little bit more elaborate than some encyclopedia articles (which seem to be summaries of never written books) and a little bit more systematic than some monographs on the subject. In particular we hope that a chronological presentation of the evidence will demonstrate how the figure of the Antichrist, which is in the Biblical literature shadowy at best, during the patristic period is presented with more definite features.

* This article is partly based on a dissertation submitted at the University of Groningen (the Netherlands) in 1997 (promoters Prof. A.S. van der Woude († 18 November 2000; a sad day, but also leading to grateful memories) and Prof. A. Schoors), the research for which was partly financed by the Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Vlaanderen (Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium)). The author thanks Dr. A. Hilhorst, Prof. M. Lamberigts and the reviewer of *Sacris Erudiri* for their contributions to this version and M. Turner-Prins MITI for her translation into English.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Prophecy of Daniel

The first text we should discuss in this chronological presentation is Dan. 11.21-45.

The book of Daniel presents itself as a compilation of prophecies from the *sixth* century BC. For those who accept the possibility of foretelling prophecy – and undoubtedly the Fathers belonged in this category – this is an acceptable dating. However, Dan. 11 obtains a fuller meaning when placed in the context of *second* century BC history. Readers living in the days of Antiochus IV applied the writings to him and saw in him the Antichrist (although they did not use the word)¹.

As time passed – and a third phase had begun – doubts increased. It remained obvious that the author had had an eschatological perspective. But did he actually write about Antiochus IV? Or was the Antichrist still to come? And if so, where in the text is the point of change? When Antiochus had been dead for a while, and the events foretold in Dan. 12 had not taken place, the readers were forced to conclude that apparently Antiochus IV and the Antichrist were not the same person. At this point in time, the question arose which verses should still be allocated to Antiochus IV and which verses were to be fulfilled at a later date².

We will now have a closer look at Dan. 11.21-45 to gain a better understanding of whom the described figure should be identified with. Our attention will go mainly to the third phase, the period in which it was known how Antiochus IV had actually died. In

¹ Cf. A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Prophetic Prediction, Political Prognostication, and Firm Belief. Reflections on Daniel 11:40-12:3*, in: C.A. EVANS – S. TALMON (Edd.), *The Quest for Context and Meaning. Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. SANDERS* (Biblical Interpretation Series 28), Leiden 1997, pp. 63-73 (pp. 64, 68). It is possible to distinguish an Antichrist figure in earlier Old Testament passages, but this is the oldest passage in which the Fathers clearly distinguish the Antichrist figure. Cf. G.W. LOREIN, *The Antichrist Theme in the Intertestamental Period* (Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Sup. ser. 44), London - New York 2003, Chapter 1.

² Not to mention any “double fulfilments”. Cf. R. BODENMANN, *Naissance d'une Exégèse. Daniel dans l'Eglise ancienne des trois premiers siècles* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese 28), Tübingen 1986, pp. 299-300.

so doing we will also sketch the historical background that is important for a clear understanding of this Biblical passage.

After a description of the Persian kings, Alexander the Great and his successors, and the provocation that led to the fight between Ptolemies and Seleucids for the Holy Land, Antiochus appears in v. 21³. The word יָבִיץ appears to imply an ethical judgement from the start, but this is not the case. Comparison with parallel texts makes clear that this term refers to a lack of interest or appreciation⁴. It forms a stark contrast with the surname θεὸς ἐπιφανής adopted by Antiochus IV⁵. The honour of kingship was not granted to him, because he was only the brother of Seleucus IV, who also had two sons. However, he managed to become king of the Seleucid Empire in a devious way⁶.

Vv. 22-24 give a triptych of Antiochus' military successes, his unfaithfulness and his rapacity. The "prince of the covenant" is an ecclesiarch: high priest Onias III was murdered in 170⁷.

The first phase of the Sixth Syrian war⁸ is discussed in vv. 25-28. The king of the South is the under-age Ptolemy VI Philometor,

³ Jerome sees the Antichrist from this early point onwards. His exegesis can chiefly be explained by his opposition to Porphyry, who saw Antiochus IV everywhere and did not allocate any role to the Antichrist at all.

⁴ G.C. AALDERS (†), *Daniël* (Commentaar op het Oude Testament), Kampen 1962, p. 278. Text according to K. ELLIGER – W. RUDOLPH, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, Stuttgart 1976.

The judgement of POLYBIUS XXVIII 18 (text according to W.R. PATON, *Polybius. The Histories VI* (Loeb Classical Library), London – Cambridge (Mass.) 1927) is completely different: ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος ἄξιος ("he was vigorous and had great projects and deserved the honour of kingship").

⁵ J.A. MONTGOMERY, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (International Critical Commentary), Edinburgh 1927.

⁶ E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique II. Des avènements d'Antiochos III et de Philippe V à la fin des Lagides* (Annales de l'Est; mémoires 32), Nancy 1982², pp. 304-306.

⁷ J.T. NELIS, *Daniël* (Boeken van het Oude Testament), Roermond – Maaseik 1954, p. 117; AALDERS, *o.c.* (n. 4), pp. 278-280. Murder of Onias III: A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Geschiedenis en godsdienst van het Palestijnse Jodendom vanaf Alexander de Grote tot aan de komst van de Romeinen*, in: ID. (Ed.), *Bijbels Handboek IIB. Tussen Oude en Nieuwe Testament*, Kampen 1983, p. 39; O. PLOGER, *Das Buch Daniel* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament), Gütersloh 1965, p. 163. To the Jews, a high priest equalled a prince (S.K. EDDY, *The King is Dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism*, Lincoln 1961, p. 208).

⁸ In general see WILL, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 311-320; O. MØRKHOLM, *Antiochus IV of Syria* (Classica et Mediaevalia. Diss. 8), København 1966, pp. 64-87.

advised by Euleus and Leneus to recover Palestine and Coele Syria. Antiochus IV responded to their attack⁹ and gained the advantage. Those who ate from the king's provisions, i.e. his immediate associates, destroyed him. The advice of Euleus and Leneus had been fatal indeed¹⁰. Was the Egyptian army going to be swept away by the Nile¹¹?

In v. 27 the two kings apparently sat at the same table again, but their good relationship was only pretence: they were lying to each other. This is a beautiful oxymoron. Porphyry comments: "qui simulabit pacem cum sororis suae filio, et comedet cum eo panem, et postea occupabit Aegyptum¹²". When Ptolemy VI Philometor fled from Egypt, Antiochus pretended that he would protect Ptolemy VI against his younger brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II¹³. Ptolemy VI feigned to accept Antiochus' help. Both Ptolemy and the Seleucid failed, and this is explained theologically in v. 27b: כִּי־עוֹד קִץ לַמִּלְחָמָה. Jansen has an interesting comment on the end of this first phase of the Sixth Syrian War. He says that Antiochus' actions cannot be explained by hubris or by graecomania but only by his desire to be another Alexander the Great. There are certainly many parallels between Alexander the Great and Antiochus IV Epiphanes¹⁴.

⁹ WILL, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 313-314; L.L. GRABBE, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, London 1994, p. 276.

¹⁰ W. OTTO, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers. Ein Beitrag zur Politik und zum Staatsrecht des Hellenismus* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Abt. NF 11), München 1934, pp. 47, 49.

¹¹ MØRKHOLM, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 74, mentions the level of the Nile at the end of the hostilities, but cf. the discussion of מִצְרַיִם by VAN DER WOUDE, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 67; moreover, Mørholm's chronology is shaky (C. HABICHT, *The Seleucids and Their Rivals*, in: *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII, Cambridge 1989², p. 344 n. 68).

¹² Porphyry apud HIERONYMUS, *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.25-26) [IV] 98-99 (text according to F. GLORIE, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri commentariorum in Daniele libri III <IV>* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 75A), Turnholti 1964): "who will simulate peace with his sister's son, and will eat bread with him, and will occupy Egypt after that".

¹³ This king was also called Ptolemy VII and Ptolemy VIII Physcon. The confusion originated from the very short reign of Ptolemy VII Eupator (in 145) and the exile of the Ptolemy mentioned here between 163 and 145, so that his reign came in two parts: 170-163 (together with Ptolemy VI Philometor) and 145-116 (see WILL, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 316, 318-319, 426).

¹⁴ See G.W. LOREIN, *Some Aspects of the Life and Death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. A New Presentation of Old Viewpoints*, in *Ancient Society* 31 (2001), pp. 157-171 (pp. 163-164 n. 38).

It is unclear whether the plunder Antiochus IV took to Syria was taken from Egypt or from the Temple in Jerusalem that he raided as he returned home, apparently because of the unrest there. In doing this he violated the "holy covenant" (v. 28b), the Jewish religion.

The second phase of the Sixth Syrian War (168)¹⁵ is described in vv. 29-30a. Indeed, the war did not end well for Antiochus IV, although he was the one who had started it¹⁶. The ships of the Western coastlands (or Kittim) here refer to the Romans¹⁷. Antiochus IV was terrified when it appeared that with these ships came a man called Popilius Laenas. He was a man with a difficult character, who presented the Roman Senate's ultimatum to Antiochus IV in a manner that contradicted all diplomatic rules: he drew a circle around Antiochus IV and said: ἐνταῦθα βουλευέου ("make a decision there"). Antiochus IV, apparently not foreseeing the results of his deed, withdrew¹⁸ (v. 30aα). At this time those living at the south-eastern borders of the Roman Empire also started to realise that the upcoming empire would not tolerate any competition.

¹⁵ See in general WILL, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 320-325, and MØRKHOLM, *o.c.* (n. 8), pp. 88-101.

¹⁶ WILL, *o.c.* (n. 6), p. 321, and MØRKHOLM, *o.c.* (n. 8), pp. 91-92.

¹⁷ This word originally referred to the inhabitants of Κίτιον, modern-day Larnaka, a city on Cyprus. It came to refer to all Greeks, and to all those living in the West. LXX and HIERONYMUS, *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.28b-30a) [IV] 123 have Ῥωμαῖοι and "Romani" respectively here. The Kittim also appear in Num. 24 (where Tg Onkelos offers כְּנָעִי) and in the War Scroll from Qumran, but these texts may be referring to other nations.

¹⁸ APPIAN, *Syriaca* 66; TITUS LIVIUS XLV 10.8, 12.5; E.R. BEVAN, *The House of Seleucus II*, London 1902, pp. 144-145; W.W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1951², p. 192, WILL, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 321-322, 325; HABICHT, *o.c.* (n. 11), pp. 344-345; L. MOOREN, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes und das ptolemäische Königtum*, in: J. BINGEN – G. NACHTERGAEL (Edd.), *Actes du XV^e Congrès international de Papyrologie IV. Papyrologie documentaire* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 19), Bruxelles 1979, pp. 78-86 (p. 85).

MØRKHOLM, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 94 n. 24, argues that the idea that Antiochus IV knew Popilius Laenas from when he stayed in Rome, is "a sentimental addition". According to K. BRINGMANN, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa. Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte (175-163 v. Chr.)* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl. 3. Folge 132), Göttingen 1983, p. 138, Antiochus had gambled on the assumption that the Romans would probably be held up in Macedonia even longer.

On his way back from Egypt, Antiochus IV took his frustration with the defeat he had suffered out on the Jewish nation (v. 30aβ), in the form of a punitive expedition. When his army withdrew, the hostilities did not cease, and his general Apollon was forced to take the city (v. 31a). He established the Acra at the South of the Temple Mount, reorganised the *polis* there, putting Syrians in place who of course took their Syrian cult with them (v. 31bα). The desecration was completed with the establishment of the *שְׁקִיץ מְשֻׁמֵּם*, the “abomination that causes desolation”. This indicated an official approval of the actual foreign sacrifices (v. 31bα)¹⁹.

On 15 Kislev 145 (Seleucid Era) (i.e. 6 December 167), the *שְׁקִיץ מְשֻׁמֵּם* was established: a pun on Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος. It is assumed, with reference to Jerome²⁰, that an image of Zeus Olympius – as an alias of Antiochus IV – was placed on top of the original altar, and that in front of this a new altar was installed²¹ (Dan. 11.31bβ; I Macc. 1.54a; II Macc. 6.2).

In v. 32 we find two groups: the disobedient, who are led into even more evil by Antiochus IV, and the obedient (“the people who know their God”)²², who put their loyalty to the Covenant into action. V. 33 is about the Chasidim, v. 34a about the Maccabees. “Will stumble” in v. 33 indicates the heavy persecution they will

¹⁹ For this phase in history I mostly follow the reconstruction offered by V. TCHERIKOVER (†), *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, Philadelphia 1959; see LOREIN, *o.c.* (n. 14), pp. 61-66.

²⁰ HIERONYMUS, *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.31) [IV] 173-175: “in templo Hierusalem Iouis Olympii simulacrum et Antiochi statuas ponerent, quas nunc ‘abominationem desolationis’ uocat.” (“... to place in the Temple of Jerusalem an image of Jupiter Olympius and statues of Antiochus, which [Daniel] now calls ‘abomination of desolation’”).

²¹ H.H. ROWLEY, *Menelaus and the Abomination of Desolation*, in: *Studia orientalia Ioanni PEDERSEN ... dicata*, Hauniae 1953, pp. 303-315 (p. 315).

V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.* (n. 19), pp. 194-195, 200, accepts – as does Bickermann – that it is about Syrian gods, but explains this by noting that the citizens of the Acra (the decision makers of those days) were of part Syrian stock; in order to obtain the royal approval of the new sacrificial cult the name was translated into Zeus Olympius, a god with whom Antiochus IV had been on good terms from the start (J.G. BUNGE, *Münzen als Mittel politischer Propaganda: Antiochos IV. Epiphanes von Syrien*, in *Studii Clasice* 16 (1974), pp. 43-52 (p. 44); J. ZAHLE, *Religious Motifs on Seleucid Coins*, in: P. BILDE E.A. (Edd.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1), Aarhus 1990, pp. 125-139 (pp. 128-130).

²² עֲדָה: not in an intellectual, but in an existential sense.

endure. Many people were forced by the Maccabees' heavy-handed actions to join them (v. 34b). V. 35 points out what the purpose of the heavy persecution was: some were afraid, others felt encouraged²³. The verse ends with the same words as v. 27.

Many exegetes are of the opinion that that which follows in v. 36 does not match our information from other sources, and that this verse may be the point from which later readers will start to think of the Antichrist. However, vv. 36-39 clearly discuss Antiochus IV's attitude towards the gods. He left the gods that were linked to the House of the Seleucids ("the gods of his fathers") as well as the gods linked to the House of the Ptolemies²⁴ (v. 37), and turned to "the god of fortresses" (v. 38a). There are many interpretations of this term. The simplest one with an eye to v. 38b is that it concerns the god *War*, to whom he gave all his possessions²⁵. Finally, v. 39 says that he will win followers by giving them land, but it should be noted that a different translation is also possible, now supported by a recently published text from Qumran²⁶.

When we arrive at v. 40, the doubt of the readers increases even more. It is difficult to keep seeing Antiochus IV here, but it is possible, since the verse may be a recapitulation of the events before 168, or a description of events about which we do not have sufficient information from other sources²⁷. On the other hand, the

²³ AALDERS, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 293.

²⁴ Granted that the interpretation of J.G. BUNGE, *Der "Gott der Festungen" und der "Liebling der Frauen". Zur Identifizierung der Götter in Dan. 11,36-39*, in *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 4 (1973), pp. 169-182 (pp. 178-182), who states that this is about Dumuzi/Adonis/Dionysius (cf. the epithet for this god: *τρυπόθητος*) as a representative of the Ptolemaic pantheon, is right.

²⁵ E.J. YOUNG, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, Grand Rapids 1949, p. 249; about Antiochus' religious self-images, see also LOREIN, *o.c.* (n. 14), Part III.

²⁶ AALDERS, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 298; J. SIEVERS, *Jerusalem, the Akra, and Josephus*, in: F. PARENTE – J. SIEVERS (Edd.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period. Essays in Memory of Morton Smith* (Studia Post-Biblica 41), Leiden 1994, pp. 195-209 (p. 205). Antiochus was going to pay his followers by giving them land that used to belong to Jews who had fled Jerusalem because of the religious crisis (MØRKHOLM, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 145; E. WILL – C. ORRIEUX, *Ioudaïsmos – Hellenismos. Essai sur le judaïsme juéen à l'époque hellénistique*, Nancy 1986, p. 142). For 4Q248 6, see M. BROSHI – Esther ESHEL, *The Greek King is Antiochus IV (4QHistorical Text=4Q248)*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 48 (1997), pp. 120-129 (p. 127).

²⁷ Cf. M. DELCOR, *Le livre de Daniel* (Sources Bibliques), Paris 1971, pp. 246-247. See also below the section on Revelation for the idea of "recapitulation". For another interpretation, see VAN DER WOUDE, *o.c.* (n. 1), pp. 63-67.

author stresses more than in the preceding passages that this is about events taking place during the end times (cf. v. 40 with vv. 27 and 35), although he could probably not distinguish between the events in the days of Antiochus IV from the end time proper. The next passage (from 12.1) is definitely eschatological. For us however, looking at it from a completely different perspective in time, there is a difference, since we cannot describe the days of Antiochus IV as the end times. The figure described has the following characteristics. Unrighteousness and deceit are clear from v. 21 (בְּחִלְקֵי קִיּוֹת), v. 23 (מִרְמָה), v. 27 (כָּזָב וְדַבָּרוֹ). A murderous attitude is clear from v. 22 (יִשְׁטָפוּ וְיִשְׁבְּרוּ), v. 26 (וְנָפְלוּ חַלְלִים רַבִּים)²⁸ and v. 44 (לְהַשְׁמִיד וּלְהַחֲרִים רַבִּים). His attitude towards religion is clear from v. 28 (לָבֹאוּ עַל-בְּרִית קָדֶשׁ), v. 30 (וְזָעַם עַל-בְּרִית-קֹדֶשׁ), and also from the whole body of vv. 36-39, where it is stated that this figure will turn away from all existing religion and try to persuade others to do so too.

It is clear that with these traits all the ingredients of the Antichrist theme are at hand as soon as the book of Daniel was published. It is also clear that Antiochus IV played an important role in the elaboration of the theme.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT

Jesus' Eschatological Discourse²⁹

In his discourse on the End of the Age (Mt. 24), Jesus mentions in 24.15 the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (comp. with the par. in Mk. 13.14 and Lk. 21.20). The βδέλυγμα is of course a reference to the מְשֻׁקֵּם מִשְׁמַח from the book of Daniel. The passage most relevant to our subject is Dan. 11.31, which has been discussed above. What

²⁸ And possibly from v. 38, if that verse does indeed refer to the god of Warfare, as YOUNG, *o.c.* (n. 25), p. 249, suggests.

²⁹ As regards to the synoptic problem, nearly every priority is defensible (cf. D. WENHAM, *The Rediscovery of Jesus' Eschatological Discourse* (Gospel Perspectives 4), Sheffield 1984, pp. 193-196). Because Origen wrote a commentary on *Matthew*, we will start from this passage. Mark's version is very close to this passage; Luke's is much further removed. As regards the date, the Fathers would support a pre-70 origin for this discourse (see E.E. ELLIS, *Christ and the Future in New Testament History* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 97), Leiden 2000, p. 233).

meaning did this term have in New Testament days? How was the phenomenon described in Dan. 11 interpreted in Jesus' days³⁰?

The βδέλυγμα foretold by Daniel refers in general to an idol or a pagan altar for which a strong aversion is felt³¹. Grosheide believes this refers to the standards of the Roman army, which were indeed a subject of reverence³². Although the word is neuter, ἐσθηκότα in Mk. 13.14, which is incongruous with this, seems to indicate that βδέλυγμα could also refer to a *person*³³. It will be standing on a holy place, ὅπου οὐ δεῖ; this last description (from Mk. 13.14) seems very vague, but implies that it is improper in the most absolute sense. On the basis of Acts 6.13 one could call the Temple in Jerusalem the holy place par excellence³⁴. On seeing the sign, peo-

³⁰ J. VAN BRUGGEN, *Marcus. Het evangelie volgens Petrus* (Commentaar op het Nieuwe Testament³), Kampen 1988, pp. 405-411, tries hard to better harmonise the prophecies in Dan. 9 and 11 and Jesus' Eschatological Discourse, but finally he is forced to conclude a partial fulfilment. Text according to Barbara & K. ALAND E.A., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 1993³⁷.

³¹ Cf. Deut. 29.16; II Kgs. 11.5; I Macc. 1.54,59; Rom. 2.22. G. VAN DEN BRINK, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, Nehru Nagar Vijayawada 1997, p. 342; H.A. BRONGERS, *I Koningen* (Prediking van het Oude Testament), Nijkerk 1967, p. 117. According to VAN BRUGGEN, *o.c.* (n. 30), pp. 305-306, this refers to the destruction of the Temple.

³² F.W. GROSHEIDE, *Het heilig evangelie volgens Mattheus* (Kommentaar op het Nieuwe Testament¹), Amsterdam 1922, p. 287. Although the works of A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere* (1885) and *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (1895), both republished in *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte*, Darmstadt 1972, remain fundamental, a more recent summary may be found in J. HELGELAND, *Roman Army Religion*, in: W. HAASE (Ed.), *Religion (Heidentum: römische Religion, Allgemeines)* (ANRW II 16.2), Berlin – New York 1978, pp. 1470-1505 (pp. 1476-1478). J. RÜPKE, *Domi militiae. Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom*, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 184-187, is quite critical, but finally concludes also that the standards were revered.

³³ R.H. GUNDRY, *Matthew. A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*, Grand Rapids 1994², p. 482, refers for this to the parallel traditions of II Thess. 2 and Rev. 13, where there is mention of a person as well. For the parallelism of these traditions, see also WENHAM, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 205-206.

³⁴ VAN DEN BRINK, *ibid.* (n. 31). GROSHEIDE, *o.c.* (n. 32), p. 288, thinks of the Church as a "holy place" for the final fulfilment of this passage. Lk. 21.20 says Jerusalem surrounded by army camps, indicating this will take place just before the attack (I.H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (New International Greek Testament Commentary), Exeter 1978, p. 772).

ple are to think of Daniel's prophecy³⁵ and flee – apparently fleeing will be worthwhile – without hesitation³⁶, not to any fortified city, but to a desolate area³⁷ (vv. 15-18). This is clearly described as a future event, although people in New Testament times evidently knew about the “abomination that makes desolate” introduced by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, which they apparently viewed as an interim fulfilment of prophecy, while expecting a further religious and military conquest of the Temple in an eschatological perspective.

That time will be very difficult, particularly for women who are pregnant or have very small children (under the age of two³⁸) (v. 19). The listeners are also instructed to pray³⁹ that it will not take place in winter or on the Sabbath (v. 20). In winter the weather is less ideal for refugees, and on the Sabbath people would wrestle with their consciences because they would be travelling farther than the allowed distance, the city gates are closed and no transport is available⁴⁰. The Sabbath is not mentioned in Mark's version (Mk. 13.18). The word θλίψις does not have an article here (v. 21)⁴¹, in contrast to Revelation 7.14, but it already refers to “that final series of woes which will immediately precede the end”⁴² and therefore

³⁵ GUNDRY, *o.c.* (n. 33), p. 481; J. VAN BRUGGEN, *o.c.* (n. 30), p. 307.

³⁶ The stairs were built at the outside of the house (see R. REICH, *Building Materials and Architectural Elements*, in: J. AVIRAM (Ed.), *The Architecture of Ancient Israel. From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods. In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) DUNAYEVSKY*, Jerusalem 1992, p. 14); people should not go inside in order to fetch something, or are even supposed to flee over the rooftops (according to GUNDRY, *o.c.* (n. 33), p. 483, with reference to FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitates* XIII 140). People would go into the fields wearing their coats, and leave them by the edge of the field as the day became warmer (see VAN BRUGGEN, *o.c.* (n. 30), p. 313).

³⁷ VAN DEN BRINK, *o.c.* (n. 31), p. 343; see also MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 34), p. 772.

³⁸ See S. SAFRAI, *Home and Family*, in: S. SAFRAI – M. STERN (Edd.), *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions II*, Assen – Amsterdam 1976, pp. 728-792 (p. 768).

³⁹ Cf. F. BASSIN, *L'évangile de Marc* (Commentaire Évangélique de la Bible), Vaux-sur-Seine 1984, p. 247.

⁴⁰ According to G. VAN DEN BRINK, *ibid.* (n. 31).

⁴¹ Mk. 13.19 only mentions θλίψις, Lk. 21.23 ἀνάγκη μεγάλη, but Luke goes his own way after this. We find θλίψις μεγάλη without article also in I Macc. 9.27.

⁴² R.H. MOUNCE, *The Book of Revelation* (New International Commentary on the New Testament), Grand Rapids 1977, p. 173.

has cosmic dimensions. If the duration were not to be cut short (ἐκολοβώθησαν)⁴³ for the sake of the elect⁴⁴, no-one would survive⁴⁵ (v. 22). Many ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται will appear (possibly to be viewed as *hendiadys*), who will perform many impressive signs and wonders. This theme also occurs in Deut. 13.1⁴⁶, II Thess. 2.9 and Rev. 13.13⁴⁷. By doing this they will almost lead the elect astray, but fortunately this is impossible (vv. 23-24). V. 25 may be considered as a closing formula.

Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians

In II Thess. 2.1-12⁴⁸ we find a relatively extensive description of an awful person. The text we adopt calls him ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, but the manuscript tradition is not unequivocal here: the reading ἁμαρτίας instead of ἀνομίας also occurs frequently. Since the reading ἀνομίας could have originated under the influence of ὁ

⁴³ Cf. I En. 80.2; CSD (MS Antonin B 798) i 14 (קרבן קץ ועוד לא תאחר : "Thou hast brought nearer the end and Thou wilt not postpone it anymore."); II Bar. 83.1, although it is not linked to God's kindness in these places.

⁴⁴ R.H. CHARLES, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life. In Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity*, London 1913², p. 381, sees two different traditions here: one to encourage the disciples, and one concerning calamities that do not affect the disciples. Although one might doubt that the disciples were ever confronted with the things Jesus discusses here, Charles simply shifts the problem to that of a lack of understanding on the part of the editor.

⁴⁵ VAN BRUGGEN, *o.c.* (n. 30), p. 312, claims that this should not be taken in a soteriological sense, but otherwise that thought is not elaborated.

⁴⁶ If anyone in Israel claiming religious authority leads fellow-Israelites into idolatry (U. RÜTERSWORDEN, *Das Böse in der deuteronomischen Schultheologie*, in: T. VEIJOLA (Ed.), *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen* (Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 62), Helsinki – Göttingen 1996, pp. 223-241 (p. 230)), and if this person announces a sign or miracle that would legitimise him, and if this announcement comes true, one must not simply conclude that this prophet is reliable. A prophet who advocates idolatry should never be followed (P.C. CRAIGIE, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (New International Commentary on the Old Testament), Grand Rapids 1976, pp. 223, 262-263), as God is the one who must be followed and his commandments kept. The false prophet should be killed because he has spoken about God in a deceitful way. BASSIN, *o.c.* (n. 39), p. 248 n. 1, also points out the use of δώσουσιν in Mt. 24.24 and of נָתַן in Deut. 13.2.

⁴⁷ For these verses, see below. For the various links, see WENHAM, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 205-206.

⁴⁸ According to F.F. BRUCE, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (Word Biblical Commentary), Waco 1982, p. 162, this is the core of the Epistle.

ἄνομος in v. 8, ἀμαρτίας could well be the original reading. On the other hand, ἀμαρτία is a rather frequent and even more general word, so that this could also have been introduced from elsewhere⁴⁹. As with νόμος obviously God's Law is intended, the two terms amount to the same meaning. The Hebraism is a strong expression which to Paul is much more powerful than the singular ἄνομος (or ἀμαρτωλός)⁵⁰. We may suppose that the man of lawlessness is *human*⁵¹. Anyhow, he clearly is a *being*, and this is different from the expression βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως in Mt. 24. Although the term Antichrist does not appear here, this passage is often referred to, and the Antichrist is often equated to this man of lawlessness⁵².

Paul warns against expecting the end of times too soon, even though the impression may have been given that this end is very near – through a revelation (unauthorised or wrongly understood), through teaching or through a letter from Paul himself or from others (vv. 1-3a)⁵³. No, before the absolute end the rebellion must come and the man of lawlessness must be revealed⁵⁴, who is doomed to destruction (υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας)⁵⁵. Paul outlines exhaustively that his actions will immediately precede Christ's

⁴⁹ For the adopted text, see ALAND & ALAND, *o.c.* (n. 30). M.J. VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *De Antichrist in het Nieuwe Testament*, Amsterdam 1916, p. 58 n. 3 (p. 59), chooses for ἀμαρτίας. F.F. BRUCE, *Antichrist in the Early Church*, in: ID., *A Mind for What Matters*, Grand Rapids 1990, pp. 181-197 (p. 184), considers ἀνομίας to be a better reading.

⁵⁰ B. RIGAUX, *Saint-Paul. Les épîtres aux Thessaloniens* (Etudes Bibliques), Paris – Gembloux 1956, p. 657. Cf. F. BLASS – A. DEBRUNNER – F. REHKOPF, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen 1984¹⁶, § 162.6.

⁵¹ Cf. W. TRILLING, *Der zweite Brief an die Thessalonicher* (Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar), Zürich – Einsiedeln – Köln – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980, p. 384.

⁵² Cf. e.g. already TERTULLIANUS, *Adversus Marcionem* V 16.4 (text according to A. KROYMANN, *Adversus Marcionem*, in: *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera I. Opera catholica. Adversus Marcionem* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 1), Turnholti 1954, pp. 437-726): "Quis autem est *homo delicti, filius perditionis* ...? Secundum nos quidem antichristus".

⁵³ For this problem, see C. MASSON, *Les deux épîtres de Saint Paul aux Thessaloniens* (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament), Neuchâtel – Paris 1957, pp. 93-94; BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 48), p. 163.

⁵⁴ This ἀποκαλυφθῆ rather points at the similarity between the Antichrist and Christ, and does not indicate pre-existence (MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 95).

⁵⁵ Cf. MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 95.

return. This is established from the anacoluthon ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ... ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας (v. 3) linked with the preceding ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (v. 2), and from the destruction of the man of lawlessness, by Jesus Christ during his return (v. 8)⁵⁶.

Apparently the audience knows how this is to be understood, because Paul is using the definite article⁵⁷. According to v. 4 he will exalt himself over every existing religion (ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα) and proclaim himself to be god (ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν⁵⁹ τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι⁶⁰, ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶν θεός). Here he is much more a false god than a false Messiah⁶¹. During this period others will also turn away from God, as ἡ ἀποστασία is mentioned in one and the same breath with the revelation of the man of lawlessness (v. 3)⁶².

⁵⁶ By importing the notion of *corporate personality* here, MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 106, sees the forerunners included in the Antichrist himself. In my view it is more correct to categorise them under the *principle* of lawlessness (v. 7). See also H. BERKHOF, *Christus de zin der geschiedenis*, Nijkerk 1958, pp. 109-110, 112.

⁵⁷ They know this because of Paul's teaching: MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 97; BERKHOF, *o.c.* (n. 57), p. 107 (but apparently Paul deems it necessary to word it extensively after all). Or, from other sources (the general teaching of the early-Christian Church, or even Jewish tradition): MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 95, D. FLUSSER, *The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran*, in *Immanuel* 10 (1980), pp. 31-37 (p. 33); H. BURGMANN, *Vorgeschichte und Frühgeschichte der essenischen Gemeinden von Qumrân und Damaskus* (Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum 7), Frankfurt/Main – Bern – New York 1987, pp. 487-490. According to TRILLING, *o.c.* (n. 51), pp. 83-84, the definite article indicates that it does not just concern a lawless person, but the one in whom lawlessness reaches its summum. He states that this passage is not based on Jewish tradition at all (*o.c.*, p. 87).

⁵⁸ This word may not be taken restrictively, as if the Antichrist does not resist the true God (MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 96 n. 1; TRILLING, *o.c.* (n. 51), p. 85).

⁵⁹ According to VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *o.c.* (n. 49), pp. 59-60, this is meant figuratively (as is καθίσαι). However, it is often argued that this concerns the (rebuilt) Temple of Jerusalem. E.g. BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 48), pp. 168-169; RIGAU, *o.c.* (n. 51), pp. 660-661. According to Bruce and Rigaux (*ibid.*) this implies, however, that the Antichrist wants to assume all divine rights.

⁶⁰ Sitting in a temple is reserved for the godhead; the others who are present stand or kneel (MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 96 n. 5).

⁶¹ E.g. MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 104; TRILLING, *o.c.* (n. 51), p. 86; F. BASSIN, *Les épîtres de Paul aux Thessaloniens* (Commentaire Evangélique de la Bible), Vaux-sur-Seine 1991, pp. 224, 228 (but: see also pp. 245, 249).

⁶² This word can have a political as well as a religious meaning (BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 48), p. 166; BASSIN, *o.c.* (n. 61), pp. 212-213).

In a parenthesis Paul reminds the readers that he has stressed in his oral teachings that the very end cannot come as long as something/someone is holding it back (κατέχον/κατέχων)⁶³. In the meantime the *principle* of lawlessness is already working⁶⁴. This reminds us of the Antichrist's πρόδρομοι, of the many antichrists who may act throughout the course of history. Afterwards the *man* of lawlessness will be revealed; he will act according to the power of Satan (v. 9: κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ), he will perform all kinds of counterfeit⁶⁵ signs and miracles, which will be accompanied by the powerful delusion of those who perish (vv. 8a, 9-10a). Then Paul moves on to a soteriological and theistic perspective. The man of lawlessness can only exercise this influence on those who do not love the truth⁶⁶. God will send those people a powerful delusion, so that they will believe the lie and thus bring about their own judgement⁶⁷ (vv. 10b-12). Then the end will come: Jesus Christ will come back and simply by his presence end the activities of the man of lawlessness (v. 8b).

The First and Second Epistles of John

In I Jn. 2.18-23 we find a short description of the Antichrist. The actions of the antichrists (plural) are seen within an eschatological framework (v. 18: ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν). It is not clear, however, whether he means that from the day of Pentecost we have

⁶³ Much has been written on the question what exactly this entails. As VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *o.c.* (n. 49), pp. 61-63, remarks, this is (probably) not of much concern for our subject. For the problem, see MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), pp. 98-100; BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 48), pp. 175-177; TRILLING, *o.c.* (n. 51), pp. 89-102.

⁶⁴ This does not mean that also the Antichrist himself exists at this moment, i.e. that he is pre-existent (RIGAUX, *o.c.* (n. 50), p. 666 [sic]; L. HARTMAN, *The Eschatology of 2 Thessalonians as Included in a Communication*, in: R.F. COLLINS (Ed.), *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium 87), Leuven 1990, pp. 470-485 (p. 480 n. 51)).

⁶⁵ In the sense of "serving deceit": MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 102 n. 1; TRILLING, *o.c.* (n. 51), p. 105; BASSIN, *o.c.* (n. 61), pp. 248-249; S.H.T. PAGE, *Powers of Evil. A Biblical Study of Satan and Demons*, Grand Rapids – Leicester 1995, p. 200.

⁶⁶ I.e. against those who are rooted in God's revelation: cf. MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 103 n. 1; RIGAUX, *o.c.* (n. 50), p. 677.

⁶⁷ It appears that the time of the Antichrist is no longer a period of grace: people will already be confronted with the consequences of choices made earlier (cf. MASSON, *o.c.* (n. 53), p. 103). Cf. Zech. 11.6, 9!

been living in the End Times⁶⁸, or whether he is thinking of the eschatological period proper⁶⁹. The absence of a definite article here does not bring clarification: it only proves that ὥρα should not be taken literally⁷⁰. However, another Antichrist must come, because John starts from that position (v. 18: ἡκούσατε ὅτι ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται)⁷¹. Apparently the addressees have heard (ἡκούσατε) about the Antichrist before. Nonetheless a description follows, albeit a short one. Are we, with Bruce, to conclude from this that the Christians have known of the Antichrist since the coming of Christ, as the Antichrist is only the inversion of Christ⁷²? We also have to ask ourselves here what the meaning is of the prefix ἀντι-. Will the Antichrist present himself as the true Messiah, or rather as his great opponent⁷³? Bruce also mentions the possibility that John

⁶⁸ The first Epistle of John was generally accepted by the Church Fathers to be the work of John the disciple of the Lord; the situation is less clear for the second Epistle (I.H. MARSHALL, *The Epistles of John* (New International Commentary on the New Testament), Grand Rapids 1978, pp. 48-49; A.D. BAUM, *Der neutestamentliche Kanon bei Eusebios* (Hist. Eccl. III, 25, 1-7) im Kontext seiner literaturgeschichtlichen Arbeit, in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 73 (1997), pp. 307-348 (p. 317)). For our subject, however, no distinction has to be made.

⁶⁹ General End Times: R. SCHNACKENBURG, *Die Johannesbriefe* (Herders Kommentar), Freiburg 1953, p. 125; MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 68), pp. 148-150. Eschatological period proper: F. VOUGA, *Die Johannesbriefe* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament), Tübingen 1990, pp. 42-43 (he even regards this as the Epistle's message proper); G. STRECKER, *Die Johannesbriefe* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament), Göttingen 1989, p. 122; M. DE JONGE, *De brieven van Johannes* (Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament), Nijkerk 1988⁴, p. 103; H.-J. KLAUCK, *Der erste Johannesbrief* (Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar), Zürich – Braunschweig – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991, p. 148; R.E. BROWN, *The Epistles of John* (Anchor Bible), Garden City 1982, pp. 330-332 (where the other possibility is also discussed).

⁷⁰ BLASS – DEBRUNNER – REHKOPF, *o.c.* (n. 50), § 258.

⁷¹ Cf. G.B. CAIRD, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, London 1966, p. 163.

⁷² BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 49), p. 183. Also S.S. SMALLEY, 1, 2, 3, *John* (Word Biblical Commentary), Waco 1984, p. 98, goes back quite far, to the Intertestamental tradition concerning the Antichrist. Cf. KLAUCK, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 150. This is challenged by C.E. HILL, *Antichrist from the Tribe of Dan*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 46 (1995), pp. 99-117 (pp. 114-115): in his opinion, John could also be speaking about the Jewish expectation of a Messiah. In my opinion, this would correspond only quite indirectly with the Apostle's words.

⁷³ VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *o.c.* (n. 49), p. 70, emphasises that ἀντίχριστος should not be understood as ψευδόχριστος, but as ἀντικείμενος. According to Shifra SZNOL, *Compounds with ἀντι- in Hellenistic Jewish Sources*, in *Filologia*

is referring to an exposition by Paul⁷⁴, but the term Ἀντίχριστος does not occur in the Pauline Epistles and is apparently used for the first time here⁷⁵. Strecker is able to state that these words refer back to John's second Epistle, as he assumes that chronologically John's second Epistle was written before the first⁷⁶. What is the force of the absence of a definite article here⁷⁷? Does it mean that the Antichrist was not yet known⁷⁸, or was this word a proper name⁷⁹? An Antichrist is coming (ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται), but it is not clear whether, when John was writing, this was going to take place in the future, or, since "this is the last hour", the Antichrist had already come. The statement that there are many Antichrists now (νῦν ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν) could lead us to suspect that John was still waiting for the one great Antichrist. Or does he mean a "corporate personality", a single Antichrist made up of many antichrists⁸⁰? Is John regarding his opponents as the Antichrist, so that the conflict with which he is confronted is fulfilling his Antichrist expectations⁸¹? In other words: which is primary, the one Antichrist preceded by many antichrists⁸², the many antichrists cul-

Neotestamentaria 3 (1990), pp. 109-114 (pp. 112-113), Tertullian was the first to interpret the prefix in Ἀντίχριστος as "against, opposed to", and from his interpretation the prefix started a fruitful career in the West-European languages.

⁷⁴ BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 49), p. 184.

⁷⁵ KLAUCK, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 150, albeit "um einen vorgegebenen komplexen Themenbereich prägnant zu benennen".

⁷⁶ STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 338 n. 18. MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 68), p. 10, also conjectures this order. Lastly BURGMANN, *o.c.* (n. 57), pp. 488, 490, suggests the possibility of a dependency on the ideas of Qumran, but this is very hypothetical.

⁷⁷ At least according to the best text-critical choice; see e.g. SCHNACKENBURG, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 126 n. 2.

⁷⁸ BLASS – DEBRUNNER – REHKOPF, *o.c.* (n. 50), § 252: "Bei Neueinführung von bisher Unbekanntem".

⁷⁹ BLASS – DEBRUNNER – REHKOPF, *o.c.* (n. 50), § 260.

⁸⁰ E.g. RIGAUX, *o.c.* (n. 50), p. 278; KLAUCK, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 151. Against: VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *o.c.* (n. 49), p. 74. To VOUGA, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 44, this is only a typological singular.

⁸¹ E.g. L.J. LIETAERT PEERBOLTE, *The Antecedents of Antichrist. A Tradition-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism [olim Studia Post-Biblica] 49), Leiden 1996, pp. 99, 101-102, 113, 214-215.

⁸² E.g. STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 338-339; MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 68), p. 151; DE JONGE, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 102. (It is not necessary here to speak of *Entmythologisierung*, "de-mythologising"; according to his p. 102 n. 155, the "myth" is maintained for the future.)

minating in one Antichrist⁸³, or the Antichrist as a corporate personality?

The many antichrists have formally been part of the Christian community (ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξηλθαν), but were apparently not involved wholeheartedly (οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν). If the opposite were the case – but this is presented as untrue⁸⁴ – they would have stayed.

In the following verse the same subject is looked at from a divine viewpoint: the antichrists had not received God's anointing⁸⁵, whereas the addressees had (ὁμεῖς χρίσμα ἔχετε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου). Through that anointing (χρίσμα) the addressees were in Christ (Χριστός), and therefore did not belong to the Antichrist's (Ἀντίχριστος) camp⁸⁶.

Perhaps the antichrists were wholeheartedly involved after all, but at least they "denied that Jesus is the Christ"⁸⁷, they "denied the Father and the Son", they "denied the Son". Why are these three descriptions being used? What exactly do they mean? We will find a further description in II John.

Is ὁ ψεύστης the same as the Antichrist⁸⁸? Both words are used in the same context, but it is not certain. Anyhow, we have here a

⁸³ To B.B. WARFIELD (†), *Antichrist*, in *Expository Times* 32 (1920-'21), pp. 358-360 (pp. 359-360), this is a *possible* conclusion, but he remarks that John does not actually discuss this.

⁸⁴ STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 124 n. 19, does not take into account the equivalence (at least with the irrealis construction in mind) of Pluperfect (resultative aspect: "they would have stayed [until now]") and Imperfect ("they would have stayed [in the past]"). See BLASS – DEBRUNNER – REHKOPF, *o.c.* (n. 50), § 360 n. 4.

⁸⁵ God the Father: This interpretation is often mentioned as a possibility, but was never preferred in the commentaries I consulted. God the Son: DE JONGE, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 114; BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 347-348; SCHNACKENBURG, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 134; SMALLEY, *o.c.* (n. 72), p. 108; MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 68), p. 155; KLAUCK, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 159.

⁸⁶ DE JONGE, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 110-112, who however mainly points at the parallel between the anointing and hearing the word. BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 345-347, considers the arguments for an anointing with the Holy Spirit to be the strongest. MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 68), pp. 153-155, pleads for a combination of the two ("the Word ... apprehended by [the converts] through the work of the Spirit in their hearts"). Exegetically this combination seems far-fetched, although practically speaking the two of course go together.

⁸⁷ The negation οὐκ after ἀρνούμενος is pleonastic (see BLASS – DEBRUNNER – REHKOPF, *o.c.* (n. 50), § 429.2).

⁸⁸ E.g. BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 352; DE JONGE, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 116. See also the interesting literary analysis by G. SÁNCHEZ MIELGO, *Perspectivas eclesiológicas*

context of deception and opposition to the truth. Also, there proves to be a parallel between the descriptions of antichrists and deceivers in John's Epistles and the descriptions of false prophets and deceivers in Deuteronomy⁸⁹.

To Vouga, who does not appear to have much sympathy for John, the use of the term "Antichrist" has just one goal, namely "die Konkurrenz zu disqualifizieren". Apparently the competition started after a schism in the Johannine School, which subsequently became very sectarian⁹⁰.

Should we conclude from this passage that a unique eschatological Antichrist will come from the Christian Church as well? This conclusion is not necessary after having read I Jn. 2.18-23. However, all our data match the idea of a *human* figure.

In I Jn. 4.3 we read something else about the Antichrist. Here John speaks about the spirit of the Antichrist, "which you have heard is coming" (ὁ ἀκηκόατε ὅτι ἔρχεται). Apparently this spirit is in the world already (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν ἤδη), but does this mean that the Antichrist himself is present as well? In other words: is this yet another of so many cases of both "already" and "not yet"⁹¹? Or do we have to make a distinction between the Antichrist and the spirit of the Antichrist? In that case, the Antichrist himself could be future⁹².

Is the Antichrist in John's Epistle a *human* being? It seems that John speaks mainly about the forerunners of the Antichrist, false prophets and the like⁹³. Although this is nowhere explicitly stated,

en la primera carta de Juan, in *Escritos del Vedat* 4 (1974), pp. 9-64 (p. 21: this is an "inclusio semítica", where vv. 22 and 23 announce the main elements of the antichrists (v. 18) alias the deceivers (v. 26)).

⁸⁹ Cf. Deut. 13.2-19 (SÁNCHEZ MIELGO, *o.c.* (n. 88), pp. 15-17; KLAUCK, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 149).

⁹⁰ VOUGA, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 43 (quote: "to disqualify the competitor"), 45, 63, 84. Against that, see MARSHALL, *o.c.* (n. 68), pp. 71-72. Similar situations are found with the Qumran Community at least, but also with the Fathers, where ἀντίχριστος is regularly used as a knock-down argument, and actually throughout the course of Church history (see e.g. C. HILL, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, London 1971, pp. 3, 178).

⁹¹ STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 214.

⁹² E.g. SMALLEY, *o.c.* (n. 72), p. 100.

⁹³ Also for this passage (as for I Jn. 2.18-23, see above) a parallel with Deuteronomy has been established: Deut. 18.9-22 (SÁNCHEZ MIELGO, *o.c.* (n. 88), pp. 33-34).

they must be human, as it is unlikely that they are demons or spiritual beings integrated into the Johannine community. The words *πᾶν πνεῦμα* do not necessarily indicate they are spiritual beings, since a human being also has a spirit.

Another discussion point is the meaning of *καὶ νῦν*. Does it indicate a contrast between what they have heard in the past and that which is happening in the present⁹⁴? A comparison with I Jn. 2.18 rather indicates a harmony between what they had heard and that which was happening⁹⁵.

Also in II Jn. 7 there is an alternation of singular and plural (*πολλοὶ πλάνοι ... ὁμολογοῦντες - οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος*). Although apparently one single definition of the Antichrist is given here, there are also some grammatical problems, which concern the demarcation of the object of *ὁμολογοῦντες*⁹⁶ and the predicative attribute that goes with it. Possibly there is not even a predicative attribute, in which case the whole phrase *Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί* is the object⁹⁷.

The most obvious thing to think of is a historical context in which the writer condemns the Docetists⁹⁸, as they claimed that Jesus did not really come in the flesh and therefore only appeared to have a human body. According to some, the use of the present participle *ἐρχόμενον*⁹⁹ speaks against a Docetist context, but attributing a present or future time value to this participle leads to unlikely conclusions¹⁰⁰. The participle here is only of aspectual value¹⁰¹.

⁹⁴ E.g. SCHNACKENBURG, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 199.

⁹⁵ BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 337, speaks of a specific case of the general point.

⁹⁶ The present tense reflects the durative aspect: they did not just have a wrong creed once, but persisted in it.

⁹⁷ A variant of this is found in I John 4.2: *πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ...*

⁹⁸ E.g. BRUCE, *o.c.* (n. 49), p. 182; STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 124 (on I John); DE JONGE, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 121-124; SMALLEY, *o.c.* (n. 72), pp. 101, 111-114 (in other parts of his letter John may be speaking against other heresies). Against: VOUGA, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 63, 83; STRECKER, *o.c.*, p. 334 (on II John).

⁹⁹ STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 334.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. with STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 334-336. See KLAUCK, *o.c.* (n. 69), pp. 53-56.

¹⁰¹ Another explanation is found with BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 670; he speaks of "a stereotyped formula".

In any case, the deceptive and truth-opposed character of the Antichrist is stressed again.

Revelation¹⁰²

With regard to the Antichrist theme, two groups of texts turn out to have been important for the Fathers: the whole of chapter 13 and the combination of 19.19-20 and 20.10.

The different interpretations of the book of Revelation can be divided into four schools: the preterist (contemporary-historical), the historicist, the futurist and the idealist (timeless symbolic) school¹⁰³. For a right and complete interpretation, a combination of these approaches urges itself upon us¹⁰⁴.

First, the *Naherwartung* (the expectation that the fulfilment of a prophecy will take place in the near future) is important both to the Old Testament prophets and to John. In this context, the message of the book of Revelation for the Church of the end of the first Century is victory over persecution linked mainly with emperor worship. The preterist aspect of the interpretation plays an important role in this.

However, John certainly thought of the end times as well. This eschatological prophecy is filled in with historical events¹⁰⁵. The message in this context is not yet clear to us. An extremely detailed prediction is impossible, but things will become clear once the event takes place. This is the futurist aspect of the interpretation.

¹⁰² As with the other New Testament passages we discussed, I do not intend to delve deep into the backgrounds. For the sake of convenience, I will call the author of Revelation "John" without wondering whether he can be identified with the author of the Epistles of John. The Fathers would date the book of Revelation in the time of Domitian (fl. 81-96) (G.K. BEALE, *The Book of Revelation. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (New International Greek Text Commentary), Grand Rapids – Carlisle 1999, p. 19). For the authorship, see also BAUM, *o.c.* (n. 68), pp. 317, 331, 340.

¹⁰³ See MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 39-45; see also J. REILING, *De Openbaring van Johannes*, in: A.S. VAN DER WOUDE (Ed.), *Bijbels Handboek III. Het Nieuwe Testament*, Kampen 1987, pp. 501-517 (pp. 512-516); D. GUTHRIE, *New Testament Introduction*, London 1970³, pp. 974-976.

¹⁰⁴ Against: H. KRAFT, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament), Tübingen 1974, p. 220.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. P. PRIGENT, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament), Genève 1988², p. 201; G.E. LADD, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, Grand Rapids 1972, pp. 12-13.

Certain elements and mechanisms are timeless and therefore repeatable; they have been repeated effectively throughout the course of history¹⁰⁶. We will not go into the idealist aspect of the interpretation.

The historicist interpretation, which attempts to see the whole course of history from the first century AD displayed in the book of Revelation, seems too risky, if only because we will then have to assume a strict chronological order. Although it seems obvious to suspect that John would at least stick to some chronological order, a lot can be said for the recapitulation theory i.e. that the same point is consecutively brought forward from different perspectives.

So John speaks on behalf of God about past, present and future¹⁰⁷, although not all aspects appear in each chapter. The epistles to the seven churches should mainly be interpreted in a preteristic and idealistic fashion. The other passages can be interpreted mainly in a preteristic and futuristic fashion. The latter combination will therefore have to be applied in the passages studied here.

In Rev. 13.1-10 we find the most exhaustive description of the Beast, or rather Beasts, because we find two different descriptions here. The first Beast rises from of the sea. The word θάλασσα points at the Beast's evil character, as the sea (which in this context is to be considered as synonymous with the ἄβυσσος) is a reservoir of evil and chaos, where anti-godly powers are gathering; when the beast rises from this place, it is clear that he is on Satan's side¹⁰⁸. The description has borrowed heavily from the four beasts in Dan. 7, which represent political entities, but the religious aspect of blasphemy is present too (vv. 1-2a). The Dragon (Satan¹⁰⁹) equips the Beast with extensive power and authority¹¹⁰. So, the Beast has a spe-

¹⁰⁶ Cf. R.H. CHARLES, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (International Critical Commentary), Edinburgh 1920, p. II 86; BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the task of the prophet, προφήτης, with whom φάναι πρὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ is not limited to the future either.

¹⁰⁸ PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 168, 200; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 249-250; BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), p. 684.

¹⁰⁹ Rev. 20.2.

¹¹⁰ About the authority which Satan still holds: see R. YATES, *The Antichrist*, in *Evangelical Quarterly* 46 (1974), pp. 42-50 (p. 47). KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), pp. 175, 177, sees too much of a distinction between this verse and the other Biblical data. Cf. MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 254; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 163. LIETAERT

cial relationship with Satan, but, of course, without identification (v. 2b). One of the seven heads of the Beast is mortally wounded¹¹¹, but it is healed. Because of this, people worship the Beast as a divine being¹¹² (vv. 3-4). God allows the Beast to speak and act blasphemously for a limited time¹¹³. God's being¹¹⁴, his presence on earth¹¹⁵, and his believers and angels¹¹⁶ are slandered, which contributes to the Beast's deceiving¹¹⁷. The Beast terribly persecutes the believers¹¹⁸ and has power over the whole earth. All people worship the Beast¹¹⁹, except those who live because of the death of the Lamb, Jesus Christ¹²⁰. His sacrificial death was determined from the creation of the world¹²¹ (vv. 5-8). It is important that we understand this (vv. 9-10)¹²².

PEERBOLTE, *o.c.* (n. 81), pp. 166-168, 215-216, actually argues that Satan did this because he was thrown out of heaven himself (12.9,13; cf. Lk. 10.18): the actions of the Beast show that Christ has conquered.

¹¹¹ BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), pp. 687-688 supposes: by God.

¹¹² Cf. Ex. 15.11; Ps. 35.10; Ps. 113.5; Isa. 44.7. Cf. PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 204; KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 176.

¹¹³ God limits the time that this evil is tolerated: PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 204; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 221, 254 (where Mounce also states that ἡνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ indicates speaking for a (relatively) long time); BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), p. 695.

¹¹⁴ MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 255; cf. BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), p. 696: "blasphemy" enhances the idea of deception, since blasphemy involves slandering or defaming the name of the true God".

¹¹⁵ The word σκηνή does not indicate a temporary dwelling, but has been chosen for its similarity in sound with ΠΝΕΥ (PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 205).

¹¹⁶ PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 205.

¹¹⁷ BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), p. 696.

¹¹⁸ LADD, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 180; C. BRÜTSCH, *Clarté de l'Apocalypse*, Genève 1966, p. 225.

¹¹⁹ According to PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 205-206, and KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 177: the Dragon (because of αὐτόν, masculine); however cf. v. 14, where the masculine rel. pron. is used with θηρίον as antecedent.

¹²⁰ This equation appears from Rev. 5. Josephine Massyngberde FORD, *Revelation* (Anchor Bible), Garden City 1975, p. 223, points out that there is a similarity between the Lamb and the Son of Man in Dan. 7.

¹²¹ On first thoughts ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου seems to go with τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου and not with γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα. There is no reason not to go by this first impression (cf. Acts 2.23; I Pet. 1.20), although John definitely does not deny the other combination (see 17.8). See also PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 206; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 168; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 256; BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), pp. 702-703.

¹²² A discussion of the text and meaning of v. 10 can be omitted, as this verse has little to do with the core of our subject. See e.g. PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 207.

Viewed from a contemporary-historical interpretation¹²³ this must be referring to the asiarchs that travelled the sea from Rome once a year and landed at Ephesus. They represent the Roman Empire¹²⁴. A number of elements belong to the standard description in Daniel and cannot be interpreted historically¹²⁵, but the seven heads point at the seven important emperors the Roman Empire had known until the time of edition, or were expected soon by the writer¹²⁶. According to this interpretation, the mortally wounded head indicates Nero, who had died, but who was expected to revive as *Nero redivivus*¹²⁷. However, one may remark that it

¹²³ However, cf. J. ERNST, *Die eschatologischen Gegenspieler in den Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Biblische Untersuchungen 3), Regensburg 1967, p. 140: "Alle zeitgeschichtlichen Deutungen ... sind reine Rateversuche."

¹²⁴ The Hebrew יָם not only means "sea", but also "West". KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 175; FORD, *o.c.* (n. 120), p. 218; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 162.

¹²⁵ KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 177.

¹²⁶ But which emperors are discussed here? And before that: whom should we consider to be the first emperor? According to E. LIPÍŃSKI, *L'Apocalypse et le martyre de Jean à Jérusalem*, in *Novum Testamentum* 11 (1969), pp. 225-232 (pp. 226-227), the Jews regarded Julius Caesar as the first emperor. Formally, Augustus is the first emperor. Christian authors want to start counting after Christ's death; in that case Caligula (37-41) is the first emperor (PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 254-255). We can omit from our count those emperors who had not been declared to be divine by the Senate (CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), pp. 163, 218; Caird is against this solution, as it means that Caligula and Nero cannot be eliminated by John), or the emperors of the year of four Caesars (68-69): Galba, Otho and Vitellius (according to FORD, *o.c.* (n. 120), p. 290; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 314-315, is against this solution because Jewish authors do include these three emperors in their count). Of course the whole issue is dismissed if we assume, with YATES, *o.c.* (n. 110), p. 47; MOUNCE, *o.c.*, p. 250 (somewhat different on pp. 315-316); and CAIRD, *o.c.*, p. 218, that the seven heads form the *symbol* of a full global rule, enmity or series of emperors (respectively). Pagan authors also classify Caligula and Nero as enemies of God (SPEYER, *Gottesfeind*, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XI, Stuttgart 1981, coll. 996-1043 (col. 1017)).

¹²⁷ See e.g. MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 252-253; B. RIGAUX, *L'Antéchrist et l'Opposition au Royaume Messianique dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament* (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologiae consequendum conscriptae 2.24), Gembloux – Paris 1932, pp. 350-352. This theory is debatable: it is not very probable that John would base himself on a pagan myth (although RIGAUX, *o.c.*, p. 353, rightly remarks that the fact that he *used* the legend does not imply he *believed* it); the alternation between "head" and "Beast" pleads against; the Fathers do not mention it – except Victorinus of Pettau (W. BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der*

is not the *head*, but the *Beast* that is healed. This problem can be solved by stating that Nero's death heralds a period of civil war, which could have been the end of the Roman Empire¹²⁸. In that case, the wound in his head (an emperor) can be equated to a wound to the Beast (the Roman Empire) as is done further on in this chapter¹²⁹. Asia was happy with the Pax Romana and was therefore easily inclined to deify and worship the emperor¹³⁰.

The second Beast described in this chapter (vv. 11-18) rises from the earth. It looks like the Lamb, Christ, but actually represents the Dragon, Satan, and speaks like him (so again: special relationship, but no identity). It is completely oriented to the first Beast (vv. 11-12)¹³¹. It tempts people by signs and wonders¹³², and persuades them to erect a statue for¹³³ the first Beast. God allows

Apocalypse, Göttingen 1895, p. 52), but it is hazardous to draw systematic conclusions from Victorinus' work (cf. below); neither do they mention that John has been proved wrong. On the other hand we have to admit that Nero was particularly evil and that a special role may be reserved for him; in that case the Beast has appeared in the past as (among others) Nero, is not there now, but will come back as an eschatological Antichrist. This is actually how CHARLES, *o.c.* (n. 106), p. II 83, sees it: "As soon, however, as the hope of the return of the living Nero could no longer be entertained, the way was prepared for this transformation of the myth. The living Nero was no longer expected, but Nero restored to life from the abyss". This means then, that there is a "*Fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of Nero redivivus*". To conclude we may say that the *Nero redivivus* theory seems appealing, but cannot solve the whole problem. On the other hand an interpretation without this theory will miss some historical colouring. Therefore the most sensible thing to do is to keep the theory as a background element, and to assume that John was thinking of the coming of the Antichrist whose image somewhat resembles Nero, but that John did not expect the personal return of Nero.

¹²⁸ PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 203; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 253, 259; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 164.

¹²⁹ V. 12.

¹³⁰ PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 202; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 166.

¹³¹ Some want to see an anti-trinity in this, but it would be strange if this was one of the clearest texts on a divine Trinity (YATES, *o.c.* (n. 110), p. 46; for other objections see PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 208 n. 23).

¹³² Making fire come down from heaven is a divine privilege. According to KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 180, it was worded in this way because God was originally a god of thunder. If this is true, was it still known at the time of edition of Revelation?

¹³³ Not "of" in this verse (as FORD, *o.c.* (n. 120), p. 214, rightly remarks; against PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 199).

the second Beast to animate the statue¹³⁴. Whoever does not worship the statue is killed¹³⁵. These aspects point to a religious activity (vv. 13-15). All¹³⁶ are being marked on their right hand¹³⁷ and forehead and whoever does not carry the mark is boycotted; this points to a political activity of the Beast. The number of the Beast is the number of a man. From this may be inferred that it indicates a human being¹³⁸. Calculating the number of the Beast signifies wisdom: ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ. In figures it is written χξς', 666¹³⁹. I believe I may also put forward the following hypothesis:

¹³⁴ The animation of images also occurred during the first century: PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 211-212; KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 181; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 261.

¹³⁵ This much is clear, although the structure of v. 15 is unclear. See also MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 261.

¹³⁶ This is what the meristic pairs amount to.

¹³⁷ E.A. JUDGE, *The Mark of the Beast, Revelation 13:16*, in *Tyndale Bulletin* 42 (1991), pp. 158-160 (p. 158), suspects that this indicates the wrists, but as a rule, stamps are placed on the back of the hand. Therefore the comparison with the *tefillin* is unjustified.

¹³⁸ Differently: BEALE, *o.c.* (n. 102), pp. 723-724.

¹³⁹ The attempts to decipher this ultra-short code can be divided into three categories: Gnostic, Gematric and Symbolic.

Gnostic 666 is the triangular number – $n(n+1)/2$ – of 36, and 36 is the triangular number of 8. This points to the ogdoad, the Wisdom in the gnosis (the Π of $\Pi\omega\omega\pi$ has the numerical value of 8), as is confirmed by the first words of the verse (*Ὡδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν). Objections: the chances of a Gnostic element in John are slim (cf. E.M. YAMAUCHI, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism. A Survey of the Proposed Evidences*, Grand Rapids 1983²), and the ogdoad has a positive connotation, which is not the case for the number 666. (See also PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 214; FORD, *o.c.* (n. 120), p. 216; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 176; A.J. VISSER, *De Openbaring van Johannes* (Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament), Nijkerk 1965, p. 141.)

Gemetric (derived from the word גמטריא; according to M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary from the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, New York – Berlin – London 1926, s.v., from the Greek γραμματεῖον, according to G.H. DALMAN, *Aramäisches-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrash*, Frankfurt am Main 1922², s.v., and F. DORNSEIFF, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ 7), p. 91 n. 1, from γεωμετρία, which seems more probable) This method makes use of the numerical value of letters, as exists in the Greek (the Greek term is ἰσοψηφία) and Hebrew alphabets, and is used mainly in contemporary-historical exegesis (see therefore further in this paragraph). For gematria in general see DORNSEIFF, *o.c.*, pp. 91-118.

Symbolic The number 6 indicates imperfection; so 666 is "perfect" imperfection; the numerical value 888 for Ἰησοῦς in Sib.Or. 1.324-331 is quoted,

The second Beast represents the Serpent¹⁴⁰, rendered by the letter ξ, which reminds of the snake because of its shape¹⁴¹ and its sound, in a figure that reminds of Christ, rendered by the letters ΧC, the contraction of the *nomen sacrum* Χριστός¹⁴². The number χξς'

which is said to indicate divine perfection. See also PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 216-217.

¹⁴⁰ Also to BOUSSET, *o.c.* (n. 127), pp. 132-134, the serpent is the sign of the Antichrist. On one hand he elaborates this thought too little in relation to this passage, on the other hand he makes the transfer from this sign to the Dragon myth too readily.

¹⁴¹ Also in uncials: see § 47 (K. ALAND & Barbara ALAND, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments. Einführung in die wissenschaftlichen Aufgaben sowie in Theorie und Praxis der modernen Textkritik*, Stuttgart 1982, p. 100)!

¹⁴² One could object that the C of 6 is from a different origin from the C of Χριστός – the sixth letter in the Phoenician alphabet, the waw, had no function in standard-Greek and was only preserved as a number; the form was F (hence the name “digamma”), but also I (just the top of the F) and even C (W. LARFELD, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik II. Die attischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1902, p. 347; V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1913, p. 367); during the period between 50 and 120 AD the sigma could also take the forms I and C (LARFELD, *o.c.*, p. 489). The end-sigma (ς) only appeared later (1273 AD, according to DORNSEIFF, *o.c.* (n. 139), p. 106; this was an attempt to introduce an aesthetically responsible way of separating words) and *this* sign is used for the number. The C (6) and the C (sigma) definitely look very much alike: see specifically § 47 (ALAND & ALAND, *o.c.* (n. 141), p. 100). Admittedly this third century papyrus is not the autograph, but what is possible here must also have been possible before. Actually, there is a strong tradition (Majority Text; cf. IRENAEUS, *Adversus haereses* V.30.1) that this number is expressed in *digits*, although ϡ and A give the number in *letters*.

The contractions used for the holy names are not late, but originated under Jewish influence (DORNSEIFF, *o.c.*, pp. 145-146).

The idea of this explanation can be found with E.W. BULLINGER, *The Apocalypse or “The Day of the Lord”*, London 1909², p. 441 (“The first and last of these three letters are the abbreviation of the word ‘Christ’, being the first and last letters of the word *Christos*. So that, when we have the ξ, like a crooked serpent, put between them, we see a fitting symbol of Satan’s Messiah – the Anti-Christ.”) He does not work this out, however, and is even misinformed about the origin and name of the ϡ.

This explanation closely resembles that of F.W. FARRAR, *The Early Days of Christianity II*, London – Paris – New York 1882, p. 295, who states that the χ indicates Christ, the ξ the serpent, and the ϡ the cross (σταυρός). Farrar wrongly bases his theory on the name “sti” or “stigma” for the ϡ; this name only appeared during the time of the minuscules, when a ligature of the σ and the τ had occurred; on the basis of this late ligature people also started to call the digit by this name (GARDTHAUSEN, *o.c.*, p. 367). Actually, FARRAR, *o.c.*, p. 296, combines the above-mentioned theory with the theory “666 = קסר נרן”.

therefore points at the Antichrist, Christ's opponent, who bears the authority of Satan, the old Serpent (20.2). This interpretation certainly does not deny that the number 666 can also be the symbol of "complete" human imperfection (vv. 16-18).

Viewed from a contemporary-historical interpretation the prophecy is about the body of priests in the country of Asia itself, which encouraged emperor worship. The animation of idols by means of tricks or possibly magic powers was not uncommon¹⁴³. Others think that ἡ γῆ is Ἰσραὴλ and think of someone who was a "home product": a Jew who cooperated with Rome, e.g. Flavius Josephus¹⁴⁴. Although criminals and followers of certain religions were branded¹⁴⁵, χάραγμα is probably to be interpreted as coinage. The coins carried the image of the emperor and it is impossible to buy or sell without the use of coins¹⁴⁶. The number points at Nero, whose return is expected, because the numerical value of קס"ו נרון is six hundred and sixty six¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴³ PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 208-212; CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 171; KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 181.

¹⁴⁴ FORD, *o.c.* (n. 120), pp. 213, 223-224, 227-230. PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 208 n. 22, also mentions this possibility.

¹⁴⁵ See J. YSEBAERT, *Greek Baptismal Terminology. Its Origins and Early Development* (Graecitas christianorum primaeva 1), Nijmegen 1962, pp. 199-204. For dedication to a specific god, see HERODOTUS, *Historiae* II 113 (text according to J.J.E. HONDIUS – J.A. SCHUURSMA, *Herodorus. Historiën*, Groningen – Djakarta 1956): Ἦν δὲ ... Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ... ἐπιβάλλεται στίγματα ἱρά, ἐαυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτου ἄψασθαι. ("There was a temple of Hercules, and if a slave has fled there, administering the holy 'stigmata' to himself and dedicating himself to the god, then it is forbidden to touch him."). One could wonder whether the loyalty was genuine here. Also in III Macc. 2.29 (text according to R. HANHART, *Maccabaeorum libri I-IV. Fasc. III. Maccabaeorum liber III* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum 9), Göttingen 1960): τοὺς τε ἀπογεγραμμένους χαράσσεσθαι ... παρασήμερον Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ ("... that the registered ones would be branded ... with the ivy leaf, the mark of Dionysus") one may wonder whether it happened voluntarily, but we must conclude that it did under normal circumstances; cf. M. HADAS, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, New York 1953, pp. 17-18 and ad loc.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. CAIRD, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 173. For a very hypothetical reconstruction, see JUDGE, *o.c.* (n. 137), pp. 159-160. According to PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 213, this is *not* about an existing situation.

¹⁴⁷ Objections to this interpretations have been made. This solution was not mentioned by the Fathers. It is improbable that John, who always works entirely from the Greek (1.8; 21.6: Ἐγὼ εἶμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ; see also 9.11 and 16.16,

In the last chapters of Revelation we read that the Beast and the kings of the earth and their armies will fight against Christ¹⁴⁸ and his army. Several data about the Beast and the False Prophet¹⁴⁹ clearly point to chapter 13. Eventually both are captured without any struggle¹⁵⁰, and punished by being thrown into the pool of fire which¹⁵¹ burns with sulphur¹⁵². They meet their end in the same way as Satan, but the Beast is not Satan. All this indicates that with this passage we have arrived at the end of time (but possibly before the Millennium) (19.19-20; 20.10).

The contemporary-historical exegesis does not find any clues for the data found only here.

where no knowledge of Hebrew is assumed) would suddenly make use of Hebrew here. (However, see G. BOHAK, *Greek-Hebrew Gematrias in 3 Baruch and in Revelation*, in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 7 (1990), pp. 119-121; FARRAR, *o.c.* (n. 142), p. 296 n. 1.) Furthermore, this Hebrew text was written defectively (קסר instead of קיסר). This last objection is no longer so stringent since the discovery of an Aramaic document from Murabba'at (Mur 18.1): it contains the same defective writing ([שנת חרתינ לנרון קסר]) ("in the second year of emperor Nero"), although honesty compels us to say that the ׀ is only legible with some difficulty and the ך is barely legible. An advantage of this interpretation is that it explains the reading variant 616 (χις') which can hardly be a writing error: it is the letter value of קסר נרו, the transcription of the Latin form "Nero" instead of the Greek form Νέρων. IRENAEUS, *Adversus haereses* V.30.1, however witnesses that it definitely concerns the number 666 in Greek script. See also: R.H. CHARLES, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London 1900, p. lxvi n. 1; ID., *Studies in the Apocalypse*, Edinburgh 1913, pp. 47-48; VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *o.c.* (n. 49), pp. 109-110; RIGAU, *o.c.* (n. 127), pp. 356-358; PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 214-216; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), pp. 264-265. Of course, the contemporary-historical interpretation has also put forward other candidates, but the discussion in the text is limited to the one mentioned most often: Nero. The interpretation Καὶσαρ θεός (A. DEISSMANN, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, Tübingen 1909²⁻³, p. 208 n. 3), of which the numerical value is 616, has the advantage of being more prudent, because no individual emperor is mentioned, but it has the disadvantage of being based on an inferior reading.

¹⁴⁸ MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 349.

¹⁴⁹ Can be equalled to the second Beast; see above.

¹⁵⁰ PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), pp. 297, 299; LADD, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 257; MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 349. Cf. II Thess. 2.8 (see above).

¹⁵¹ The gender matches the pool, the case matches the fire.

¹⁵² Θείον, "sulphur", is found in free form in the Dead Sea area. When in contact with oxygen it burns up, producing a very high temperature and smelling terribly (MOUNCE, *o.c.* (n. 42), p. 350).

Conclusion

In Dan. 11 we meet already many elements of what was later to be known as the Antichrist. The same is true for II Thess. 2.1-12, although there the *word* "Antichrist" is not used either (but: "man of lawlessness").

On the other hand, we have to consider Jesus' Eschatological Discourse mainly as background to the theme.

Our research into the Epistles of John has led to very little. Although in the Bible only these texts mention the word Ἀντίχριστος, it is yet very unclear what this term actually means. It has emerged, however, that John pays more attention to the fore-runners of the Antichrist, but that he assumes that an eschatological Antichrist is still to be expected.

The exegesis of Revelation has to take different models of explanation into consideration. We need to take into account not only the time in which John wrote, but also the end times he was looking forward to. Besides, we should realise that the different pictures that are presented not always follow each other at the same chronological distance. In the same way as with a slide presentation, a second picture of the same situation may be shown¹⁵³. This leads us to conclude that in the two beasts of chapter 13 two aspects of the same Antichrist are being put forward. We also have to conclude that the False Prophet represents this second, particularly religious aspect of the Antichrist¹⁵⁴. It makes sense, therefore, that the False Prophet is mentioned together with the Beast in several places and

¹⁵³ Of course, some chronological indications do appear and roughly speaking a succession of paragraphs does exist.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. PRIGENT, *o.c.* (n. 105), p. 199 ("elle ne semble guère se distinguer de la précédente") and p. 298 ("la bête et son alter ego le faux prophète"). However, an explanation must be found as to how the two beasts come from two different places. In the futuristic interpretation "sea" and "land" do not necessarily indicate geographical entities. A non-geographical explanation for "sea" has already been given. For "land" one could keep in mind that the Antichrist makes use of native elements for his religious politics.

Interestingly, KRAFT, *o.c.* (n. 104), p. 180, states that the second Beast resembles the Lamb, because it can be equalled to the False Prophet and because the Lamb is also a prophetic figure; he does not underpin his argument with a strong intrinsic basis. Cf. STRECKER, *o.c.* (n. 69), p. 343.

that they disappear from the scene together (16.13; 19.20; 20.10)¹⁵⁵.

This means that different figures are being pointed out to which we must pay attention in our study of the Antichrist theme: archdeceiver, tyrant, false god and man of lawlessness, beast, false prophet. However, the Antichrist has to be differentiated from Satan c.q. Belial.

After the investigation of these texts of the Old Testament and the New Testament, we may conclude that many elements of the Antichrist theme are already present, religious elements as well as political and military elements. Nevertheless, the image is not quite systematic yet. Now I want to explore how the Fathers have built on these data. On the one hand, this research will be limited to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers¹⁵⁶ and the Church Fathers¹⁵⁷, because we wish to find out what was said about the Antichrist in the mainstream of the Church during the early Christian period and how it was developed¹⁵⁸. On the other hand, this research will be limited to those texts that shed light on the very *nature* of the Antichrist. This should allow us to determine if the Fathers have constructed a systematic image (and if so, which one) in basing themselves on the biblical data (or, on the contrary, that they have deviated from these).

¹⁵⁵ Bousset proves not to have been wrong when in his 1906 commentary he stated that the two different figures of the first and the second Beast form two facets of one human God-opposer. However, his conclusion that there is a *triple* Antichrist, constituting the two Beasts and the Dragon, is wrong (W. BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament), Göttingen 1906⁶, pp. 377-378 (see also p. 328); ID., *o.c.* (n. 127), pp. 123-124).

¹⁵⁶ There is no fixed list of "Apostolic Fathers". I consider the following writings to belong to this group: I Clement, II Clement, Epistle of Barnabas, Epistle of Ignatius, Epistle of Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Shepherd of Hermas, Didache, Papias. (See K. BIHLMAYER, *Die apostolischen Väter*, Tübingen 1956², pp. VII-IX; J.B. LIGHTFOOT – J.R. HARMER, *The Apostolic Fathers*, London 1891, pp. [vii-viii]).

¹⁵⁷ See J. QUASTEN, *Patrology I. The Beginnings of Patristic Literature*, Utrecht – Brussel 1950, pp. 9-10, for the term "Church Father". There is no fixed list for this category either.

¹⁵⁸ For this reason we will not discuss the New Testament Apocrypha, Gnostic writings, etc.

III. THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the word Antichrist appears only in the *Epistle of Polycarp*. Much more was written about the Antichrist by the Church Fathers.

Polycarp

Polycarp (69-155)¹⁵⁹ was the only Apostolic Father who used the term ἀντίχριστος¹⁶⁰. He did so in a summary of I Jn. 4.3 and II Jn. 7, in the context of a reaction against docetism and gnosticism¹⁶¹: Πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν. (For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is an antichrist.) He does not move on by giving a definition of the Antichrist, but he does say, a bit further on: οὗτος πρωτότοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ σατανᾶ (he is the firstborn of Satan).

We may conclude from this that Polycarp viewed the Antichrist as a different person from Satan (πρωτότοκος ... τοῦ σατανᾶ). However, it is unclear whether Polycarp thought of a collective term (Πᾶς ... ὃς) or of a possibly eschatological individual (since there can only be one πρωτότοκος).

Irenaeus of Lyons

Irenaeus Lugdunensis (140 - after 190) speaks about the Antichrist in the fifth book of *Adversus haereses*, his main work, which has been preserved only partly in Greek, but fully in its Latin

¹⁵⁹ The "86 years" have to be applied to the whole of his life (J.B. BAUER, *Die Polykarpbriefe* (Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern 5), Göttingen 1995, p. 11). For the problem of the year of his death, see BIHLMEYER, *o.c.* (n. 156), p. XLII; W.R. SCHOEDEL, *Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch*, in: W. HAASE (Ed.), *Religion (Vorkonstantinisches Christentum: Apostolische Väter und Apologeten)* (ANRW II 27.1), Berlin - New York 1993, pp. 272-349 (pp. 354-355); B. DEHANDSCHUTTER, *The Martyrium Polycarpi: a Century of Research*, in: W. HAASE (Ed.), *o.c.*, pp. 485-522 (pp. 497-501).

¹⁶⁰ H. KRAFT, *Clavis patrum apostolicorum*, München 1963, p. 45.

¹⁶¹ Ep. Polyc. 7.1 (text according to BIHLMEYER, *o.c.* (n. 156)). Cf. BAUER, *o.c.* (n. 159), pp. 57-59.

translation¹⁶². He writes¹⁶³: “Ille [Antichristus] enim omnem suscipiens diaboli virtutem veniet ... [quasi rex] impius et injustus et sine lege, quasi apostata et iniquus et homicida, quasi latro, diabolicam apostasiam in se recapitulans, et idola quidem deponens ad suadendum quod ipse sit Deus, ...” (For that [Antichrist] will come, taking upon himself all the power of the devil, ... [as an] impious, unjust and lawless [king], as an apostate, an iniquitous and murderous man, as a robber, epitomizing satanic apostasy, even casting aside the idols to convince (men) that he himself is God.) After this he refers to II Thess. 2.3b-4.

Clearly a close link exists between the Antichrist and Satan. From “suscipiens” we must, however, conclude that the two are not identical¹⁶⁴. The reference to II Thess. 2.3b (“homo peccati”) proves his humanity. According to Irenaeus, the most important characteristics of the Antichrist are lawlessness, apostasy, the desire to be worshipped as god, and the lack of respect for human lives. From these characteristics, and definitely from the word “rex”, one may conclude that Irenaeus viewed the Antichrist in the first place as a political celebrity, not as a religious personage.

Tertullian

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (before 160 – after 220) wrote about the Antichrist in *De praescriptione haereticorum*, which dates from 203¹⁶⁵. He seems to assume a large amount of

¹⁶² B. ALTANER – A. STUIBER, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1978⁸, pp. 110-117, 570-572.

¹⁶³ *Adversus haereses* V.25.1 (text according to A. ROUSSEAU – L. DOUTRELEAU – C. MERCIER, *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies V* (Sources Chrétiennes 153), Paris 1969). The words between square brackets can be completed from the surrounding text without any problem.

¹⁶⁴ From “recapitulans” it could be concluded that even Satan himself will throw all his bad qualities into the fray. The word clearly has a christological connotation (see Eph. 1.10 and F. SBAFFONI, *Testi sull'Anticristo. Secoli I-II* (Biblioteca Patristica 20), Firenze 1992, pp. 166-167).

¹⁶⁵ Eva SCHULZ-FLÜGEL, *Tertullian*, in: S. DÖPP – W. GEERLINGS (Edd.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1999², pp. 582-587 (pp. 582-583); T.D. BARNES, *Tertullian. A Historical and Literary Study*, Oxford 1985², p. 55 (who, however, supposes a much shorter life: 170-213 (pp. 55-59)). Not everyone would allow Tertullian the title “Church Father”, because of his Montanism. For an apology, see D. RANKIN, *Tertullian and the Church*, Cambridge 1995, p. 207 (“Christian Father of North Africa”) and passim.

antichrists, as he writes¹⁶⁶: “Qui antichristi, interim et semper, nisi Christi rebelles?” (Who are antichrists, time and again, except the rebels against Christ?) From the next paragraph, immediately following this, it appears however, that these are only an “advance”¹⁶⁷: “Hoc erunt haereses, non minus nouarum doctrinarum peruersitate ecclesiam lacescentes, quam tunc antichristus persecutionum atrocitate persequetur.” (These will be the heresies, which will not threaten the church any less through the wrongness of new teachings than when the Antichrist will persecute her with atrocious persecutions.) Thus, he assumes only one eschatological Antichrist. Apart from this relationship between “many antichrists” and “one Antichrist” we find very few elements in the writings of Tertullian¹⁶⁸.

Hippolytus of Rome

Around 200, Hippolytus (before 170 - 235) wrote a work which dealt specifically with the Antichrist (with many digressions): Ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, or in Latin: *De Antichristo*. A few years later he wrote the first (extant) commentary in church history, a commentary on Daniel¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁶ *De praescriptione haereticorum* IV 4 (text according to R.F. REFOULÉ – P. DE LABRIOLLE, *Tertullien. Traité de la prescription contre les hérétiques* (Sources Chrétiennes 46), Paris 1957). Cf. *Adversus Praxean* 31 (text according to I. SCARPAT, *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Adversus Praxean* (Corona Patrum 12), Augustae Taurinorum 1985): “antichristi qui negant Patrem et Filium”.

¹⁶⁷ *De praescriptione haereticorum* IV 5. Cf. *Adversus Marcionem* V 16.4: “praecursores antichristi spiritus” (with reference to I John 4.1-3).

¹⁶⁸ For Tertullian’s polemical use of “Antichrist” against heretics, see Ilona OPELT, *Die Polemik in der christlichen lateinischen Literatur von Tertullian bis Augustin* (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft NS 2.63), Heidelberg 1980, pp. 31, 50, 63.

¹⁶⁹ ALTANER – STUIBER, *o.c.* (n. 162), pp. 164-167; H. ACHELIS, *Hippolyt’s kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2), Leipzig 1897, p. [III]. For the time being, we will consider him as one single person (cf. M. GEERARD – J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Turnhout 1998, p. 43: “Repetere licet: adhuc sub iudice lis est.”; pace A. BRENT, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century. Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop* (Sup. to Vigiliae Christianae 31), Leiden 1995).

Hippolytus expects one single eschatological Antichrist, since he asks¹⁷⁰: τίς ... ἡ τοῦ ἀντίχριστου παρουσία; (How (will) the coming of the Antichrist (be)?) He is definitely to be human¹⁷¹: ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ἐλεύσεται (He will come in the form of a man.) And more specifically: ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δάν φυλῆς ὁ ἀντίχριστος γεννηθήσεται (From the tribe of Dan the Antichrist will spring)¹⁷². Yet there is a special relationship with Satan, because Hippolytus calls him¹⁷³ υἱὸς τοῦ διαβόλου (son of the devil) and υἱὸς ὧν τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ σκευὸς τοῦ σατανᾶ (He is a son of the devil and an instrument of Satan.) To Bousset, the aforementioned passages are proof that Hippolytus saw a closer relationship between the Antichrist and Satan than the other Church Fathers did. He says that Hippolytus viewed the Antichrist not as identical to Satan, but as “der inkorporierte Satan”¹⁷⁴. Apparently there are three possibilities: an “eigentliche Identifikation”, “der inkorporierte Satan” and the situation “eines von satanischer Energie erfüllten Menschen”¹⁷⁵. Perhaps Bousset is going too far here: the passages quoted do not indicate semi-identification. Even the description “son of ...” does not necessarily indicate a sameness of essence. We refer to the term “Son of David”, which does not indicate that the Son is of the same essence as the man David.

According to Hippolytus, the Antichrist's actions will be mainly of a political nature¹⁷⁶: he will be διὰ τὸ τυραννικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ βίαιον ... βασιλεὺς ἐπίγειος (in his tyrannical and violent way ... an earthly king) and a τύραννος, βασιλεὺς, κριτὴς δεινός (a tyrant,

¹⁷⁰ *De Antichristo* V (text according to ACHELIS, *o.c.* (n. 169)).

¹⁷¹ *De Antichristo* VI, XIV.

¹⁷² One could think that Hippolytus mentions this element because he does not want to link the Antichrist's actions to the Roman Empire (cf. G.C. JENKS, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 59), Berlin – New York 1991, p. 107), but he is mainly concerned with delaying the negative role of the Roman Empire until the End Times, which will come much later: see D.G. DUNBAR, *The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983), pp. 313-327 (pp. 315-316, 318, 320-321). According to HILL, *o.c.* (n. 72), pp. 106, 111-113, the *Christian* linking of the *Antichrist* with the tribe of Dan is based on *Jewish* traditions about the *Messiah* coming from that tribe.

¹⁷³ *De Antichristo* XV, LVII.

¹⁷⁴ BOUSSET, *o.c.* (n. 127), p. 89 (“the incarnated Satan”).

¹⁷⁵ The terms are from BOUSSET, *o.c.* (n. 127), p. 89 (“an actual identification, Satan incarnated, and a man filled with satanic energy”).

¹⁷⁶ *De Antichristo* VI, XV, LVII.

a king, a frightful judge). It is also reported that he βασιλεύσας ἄρξεται (will begin to be king). There is however a religious aspect as well, because the Antichrist¹⁷⁷ πέμψει ψευδαποστόλους (will send false apostles). Now ἀποστόλους may still be a political term; the combination with ψευδ- indicates a religious dimension. The most important characteristics of his actions are deceit, injustice and rebellion towards God¹⁷⁸: φανήσεται ὡς ἀρνίον, ἐνδοθεν λύκος ὢν (He will appear as a lamb, though on the inside he is a wolf.) And: “κριτὴν” μὲν οὖν “ἀδικίας” τὸν μήτε “τὸν θεὸν φοβούμενον μήτε ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπόμενον” ἀδιστάκτως τὸν ἀντίχριστον λέγει [ὁ εὐαγγελιστής], ὅς ... ἄρξεται καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπαίρεσθαι ([The evangelist] undoubtedly calls the Antichrist “an unrighteous judge”, who neither “fears God nor spares a man”, and who will even begin to rebel against God.) This rebellion against God also shows from the persecution of the saints: κατὰ πάντα θλίβειν τοὺς ἁγίους θέλων (He desires to oppress the saints in everything.)

Origen

Origen (185-253) speaks about the nature of the Antichrist in his *Commentary on John* (on which he worked for many years, beginning around 233), in the *Contra Celsum* and in his *Commentary on Matthew* (these works date from 248 or slightly later)¹⁷⁹. At first sight it seems that in *Contra Celsum*, Origen views Christ and the Antichrist as two eternal principles on which people focus¹⁸⁰: τί οὖν ἄτοπον δύο, ἴν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, ἀκρότητας, τὴν μὲν τοῦ καλοῦ τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου, ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι, ὥστε τὴν μὲν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀκρότητα εἶναι ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν νοουμένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ τοσαύτη ἔρρευσεν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστροφή καὶ θεραπεία καὶ βελτίωσις, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἐν τῷ

¹⁷⁷ *De Antichristo* VI.

¹⁷⁸ *De Antichristo* VI, LVII, L (respectively).

¹⁷⁹ J.W. TRIGG, *Origen. The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church*, Atlanta 1983, pp. 147-148, 214, 241, 243. For further information, see J. DANIELÉLOU, *Origène*, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément* VI, Paris 1960, coll. 884-908. Not according to all does Origen qualify for the title of “Church Father”, because of several points of heresy. For an apology, see R.J. DALY, *Origen (ca. 185 – ca. 251)*, in: E. FERGUSON (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, New York – London 1997², pp. 835-837 (p. 836).

¹⁸⁰ *Contra Celsum* VI 45.13-19 (text according to M. BORRET, *Origène. Contre Celse III (Livres V et VI)* (Sources Chrétiennes 147), Paris 1969).

κατὰ τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀντίχριστον; (Why then is it strange, that two “extremes” – as I call them – exist within people, one of goodness, the other its opposite, so that the extreme of goodness lives in the person who thinks in accord with Jesus, from whom such inclination and healing and improvement emanates towards humanity, while (the extreme) of the opposite (is) in (the person who thinks) in accord with the one who is called Antichrist?) By using the name Ἰησοῦς, Origen stresses the humanity of Jesus Christ¹⁸¹, which could also have a parallel in the Antichrist. Although this looks like a form of dualism, it should be noted that God remains above it all¹⁸²: Πάντα δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προγνώσει ἐκπεριλαβὼν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ... (After his own foreknowledge God overviews all and sees what is related to both (categories)). Further on, it becomes clear that the Antichrist should not be identified with Satan, as he is¹⁸³ υἱὸν τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος καὶ Σατανᾶ καὶ διαβόλου (son of the evil demon, of Satan and of the devil). The next paragraph, in which he speaks about Paul’s second Epistle to the Thessalonians, makes clear that Origen does see the Antichrist as someone who is still to come¹⁸⁴: ἐπιδημήσει (he will come to earth), and not as a constant principle.

We should take into account, however, some other texts. Origen’s exegesis of Mt. 24.15 (with reference to Dan. 11.31) gives the impression that the Antichrist is a principle, which is however expressed in (several) individuals¹⁸⁵: γενικῶς μὲν εἰς Ἀντίχριστος, ὡς τὸ ψεῦδος ἓν· <ε>ιδικῶς δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλὰ ψευδῆ διδάγματα καὶ δόγματα (Although there is only one Antichrist generically, there are many (antichrists) in terms of manifestation and many deceptive teachings and positions.) And “si autem secundum diversa dogmata mentiuntur, multi sunt qui exsurgunt. hi enim

¹⁸¹ F. SBAFFONI, *Testi sull'Anticristo. Secolo III* (Biblioteca Patristica 21), Firenze 1992, p. 105.

¹⁸² *Contra Celsum* VI 45.19-21.

¹⁸³ *Contra Celsum* VI 45.26.

¹⁸⁴ *Contra Celsum* VI 46.3.

¹⁸⁵ *Commentariorum series* 47, p. 96 ll. 25-28 (This is a fragment from a Catena commentary; text according to E. KLOSTERMANN, *Origenes Werke XI. Origenes Matthäuseklärung II. Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum Series* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 38), Leipzig 1933; the Latin translation runs as follows: “generaliter enim unus est Antichristus, species autem illius multae”) and p. 96 l. 33 – p. 97 l. 2 (In this case, a Greek text is not available.).

sunt Antichristi; et quicumque post eos surrexerint.” (If they speak deceptively against several teachings, there are many who arise. These are antichrists, and all those who will have risen after them.) We find the same ideas also in his commentary on John 8.44¹⁸⁶, where his main thesis is (albeit with some qualification): ψευδὸς εἶναι τὸν ἀντίχριστον (that the Antichrist is deceit). The importance of deceit is also stressed in another part of this commentary (on John 13.20), about the Antichrist principle¹⁸⁷: ὑποκρινόμενον εἶναι ἀλήθειαν καὶ ψευδῶς ἐπαγγελλόμενον εἶναι δικαιοσύνην (presenting himself as being truth and deceitfully announcing himself to be justice).

Although we have to be careful, we can conclude from these texts that Origen takes a somewhat original position, in which the Antichrist functions as a kind of principle¹⁸⁸.

Cyprian

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus (between 200 and 210 - 258)¹⁸⁹ has used the term “Antichrist” several times in his writings. Nevertheless, only one passage shows us something about his view on the nature of the Antichrist, namely in his *Epistle to Fortunatus*¹⁹⁰: “nos contra in passionibus nostris ... praeferamus ... Deum et Christum diabolo et antichristo”. (Let us however in our emotions prefer God and Christ to the devil and the Antichrist.) This comparison shows that the Antichrist should not be identified with Satan, but does have a close relationship with him.

Victorinus of Pettau

The original version (with chiliastic tendencies) of the commentary of Victorinus (230-304) on Revelation (from about 260)

¹⁸⁶ In *Joannem* XX § 174; text according to E. PREUSCHEN, *Origenes Werke IV. Der Johanneskommentar* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 10), Leipzig 1903. Origenes' qualification: the Antichrist has this characteristic, not by nature, but ἐκ ... ἰδίας προαιρέσεως τοιοῦτον γεγενημένον (become such by his own choice).

¹⁸⁷ In *Joannem* XXXII § 214.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. SBAFFONI, *o.c.* (n. 181), pp. 104-107.

¹⁸⁹ ALTANER – STUIBER, *o.c.* (n. 162), pp. 172-174.

¹⁹⁰ *Ad Fortunatum* Incipit 5.VI ll. 94-98 (text according to R. WEBER – M. BÉVENOT, *Sancti Cypriani Episcopi opera* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 3.1), Turnholti 1972).

consists of a whole series of quite short, almost cryptic remarks. It is not without reason that Jerome's version of Victorinus' work is significantly longer. This makes it difficult to get a systematic picture. Maybe Victorinus is not systematic himself¹⁹¹.

Let us mention step by step what Victorinus writes. With Rev. 12.3b he says that the Antichrist originates from circles within the Roman Empire¹⁹²: "septem reges Romanos, ex quibus et Antichristus" (seven Roman kings, from whom also the Antichrist). This points to a human origin, or to be more precise, to a gentile origin¹⁹³. With Rev. 12.7-9, however, Victorinus says that the Antichrist is cast out of heaven¹⁹⁴: "iactare Antichristum de caelo, ubi habuit potestatem ascendendi usque ad illud tempus." (The Antichrist was cast out of heaven; until then he had the power to ascend to it.) This commentary with this verse shows that here Victorinus is identifying the Antichrist with Satan, and Satan was allowed accession to heaven all through the era of the Church¹⁹⁵. This identification might be confirmed by what he says immediately afterwards¹⁹⁶ – "sic Antichristum de inferno suscitari" (Thus the Antichrist is raised up from hell) – but the reference to Paul's "homo peccati" in II Thess. 2.3b can hardly be harmonised with this.

In any case, in Victorinus of Pettau's writings the Antichrist is an eschatological figure; more cannot be concluded from his writings, at least not concerning our subject¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹¹ K.H. SCHWARTE, *Victorinus von Pettau*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 627-628 (p. 627); see also I. HAUSSLEITER, *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 49), Vindobonae – Lipsiae 1916, pp. XII-XIV.

¹⁹² *Commentarii in Apocalypsin editio Victorini* (12.3b), p. 110, ll. 7-8 (text according to HAUSSLEITER, *o.c.* (n. 191)).

¹⁹³ For a reconstruction (including a presentation of the Antichrist as Nero having become a proselyte), see Martine DULAËY, *Victorin de Poetovio. Premier exégète latin* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes 139), Paris 1993, pp. 199-202, 204.

¹⁹⁴ *Commentarii in Apocalypsin editio Victorini* (12.7-9), p. 114, ll. 10-11.

¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, he (and/or the Antichrist) is still an emanation of hell. In this way, our last two quotations of Victorinus could be harmonised (DULAËY, *o.c.* (n. 193), pp. 198-199).

¹⁹⁶ *Commentarii in Apocalypsin editio Victorini* (12.7-9), p. 114. l. 12.

¹⁹⁷ It is interesting, however, to quote here the thesis of DULAËY, *o.c.* (n. 193), p. 206: "... il n'est pas besoin de faire appel à quelque traité d'eschatologie perdu pour rendre compte des affirmations de Victorin sur l'Antéchrist. L'essentiel de sa doctrine d'un Antéchrist, incarnation satanique mais cependant homme,

Lactantius

Lucius Cae(ci)lius¹⁹⁸ Firmianus Lactantius (about 250-325) has written about (chiliastic) eschatology, including the Antichrist, in the seventh book of his main work, *Divinae Institutiones*. A first edition of this book probably appeared in 311¹⁹⁹.

After painting an eschatological, almost apocalyptic picture (in which a reference to the Sibyl is typical for Lactantius²⁰⁰), the Antichrist is mentioned. He is presented as a liar²⁰¹: “se ipse Christum mentietur et contra uerum dimicabit.” (He will falsely present himself as the Christ and he will fight against the true one.) There are other crimes as well, but they are not elaborated on²⁰²: “donec ... captus tandem scelerum suorum luat poenas”. (Until, being captured, he will finally undergo punishments for his crimes.)

Athanasius

The Arian conflict forms the framework of the writings of Athanasius (299-373)²⁰³. In the lexicon of Athanasius' writings two

empereur romain, faux Messie et simulateur [notice the elements of political power, religious power and deceit!], se trouve déjà chez Irénée et Hippolyte ...; le reste vient d'une exégèse personnelle des textes bibliques.”.

¹⁹⁸ K.H. SCHWARTE, *Laktanz*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 387-388 (p. 387) writes Caecilius; the text edition writes Caelius.

¹⁹⁹ K.H. SCHWARTE, *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ J. QUASTEN, *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*, Utrecht – Brussel 1953, p. 398.

²⁰¹ *Divinae institutiones* VII.19.6 (text according to S. BRANDT, *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti opera omnia ... I. Divinae institutiones et epitome divinarum institutionum* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 19.1), Pragae – Vindobonae – Lipsiae 1890).

²⁰² *Divinae institutiones* VII.19.6.

²⁰³ The exact year of his birth depends on the normal age to become bishop in those days; for this problem, see T.D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge Mass. – London 1993, pp. 3-10 (who says also about him (on p. 1): “he could not have cut such an impressive figure had he not been conspicuously lacking in the Christian virtues of meekness and humility”); for further information on his life (but *not* on the year of his birth), see M. TETZ, *Athanasiana. Zu Leben und Lehre des Athanasius* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 78), Berlin – New York 1995, pp. 1-16; for further information on the context in which Athanasius worked, see Annick MARTIN, *Athanasie d'Alexandrie et l'Eglise d'Egypte au IV^e siècle (328-373)* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 216), Rome 1996.

meanings of the word Ἀντίχριστος are distinguished: Antichrist in the stricter sense of the word, and metaphorically the heretics²⁰⁴. The metaphorical meaning appears most often, in plural. Apparently it is a well-known term, because it is not followed by an explanation. For instance in the *Historia Arianorum* of 358²⁰⁵: οἱ μὲν γὰρ πάσχοντες ὡς μαρτύριον ὑπέφερον ... οἱ δὲ θεωροῦντες ἔξωθεν αὐτούς, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες βλέποντες ὡς ἀντιχρίστους ὡς δημίους κατηρῶντο (Those who were subject to torture, endured it ... those outside [the Christian community] who beheld them, finally also the Greeks who saw them, cursed them as antichrists, as executioners.) This style is continued: the Antichrist is integrated into the Arian conflict, or else the Arian conflict is viewed as its most important forerunner²⁰⁶: σπουδὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρειανῆς αἰρέσεως, προοίμια δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρόδου Κωνσταντίου ταύτην προκατασκευάζοντος ἐκείνῳ (On the one hand zeal for the Arian heresy, on the other hand the prelude to the entry of the Antichrist, while Constantius prepares it for him.) Here we have, then, an intermediate text between metaphorical use and strict use. Actually Athanasius regularly²⁰⁷ uses the word com-

²⁰⁴ G. MÜLLER, *Lexicon Athanasianum*, Berlin 1944[-1952], s.v.

Athanasius was not the first one to use the word "Antichrist" about those who he considered as heretics (cf. above about Tertullian; OPELT, *o.c.* (n. 168), p. 217, states: "In allen diesen Begriffen sind die Nachfolger weit über nur schwache Ansätze Tertullians hinausgegangen."), nor the only one of his days (cf. EAD., *o.c.*, pp. 88, 97-99, 149, and in general W. TIETZE, *Lucifer von Calaris und die Kirchenpolitik des Constantius II. Zum Konflikt zwischen dem Kaiser Constantius II. und der nikänisch-orthodoxen Opposition* (*Lucifer von Calaris, Athanasius von Alexandria, Hilarius von Poitiers, Ossius von Córdoba, Liberius von Rom und Eusebius von Vercelli*), diss. Tübingen 1976).

²⁰⁵ H.-G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke II 1. Die Apologien*, Berlin – Leipzig 1935[-1941], p. 183. The text is from *Historia Arianorum* 62.2 (text according to OPITZ, *o.c.*).

²⁰⁶ *Historia Arianorum* 46.3. Cf. *Apologia secunda* (Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογητικὸς δεύτερος, from 357, addressed to Egyptian followers of Athanasius; OPITZ, *o.c.* (n. 205), p. 87) 90.3.

²⁰⁷ Including *Apologia contra Arianos* 409D2 (J.P. MIGNE, *S. P. N. Athanasii archiepiscopi Alexandrini opera omnia quae exstant* (Patrologia Graeca 25), Parisiis 1884), *Oratio I contra Arianos* 13A10, 25B7 (ID., *o.c.* (Patrologia Graeca 26), Parisiis 1887) and *Vita Antonii monachi* 69.2 (G.J.M. BARTELINK, *Athanasie d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine* (Sources Chrétiennes 400), Paris 1994) (which we consider as authentic: see BARTELINK, *o.c.*, p. 35).

bination πρόδρομον τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου (forerunner of the Antichrist²⁰⁸). Clearly it follows that Athanasius assumes a future Antichrist, but apparently has never found the time to elaborate on this idea.

Firmicus Maternus

Iulius Firmicus Maternus (between 300 and 310 - after 360)²⁰⁹ wrote his only Christian writing, *Liber de errore profanarum religionum*, around 346²¹⁰. In reaction to the description of a Mithras liturgy, he remarks²¹¹, “Habet ergo diabolus christos suos et, quia ipse antichristus est, ...” (Therefore the devil has his own christs, and as he himself is the Antichrist, ...) This is a very important text, because it is the only one that clearly equates the Antichrist with Satan²¹². In this respect we have to note, however, that Firmicus Maternus’ theological education was very limited²¹³.

Cyril of Jerusalem

The most famous work of Cyril of Jerusalem (313-386) consists of the *Λόγοι κατηχητικοί*, which date from 348²¹⁴. In one passage he states that many antichrists are about to appear. Contrary to Christ, they will not come from heaven²¹⁵: πολλοὶ μέλλουσιν

²⁰⁸ OPELT, *o.c.* (n. 168), p. 98, credits Lucifer of Calaris with the invention of the combination “praecursor antichristi”, but Athanasius offers the same combination (scil. πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου). See for the relation between Athanasius and Lucifer TIETZE, *o.c.* (n. 204), pp. 226-227.

²⁰⁹ R. TURCAN, *Firmicus Maternus. L'erreur des religions païennes* (Collection des Universités de France ... Budé), Paris 1982, pp. 10-12; for further information, see ID., pp. 7-28.

²¹⁰ TURCAN, *o.c.* (n. 209), pp. 24-27.

²¹¹ *De errore profanarum religionum* XXII.4 (text according to TURCAN, *o.c.* (n. 209)). The translation “anointed ones” (for “christos”) fits in better with the context.

²¹² Here BOUSSET, *o.c.* (n. 127), p. 89, is right. (“Bei Firmicus Maternus finden wir aber ganz deutlich die Identifikation ...”).

²¹³ TURCAN, *o.c.* (n. 209), pp. 22, 43-44. (Neither is his pagan (astrological) work a model of erudition: p. 21.)

²¹⁴ G. RÖWEKAMP, *Cyrrill von Jerusalem*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 152-153 (p. 152).

²¹⁵ *Λόγοι κατηχητικοί* IV.15 (text according to G.C. REISCHL – J. RUPP, *Cyrrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, Monaci 1848-1860).

ἀντίχριστοι νῦν ἀπὸ γῆς ἔρχεσθαι (Many antichrists are to come at this time from the earth.)

In the fifteenth homily, Cyril speaks much more elaborately about the Antichrist as a once-and-for-all eschatological figure. With reference to II Thess. 2.9, the special relationship of the Antichrist with Satan is described as follows²¹⁶: ὁ σατανᾷς ὁργάνῳ κέχρηται ἐκείνῳ, αὐτοπροσώπως δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργῶν (Satan uses him as an instrument, working in his own person through him.) The first part seems to indicate that there is a clear distance between the Antichrist and Satan; the second part seems close to identification. Also what follows in this paragraph leans toward identification²¹⁷: δι' ἑαυτοῦ λοιπὸν πολεμεῖ φανερώτερον (Henceforth he wages war by himself more openly.) Satan throws himself into the conflict. This thought is repeated further in the text²¹⁸: οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τούτου μόνοις ἀνθρώποις ἐπάλαισαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου αὐτῷ τῷ σατανᾷ αὐτοπροσώπως πολεμήσουσιν (The [martyrs] who (have lived) until now, have wrestled with men only, but the [martyrs] who (will live) during the time of the Antichrist will battle with Satan in his own person.) Yet Telfer sees no identification here, not even incarnation, at least no incarnation from birth. He rather sees the Antichrist as a man who is possessed, not by some demon, but by Satan himself²¹⁹. This is confirmed by another passage in which Satan and the Antichrist appear as two separate personages in one sentence²²⁰: ὁ ἀντικείμενος [= ὁ διάβολος] ... ἄγει τινὰ ἄνθρωπον [= ὁ προειρημένος Ἀντίχριστος²²¹] (The adversary [= the devil] incites a man [= the aforementioned

²¹⁶ Λόγοι κατηχητικοί XV.14.

²¹⁷ Λόγοι κατηχητικοί XV.14.

²¹⁸ Λόγοι κατηχητικοί XV.17.

²¹⁹ W. TELFER, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa* (Library of Christian Classics 4), London 1955, p. 158 n. 66, p. 161 n. 84. Telfer states (n. 66) that Hippolytus of Rome did mean such an incarnation; see above for a discussion of Hippolytus and for an overview of the different possibilities mentioned with regards to the relationship between Satan and Antichrist.

²²⁰ Λόγοι κατηχητικοί XV.11. VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, *o.c.* (n. 49), p. 6, notices from this passage that the devil looks for a parody on Christ. From this follows that the Antichrist cannot be identified with the devil.

²²¹ These words are in Λόγοι κατηχητικοί XV.12 (beginning); the identifications of ὁ ἀντικείμενος and τινὰ ἄνθρωπον may seem arbitrary, but within the whole of XV.11 and 12 this is certainly not problematic.

Antichrist]). To Cyril, therefore, the Antichrist is a man in whom Satan is working fully.

In this passage Cyril also discusses the characteristics of the Antichrist²²²: σωφροσύνην τε καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὑποκρίνεται, σημείοις δὲ καὶ τέρασι τοῖς ἐκ μαγικῆς ἀπάτης ψευδέσιν Ἰουδαίους ὥσανεὶ Χριστὸς ὁ προσδοκώμενος ἀπατήσας, παντοίοις ὕστερον ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ παρανομίας ἐπιγραφῆσεται κακοῖς, ὡς πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, φονικὴν καὶ ἀποτομωτάτην καὶ ἀνηλεῆ καὶ ποικίλην κατὰ πάντων μέν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχων (He feigns soberness and benevolence, and with signs and wonders and deceit through magical guile, he beguiles the Jews as though he were the expected Messiah. Also, he will choose for all kinds of ailments of hatred towards people and transgressions of the law, so that he will outdo all the lawless and godless who have come before him, with a murderous, most cruel, merciless and unreliable attitude towards all, but especially towards us Christians.) From this we can infer quite a lot. The Antichrist deceives others by feigning to be different from whom he really is and by all kinds of miraculous signs. He can perform these deceptive signs because of magical powers, i.e. with supernatural or rather with satanic help²²³. As he feigns to be the Messiah, he apparently seeks to obtain religious authority. He will be a hater of God and men, without law or justice. He will act as a dictator: absolute, ruthless and capricious, towards all but especially towards the Christians. This indicates a political role again.

Jerome

Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus (347-419)²²⁴ has left behind an extensive collection of letters, including many letters to women.

²²² Λόγοι κατηχητικοί XV.12.

²²³ TELFER, *o.c.* (n. 219), p. 156 n. 53.

²²⁴ M. TESTARD, *Saint Jérôme. L'apôtre savant et pauvre du patriciat romain*, Paris 1969, pp. 11, 85; for further information, see *Id.*, *o.c.*

It is remarkable that the four "greatest" (Jerome, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Augustine) are born in a period of only eight years (347-354). Regrettably, this does not mean that they could all cooperate well; for the (poor) relation between Jerome and Augustine, see e.g. Marie McNAMARA, *Friendship in Saint Augustine* (Studia Friburgensia NS 20), Fribourg 1958, pp. 178-186. (See, however, also J.N.D. KELLY, *Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies*,

To the noble and intelligent Gallic lady Algasia (probably living in Bordeaux), he writes a letter in the first half of 407²²⁵. It speaks about the Antichrist, in response to her question about Paul's second Epistle to the Thessalonians (esp. II Thess. 2.3-4, 8-9). According to Jerome, the Antichrist is clearly an eschatological figure²²⁶: "apostolus ... exponit, quae ante aduentum antichristi debeant praestolari, ut, cum illa facta uiderint, tunc sciant antichristum, id est hominem peccati et filium perditionis ... esse uenturum." (The apostle ... explains what has to be expected before the Antichrist comes, so that, when one has seen those things, one will know that the Antichrist, i.e. the man of sin and the son of destruction, is about to come.) This first identification can be combined with a second identification²²⁷: "filius perditionis" - id est diaboli" ("the son of destruction", i.e. of the devil). Thus the Antichrist seems to be the son of the devil²²⁸.

London 1975, pp. 337-339, who defends another year of birth (331); this would shed another light on the relation between Jerome and Augustine (about which see also his pp. 217-220), but his thesis has not been accepted: see S. REBENICH, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Historia Einzelschriften 72), Stuttgart 1992, p. 21). On the other hand, John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia were actually friends (cf. B.E. CARTER, *Chrysostom's Ad Theodorum lapsus*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 16 (1962), pp. 87-101).

²²⁵ Concerning friendship with women in Jerome's life in general, see Elizabeth A. CLARK, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends. Essays and Translations* (Studies in Women and Religion 1), New York 1979, and P. LAURENCE, *Jérôme et le nouveau modèle féminin. La conversion à la "vie parfaite"* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes 155), Paris 1997; for Algasia in particular, see ID., *o.c.*, pp. 8, 325, 417 (cf. p. 401), and REBENICH, *o.c.* (n. 224), pp. 276-277 (cf. p. 209).

²²⁶ *Ad Algasiam liber quaestionum undecim* (Epistula CXXI) 11.8 (text according to I. HILBERG, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 56), Vindobonae – Lipsiae 1918).

²²⁷ *Ad Algasiam* 11.9.

²²⁸ H.D. RAUH, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: von Tyconius zum Deutschen Symbolismus* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters NF 9), Münster 1979², p. 132, wrongly quotes *In Thessalonicenses* (II.2.3) 872C (J.P. MIGNE, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri opera omnia* (Patrologia Latina 30), Parisiis 1846) ("[diabolus] eum quasi sibi natum servitio possidebit"). This work is not authentic: see the admonition in MIGNE, *o.c.*, coll. 643-646; E. DEKKERS, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina), [Turnhout] – Steenbrugis 1995³, does not even mention it under Jerome's name (but see his no. 759).

According to this letter of Jerome, the Antichrist's actions are mainly religious²²⁹: "extollitur super omne, quod dicitur deus", ut cunctarum gentium deos siue omnem probatam et ueram religionem suo calcet pede et 'in templo Dei' – uel Hierosolymis, ut quidam putant, uel in ecclesia, ut uerius arbitramur – sederit 'ostendens se, tamquam' ipse 'sit' Christus et filius Dei." ("He raises himself above all that is called god", that he will trample with his foot the gods of the collective nations or every worthy and true religion. He will take a seat "in God's Temple", either in Jerusalem, as some think, or in the church, as we consider to be more probable, "presenting himself as if" he himself "is" the Christ and God's Son.) More is said about the nature of the Antichrist later in the answer²³⁰: "cuius opera satanae sunt opera, et, sicut in Christo plenitudo diuinitatis fuit corporaliter, ita et in antichristo omnes erunt fortitudines et signa atque prodigia, sed uniuersa mendacia." (And his works are the works of Satan, and as the fullness of the godhead bodily dwelled in Christ, all powers and signs and wonders will also be present in the Antichrist, but (it is) all deceit.) He does the works of Satan (and is therefore not identical with him), and performs false miraculous signs. Here is also made a comparison with Paul's statements about Christ's divinity in his Epistle to the Colossians (Col. 2.9).

The same idea is found in Jerome's *Commentary on the book of Daniel*²³¹: "ne eum putemus, iuxta quorundam opinionem, uel diabolus esse uel daemonem, sed unum de hominibus in quo totus satanas habitaturus est corporaliter." (So that we would not think that he, according to the opinion of some, would be the devil or an evil spirit, but one from men, in whom the whole Satan will dwell bodily.) This immediately makes clear what Jerome thinks is the nature of the Antichrist.

A very elaborate description of the Antichrist can be found in Jerome's exegesis of Dan. 11.21-45. In contrast to most other exegetes, he sees a description of the Antichrist in the whole passage. This is probably motivated mainly by his opposition to Porphyry, who saw Antiochus IV Epiphanes everywhere and did

²²⁹ *Ad Algasiam* 11.9. The quoted phrases are from II Thess. 2.4.

²³⁰ *Ad Algasiam* 11.14.

²³¹ *In Daniele* (7.7c-8) II 601-604. This commentary dates from 407 (GLORIE, *o.c.* (n. 12), p. 751). Even after fifteen centuries it is still legible, although RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 130 and *passim*, judges it rather negatively.

not ascribe any role to the Antichrist. However, Jerome is not entirely consistent: he also describes the exegesis with which he does not agree (leading to Antiochus IV). Of course this in itself is not a problem, but more than once he strongly gives the impression that he loses himself in this exegesis, as if it reflects his own opinion²³². The Antichrist is viewed as future in this passage²³³: “qui ultimo tempore futurus est” (who will be there in the last time). He will be born²³⁴ – typically human – namely from the Jewish nation (“nasciturus est de populo Iudaeorum”²³⁵). He also mentions the possibility – but without concurring²³⁶ – that Nero is the Antichrist²³⁷: “multi nostrorum putant, ob saeuitiae et turpitudinis magnitudinem, Domitianum uel Neronem Antichristum fore.” (Many of us are of the opinion, because of the size of his

²³² Both RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 135 (“Antiochus Epiphanes, den als Typus des Antichrist zu nominieren Hieronymus nicht müde wird, ...”), and W.H. SHEA, *Early Development of the Antiochus Epiphanes Interpretation*, in: F.B. HOLBROOK (Ed.), *Symposium on Daniel. Introductory and Exegetical Studies* (Daniel and Revelation Committee Series 2), Washington 1986, pp. 256-328 (pp. 295-296: “At verse 21 Jerome parted company with Porphyry. In this verse he saw the future Antichrist introduced and continuing to the end of the chapter”) oversimplified. Of the two mentioned authors SHEA, *o.c.*, p. 321 n. 83, was the more subtle: “Actually, Jerome’s interpretation ... was a bit more complex”. Indeed, *De Antichristo in Daniele* [IV] takes up varying viewpoints: “nostri autem haec omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur” (11.21, ll. 10-11; cf. ll. 73-74 and 11.25-26, ll. 99-101); “haec autem sub Antiocho Epiphane in imaginem praecesserunt: ut rex sceleratissimus qui persecutus est populum Dei, praefigureret Antichristum qui Christi populum persecuturus est” (11.28b-30a, ll. 147-150; cf. 11.30b, l. 161); “Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intellegimus” (11.36, ll. 252-253); “hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho conuenit” (11.37-39, ll. 308-309); “Nostri autem, ad Antichristum et ista referentes, ...” (11.40-41a, ll. 347-348). We see that he swings from “only Antichrist”, via “Antiochus IV as a type of the Antichrist”, to “only Antichrist”, on to “Antiochus IV not excluded, but rather Antichrist” and back to “only Antichrist”.

²³³ *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.21) [IV] 11-12.

²³⁴ Albeit not through virgin birth: see *Ad Algasiam* 11.16: “et siquidem [“if at least”] antichristus de uirgine natus esset [irrealis] ...”

²³⁵ *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.25-26) [IV] 101. From the fact itself one cannot conclude anti-Jewish polemic with Jerome, even though the quote “quia perditioni sunt prae parati” comes close, but RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 133, forgets to mention where he has found these words. Please note: the commentary on II Thess., quoted by RAUH, *o.c.*, p. 132 n. 15 and p. 133 n. 17, is not Jerome’s: see above, n. 228.

²³⁶ This is overlooked by RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), pp. 135-136.

²³⁷ *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.28b-30a) [IV] 151-154 (v. app. crit.).

anger and disgrace, that Domitian or Nero will be the Antichrist.) Although his last acts of war are discussed exhaustively²³⁸, we do not learn much about the character of his actions. It becomes clear, however, that he makes use of deceit²³⁹: “et per insidias et fraudulentiam obtineat principatum”. (Through ambushes and deceit he obtains dominion.) In any case, in this writing of Jerome the Antichrist’s character is mainly military-political²⁴⁰, but also religious, as in the *Epistle to Algasia*²⁴¹.

As we have seen, Jerome writes quite extensively about the Antichrist. His view can be summarised as follows: The Antichrist is an eschatological figure, even though his name is also used to condemn actual practices or attitudes²⁴². He is human, but stands in close relation to Satan. Whether his actions are mainly religious or political is unclear. Apparently his actions are a combination of the two²⁴³, whereby the politico-military aspect is stressed in his *Commentary on Daniel*²⁴⁴, and the religious aspect is stressed in the *Epistle to Algasia*. Jerome’s statements about the Antichrist are always closely linked to his exegesis.

John Chrysostom

In a homily on Paul’s second Epistle to the Thessalonians (dating from his Constantinopolitan period, 398-403²⁴⁵), Chrysostom (349-407)²⁴⁶ is perfectly clear about the human character of the

²³⁸ Mainly *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.40-45) [IV] 328-477.

²³⁹ *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.21) [IV] 77-78.

²⁴⁰ Cf. *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.21) [IV] 82-83: “nullus enim Iudaeorum absque Antichristo in toto umquam orbe regnavit”.

²⁴¹ Cf. *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.31) [IV] 177-178 (actually a quote from II Thess. 2.4).

²⁴² RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 136. See e.g. *Ad Furiam de ueritate seruanda* (*Epistula LIV*) 7.2: “ornatus iste non domini est; velamen istud antichristi est” (text according to I. HILBERG, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 54), Vindobonae – Lipsiae 1910).

²⁴³ RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 136: “Die Personalunion von Rex Tyrannus und Pseudo-Prophet ist ein Erbe der Apokalyptik; als Gegenbild zu Christus, dem ‘Rex et Sacerdos’, entspricht sie der biblischen Auffassung”.

²⁴⁴ RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 136.

²⁴⁵ R. KACZYNSKI, *Johannes Chrysostomus*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 336-343 (pp. 337-340).

²⁴⁶ KACZYNSKI, *o.c.* (n. 245), pp. 337-338; for further information, see J.N.D. KELLY, *Golden Mouth. The story of John Chrysostom – ascetic, preacher, bishop*, London 1995 (for the year of his birth, see pp. 4, 296-298).

Antichrist²⁴⁷: Τίς δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν; ἄρα ὁ Σατανᾶς; Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος τις πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ δεχόμενος τὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἄνθρωπος γάρ ἐστι. (Who then is this? Satan perhaps? No, but a man who has taken over all of his activity. For he is a man.) The religious aspect is made explicit²⁴⁸: καὶ κελεύσει προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (And he will order to worship him instead of God.) Again we find the combination of religious and political power²⁴⁹: τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιχειρήσει ἀρπάσαι ἀρχὴν. (He will use force to seize the power of men and of God.) We find the same combination in a homily on John (dating from the Antiochian period, so before 398²⁵⁰)²⁵¹: τυραννικῶς τὰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκοντα ἀρπάζων, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν εἶναι λέγων (in a tyrannical way seizing what in no way belongs to him, and saying that he is the god of everything). This eschatological figure will act deceitfully²⁵²: οὐδὲν ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπάτην (nothing in truth, but (everything) with deceit).

Theodore of Mopsuestia

The commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia (352-428)²⁵³ on Paul's second Epistle to the Thessalonians is mainly preserved in its Latin translation. Theodore too regards the Antichrist as a human eschatological figure²⁵⁴: "homo erit, daemone in eo omnia inope-

²⁴⁷ *In epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses homilia III* 525C (text according to F. F[IELD], *Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani interpretatio omnium epistolarum Paulinarum per homilias facta V. Continens homilias in epistolas ad Philippenses, Colossenses et Thessalonicenses*, Oxonii – Londini 1855).

²⁴⁸ *In epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses homilia III* 525C.

²⁴⁹ *In epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses homilia III* 530A.

²⁵⁰ KACZYNSKI, *o.c.* (n. 245), pp. 337, 339.

²⁵¹ *In Joannem XLI* 236 (text according to J.P. MIGNE, *S. Joannes Chrysostomus* (Patrologia Graeca 59), Parisii 1862).

²⁵² *In epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses homilia III* 530C. We find the same thought in *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt XII* 1 (in a series of "why?" questions; text according to Anne-Marie MALINGREY, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur la providence de Dieu* (Sources Chrétiennes 79), Paris 1961): τίνας ἕνεκεν ὁ Ἀντίχριστος παραγίνεται, ὁ τοσαύτην ἔχων δύναμιν πρὸς ἀπάτην (with a further reference to Mt. 24.24) (For which reason does the Antichrist appear, who has such a power for deceit?).

²⁵³ P. BRUNS, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 592-594 (p. 592); CARTER, *o.c.* (n. 224), pp. 87, 99-100.

²⁵⁴ *In epistulam ad Thessalonicenses II* (2.3-4) p. 50 l. 9 – p. 51 l. 1; (2.8) p. 56 ll. 1-2 (text according to H.B. SWETE, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas*

rante". (He will be a man, while an evil spirit in him will work everything.) "... euidens est quoniam de homine id dicit; nec enim Satan expedire, ..." (It is evident that he says this about a man, as it does not match Satan.) He really wants to come ἀντὶ Χριστοῦ²⁵⁵: "temptat enim ille per omnia illa, quae Christi sunt, imitari, utpote et Christum se esse dicens". (For he tries in all those things that are Christ's, to imitate (Him), for he says that he even is the Christ.) "... quasi quia ipse sit Christus et propter hoc debeat ab omnibus adorari in ordinem Dei" (as if he himself is the Christ, and for this reason has to be worshipped as God by all), πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀφιστῶντος τῆς εὐσεβείας (making all people depart from godliness).

Augustine of Hippo

Most elements of the ideas of Augustine (354-430)²⁵⁶ on the Antichrist can be found in *De civitate Dei*. He started this work under the influence of Alaric's capture of Rome in 410, although he did not want to attach too much importance to that²⁵⁷. Also in the *Tractatus in Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, dating from 415²⁵⁸, some data can be found grouped together. The Antichrist is clearly an eschatological figure²⁵⁹: "certe prius veniet Antichristus, et tunc veniet dies iudicii". (Certainly the Antichrist will first come, and then will come the day of judgment.) Actually we already live in the end times, he states with I Jn. 2.18²⁶⁰: "ne ... non esse horam novissimam putarent, quod venturus esset Antichristus, ait illis: *Et sicut audistis quod Antichristus sit venturus, nunc antichristi multi*

B. Pauli commentarii. The Latin Version with the Greek Fragments II. I. Thesalonians – Philemon. Appendices. Indices, Cambridge 1882).

²⁵⁵ *In epistolam ad Thesalonicenses II* (2.3-4) p. 51 ll. 2-4, p. 52 ll. 1-3; (2.8) p. 56 l. 13.

²⁵⁶ To be precise: Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis lived from Sunday 13 November 354 until Thursday 28 August 430 (A. SIZOO, *Augustinus. Leven en werken*, Kampen 1957, pp. 21, 327). For further information, see SIZOO, *o.c.*, or G. BONNER, *St Augustine of Hippo. Life and Controversies*, London 1963.

²⁵⁷ ALTANER – STUIBER, *o.c.* (n. 162), p. 424; RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), pp. 25, 128.

²⁵⁸ P. AGAËSSE, *Saint Augustin. Commentaire de la première épître de St. Jean* (Sources Chrétiennes 75), Paris 1961, pp. 9-12.

²⁵⁹ *Tractatus in Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos III* 3 (text according to AGAËSSE, *o.c.* (n. 258)).

²⁶⁰ *Tractatus in Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos III* 3.

facti sunt." (Lest people would think that it is not (yet) the last hour, in which the Antichrist will come, he says to them: "And as you have heard that the Antichrist will come, now many antichrists have arisen.") He gives the following definition of the kind of antichrist that already exists in the present²⁶¹: "quisquis factis negat Christum, antichristus est". (Whoever denies the Christ with his deeds, is an antichrist.) In *De civitate Dei* it is clear that Augustine stresses the eschatological character²⁶². The Antichrist is a rebel against God ("refugam ... a Domino Deo"²⁶³) and Satan works powerfully but deceitfully through him ("per illum Antichristum [satanas] in omni sua virtute mirabiliter quidem, sed mendaciter operabitur". (Through the Antichrist [Satan] in all his power will be working in miraculous though deceitful ways.²⁶⁴) So the Antichrist and Satan are different beings²⁶⁵, but the Antichrist can be regarded as identical to the false prophet in Rev. 19.20²⁶⁶: "pseudopropheta uero eius ... Antichristus est". (His false prophet is actually the Antichrist.) Also with Augustine both the religious and the political character are present: the Antichrist will sit in the Temple²⁶⁷, but will also reign powerfully²⁶⁸. Although one might

²⁶¹ *Tractatus in Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos* III 8.

²⁶² Incl. XVIII.53.1-2, XX.13.1, XX.19.26-29 (on II Thess. 2.1 sqq.).

²⁶³ *De civitate Dei* XX.19.28-29 (text according to B. DOMBART – A. KALB, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de civitate Dei libri XI-XXII* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 48), Turnholti 1955); Augustine identifies the Antichrist with the "discessio" in II Thess. 2.3b (but he uses "refuga").

²⁶⁴ *De civitate Dei* XX.19.98-100. (The quotation from this passage by RAUH, o.c. (n. 228), p. 129, is careless.) For "deceitful", compare "tertia [persecutio ecclesiae] superest per antichristum ventura, ... fraudulenta erit", and "habebit... dolum in miraculis" (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* IX.27.9-11; text according to E. DEKKERS – I. FRAIPONT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini enarrationes in Psalmos I-L* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 38), Turnholti 1956) and "In Antichristo iniustitia est, et uerax non est" (*Tractatus in Iohannem* XXIX.8.29-30; text according to R. WILLEMS, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini in Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 36), Turnholti 1954).

²⁶⁵ One could think of an identification as the result of an unclear note with Job 18.6 (*Adnotationes in Iob* XVIII: "aut diabolus aut antichristus"; text according to I. ZYCHA, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini quaestionum in heptateuchum libri VII, adnotationum in Iob liber unus* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 28), Praegae – Vindobonae – Lipsiae 1895).

²⁶⁶ *De civitate Dei* XX.14.7-8.

²⁶⁷ See *De civitate Dei* XX.19.30-33.

²⁶⁸ "Vim habebit in imperio" (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* IX.27.11).

have expected that this great theologian would have worked out his thinking on the Antichrist more concretely, this is not the case²⁶⁹.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus

Theodoret (393-466)²⁷⁰ gives his view on the Antichrist in his commentary on the Pauline Epistles²⁷¹: Ἀποστήσαι γὰρ ἅπαντας τῆς ἀληθείας πειρᾶται. “Ἄνθρωπον” δὲ αὐτὸν “ἀμαρτίας” προσηγόρευσεν, ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν, πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ διαβόλου δεχόμενος τὴν ἐνέργειαν. (For he tries to make everybody depart from the truth. For he called him “Man of lawlessness”, because he is by nature a man, who accepts into himself the activity of the devil.) It is very clear that in Theodoret’s mind the Antichrist is one man, coming at the end of times, in whom Satan will be working fully.

Andrew of Caesarea

Some time between 563 and 614, Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, wrote a commentary on the book of Revelation²⁷². He too speaks about ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀντιχρίστῳ ἐνεργῶν διάβολος (the devil working in the Antichrist)²⁷³. From the full context it appears that Andrew of Caesarea assumes a once-and-for-all Antichrist. The believers will flee from him to desolate places²⁷⁴, but it is unclear whether they will do this in order to avoid mental or physical violence, although ἀποστασία²⁷⁵ rather points to the former.

²⁶⁹ Cf. RAUH, *o.c.* (n. 228), p. 127.

²⁷⁰ P. BRUNS, *Theodoret von Cyrus*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 596-598 (p. 596).

²⁷¹ *Interpretatio in quatuordecim epistolas S. Pauli 664A-B* (text according to J.L. SCHULZE, *Theodoretii Cyrensis episcopi opera omnia* (Patrologia Graeca 82), Parisiis 1864).

²⁷² ALTANER – STUIBER, *o.c.* (n. 162), p. 517; J. SCHMID, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes I. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Text* (Münchener Theologische Studien. Ergänzungsband), München 1955, p. 177 (about ll. 16-17, a comment on Apoc. 16.19).

²⁷³ *Apokalypse-Kommentar* (12.6) p. 127 l. 12 (text according to SCHMID, *o.c.* (n. 272)).

²⁷⁴ *Apokalypse-Kommentar* (12.6) p. 127 l. 12 – p. 128 l. 5.

²⁷⁵ *Apokalypse-Kommentar* (12.6) p. 128 l. 5.

John of Damascus

John of Damascus (about 650-750) might be considered as the last common teacher of East and West and as such as representing the endpoint of the Greek Fathers; therefore, I will conclude this overview with him. His main work is the *Πηγή γνώσεως* (published in 743 or slightly later)²⁷⁶. The third and largest part of it is called *ἐκθεσις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*, or in Latin *De fide orthodoxa*, or sometimes *Expositio fidei*.

In the penultimate chapter of his *Expositio fidei*, John of Damascus writes about the Antichrist. After the Antichrist had for a while been viewed as purely eschatological, John of Damascus once again gives a definition which allows for many simultaneous antichrists. It appears that the christological discussion was still raging in his time²⁷⁷: Πᾶς μὲν οὖν ὁ μὴ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι καὶ εἶναι θεὸν τέλειον καὶ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον τέλειον μετὰ τοῦ μείναι θεὸν ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν. (Whosoever does not recognise that the Son of God and that God came in the flesh and that He was genuinely God and that He has become genuinely man while also remaining God, is an antichrist.) Yet he expects that at the end of times an Antichrist par excellence will come as well²⁷⁸: "Ὁμως ἰδιοτρόπως καὶ ἐξαιρέτως ἀντίχριστος λέγεται ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐρχόμενος. (And in the same way and par excellence the person who will come at the end of times will be called Antichrist.) John considers himself as better than the Jews and assumes that only they will follow the Antichrist²⁷⁹: Οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι υἱὸν θεοῦ ὄντα τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν

²⁷⁶ R. VOLK, *Johannes von Damaskus*, in: DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *o.c.* (n. 165), pp. 344-347 (pp. 344-346); J. NASRALLAH, *Saint-Jean de Damas. Son époque – sa vie – son œuvre* (Les souvenirs chrétiens de Damas 2), Harissa 1950, pp. 58-59, 127-128; for further information, see ID., *o.c.*

²⁷⁷ *Expositio fidei* 99.2-4 (text according to B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos II. Expositio fidei* (Patristische Texten und Studien 12), Berlin – New York 1973).

²⁷⁸ *Expositio fidei* 99.5-6.

²⁷⁹ *Expositio fidei* 99.14-15. Please note: this is not the permanent lot of the Jews: Enoch and Elijah will lead them to the Gospel, and thus they will be saved: Ἀποσταλήσεται δὲ Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἠλίας ὁ Θεσβίτης καὶ ἐπιστρέψουσι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, τούτέστι τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κήρυγμα, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθήσονται (*Expositio fidei* 99.44-47). Apparently ἀναιρεῖν should be interpreted in a positive sense here; the use of the same verb two lines further down (l. 49: ἀνελεῖ; see BLASS – DEBRUNNER – REHKOPF, *o.c.* (n. 50), § 74 n. 8) in a negative sense may speak against this.

Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν οὐκ ἔδέξαντο, τὸν δὲ πλάνον θεὸν ἑαυτὸν λέγοντα δέξονται. (The Jews then have not accepted the Lord Jesus Christ, who was the Son of God and also (Himself) God, but they will accept the deceiver who will call himself god.) This already shows the mainly religious character of the Antichrist as John of Damascus sees him. As regards the sameness in essence with Satan, John of Damascus stays in line with the later Church Fathers²⁸⁰: Οὐκ αὐτὸς τοίνυν ὁ διάβολος γίνεται ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν - μὴ γένοιτο -, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ἐκ πορνείας τίκτεται καὶ ὑποδέχεται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ. (Now the devil does not just become a man himself as with the Lord's incarnation – May it never come to pass! – but a man will be born out of adultery and takes over all the activity of Satan.)

CONCLUSION

Synthesis

After having studied the biblical passages as well as the most explicit data of the Fathers, we can say that in general the Fathers have systematized, but by doing this they have not really departed from the biblical basis as far as the main points are concerned. This does not mean that the Fathers did agree in their answers to all the questions that concern us here. I would like to suggest the following synthesis.

The data for the Apostolic Fathers are too scanty to make up a separate overview for the first period: Polycarp is the only one who used the word Ἀντίχριστος and he was unclear in his explanation.

Later, the Antichrist was almost always presented as a once-and-for-all, eschatological figure who has a close relationship with Satan, the two, however, not being identical. Firmicus Maternus is the only one who clearly speaks about such an identity, but he does not elaborate on this. Victorinus of Pettau is unclear. Methodically speaking it is slightly dubious to conclude from this that a separate tradition existed which saw the Antichrist as identical with Satan²⁸¹.

²⁸⁰ *Expositio fidei* 99.31-33.

²⁸¹ Against BOUSSET, *o.c.* (n. 127), pp. 88-91.

The Antichrist is nearly always portrayed as a man, albeit a man who is completely possessed, not by some demon, but by Satan himself.

The writers who discuss antichrists in plural, usually regard them as forerunners of the eschatological Antichrist. Athanasius speaks about the many antichrists only, but this can be explained by the subject of his writings²⁸². Origen stands alone in considering the Antichrist mainly as a principle, but he supports also the coming of an eschatological Antichrist.

In my last conclusion I want to discern three different currents (with some chronological sequence). In a first current (e.g. Irenaeus, Tertullian and Hippolytus), the Church Fathers situated the Antichrist's actions mainly in the area of politics. Here his characteristics were injustice, lawlessness, lack of respect for human lives, tyrannical behaviour, guile, deceit. In a second current (e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem, Jerome, Chrysostom and Augustine) there was a combination: the Antichrist's actions were described as both political and religious. Political characteristics were then (political) deceit, lawlessness, injustice, lack of respect for human lives, tyrannical behaviour. Religious characteristics were (religious) deceit, rebellion against God and all religion, presenting himself as god. In a last current (e.g. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Andrew of Caesarea and John of Damascus) the religious field of action dominated again, and the Antichrist's characteristics were presenting himself as god, and attempting to lead others into apostasy.

Definition

Of course the New Testament would have been easier to accept as a basis for a definition of the "Antichrist", but this turned out to be insufficiently defined in the New Testament writings. We therefore do not "presuppose" that there is an Antichrist²⁸³, but we have to notice that the word "Antichrist" is used and that a first valid definition is that of the most ancient common Christian (Catholic) texts, i.e. of the Fathers.

²⁸² Actually it becomes implicitly clear that he does assume that an Antichrist will come at the end of times as well. The same applies to Tertullian, who is also rather polemical.

²⁸³ Cf. ERNST, *o.c.* (n. 123), Regensburg 1967, p. XII.

This does not mean that the Fathers have created something really new. Although it must be admitted that the Fathers have been systematising, the elements of the definition we have found in their writings can also be found in the New Testament (with the book of Daniel as an important background). Therefore, if we are willing not to play the New Testament and the Fathers off against each other, but to find out which direct line can be drawn from the New Testament data to the first processors of those data, we may generally assume one Antichrist concept both in the New Testament and with the Fathers, although this concept has never been fully and systematically defined in one single writing²⁸⁴.

The Antichrist is a man who will appear at the end of time, wholly filled with Satan. He will be an archdeceiver, as a tyrant (unjust, murderous) and as a false god (turning himself and others away from all existing religion). Other descriptions of the Antichrist are "man of lawlessness", "Beast" and "false prophet" (the latter only for his religious aspect).

²⁸⁴ This demand has been made by LIETAERT PEERBOLTE, *o.c.* (n. 81), p. 13 (albeit with reference to the third century), but in my view it is going too far. Jenks sees unity thinking in the third century AD (JENKS, *o.c.* (n. 172), pp. 112-114, 357). In this respect it is easier to agree with Jenks than with Lietaert Peerbolte, but there are differences:

1) I have consciously limited my study, in Part III, to texts from mainstream Christianity in which both the theme and the word occur (in contrast to JENKS, *o.c.*, pp. 312-327, 347-250; also in contrast to LIETAERT PEERBOLTE, *o.c.*, pp. 56-61, 194-205).

2) Jenks (pp. 113, 161, 358) is too much impressed by the Combat Myth (although he admits this should actually be screened off from the Antichrist theme: p. 363).

3) Jenks (pp. 25, 161; cf. p. 359) wants to eliminate the Bousset hypothesis (BOUSSET, *o.c.* (n. 127)) because the Antichrist theme is pre-eminently a Christian theme. (LIETAERT PEERBOLTE, *o.c.*, pp. 1, 5-7, too wants to eliminate the hypothesis, but mainly because the large variety of sources would make it impossible.) This seems evident, but the hypothesis must be tested independently, albeit not within the framework of this article. We can however note that in Jenks's definition (pp. 361-362) more space has been given to the relationship with Jesus Christ than in our definition.

In any case, we should avoid both extremes of being so minimalist that we cannot distinguish our theme anywhere as such, and of being so inclusivist that we see forerunners of our theme everywhere.

Summary

This study gives a chronological presentation of the main passages from the Old and the New Testament which have served as a basis for the thinking of the Fathers about the Antichrist, and of the texts of the Fathers which give a description of the nature of the Antichrist.

For the Old Testament Dan. 11.21-45 is treated, and for the New Testament Mt. 24.15-25; II Thess. 2.1-12; I Jn. 2.18-23; 4.3; II Jn. 7; Rev. 13; 19.19-20; 20.10. From these data it is concluded that many elements of the theme are already present, although the image is not systematic.

For the Fathers (Polycarp as well as the Church Fathers until John of Damascus, including Tertullian and Origen), the most explicit texts are given (incl. translation), the relation with the texts of the Old and New Testament is indicated and the nature of the Antichrist as seen by each Father is described. In general, the Antichrist is considered as a once-and-for-all eschatological figure who is completely possessed by Satan himself, deceitful politically as well as religiously. From these texts it is concluded that the Fathers have indeed systematized, but that by doing this they have not departed from the biblical basis, so that one concept both in the New Testament and with the Fathers can be assumed.

A survey of Tertullian's soteriology

by

G.D. DUNN

(*Virginia QLD, Australia*)

Within the English translation of the best-known historical treatment of Patristic Christology, Aloys Grillmeier devoted nearly fourteen pages to Tertullian's Christology.¹ These pages outline and assess Tertullian's contribution to theology, recognising the contexts in which he was writing: against pagan polytheism and against Christian monarchianism and patripassianism as represented by Praxeas. Grillmeier evaluated Tertullian's trinitarian and christological language as revealing how Tertullian imagined the relationship between Son and Father and between the divine and human in Jesus. What we do not find in Grillmeier is any reference to soteriology in Tertullian except for a passing mention of how, having started with the oneness (*monarchia*) of God, Tertullian wrote of the threeness of the Trinity in terms of the economy of salvation whereby the Son and Spirit exist because they have a redemptive task to perform.² This is not to say that Grillmeier did not recognise the importance of soteriology. Indeed, he advanced the notion in his opening chapter that the question of the identity of Christ took place within the wider question of the nature of salvation offered to humanity in Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Patristic Age.³

Despite this affirmation of its importance, the lack of attention to soteriology is understandable, for the person and work of Jesus have long been treated as two nearly separate disciplines and, as

¹ Aloys GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (AD 451)*, trans. John Bowden (London: Mowbrays, 1975 [2nd edn.], pp. 117-131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Gerald O'Collins has noted recently, while the Christology of the New Testament was more functional than ontological, that of the Patristic Age was more ontological than functional, though not so exclusively.⁴ Yet Christology without soteriology is somewhat sterile and incomplete. Who Jesus is understood to be must be compatible with what Jesus is understood to have done for us.⁵ In the words of Edward Schillebeeckx: "To speak of Jesus in the language of faith is to express what the (indeed) historical Jesus had come to signify for his disciples and how this is anchored in Jesus himself."⁶ To put it even more simply, "Jesus' person was about salvation..."⁷ Modern theology stresses the unity of Christology and soteriology. Who Jesus is is expressed through what he did (and does) and what he did (and does) reveals who he is.⁸ So it is in that spirit of complementing Grillmeier's work that I wish to trace some of Tertullian's soteriology.

How might such a task be presented? It seems to me that there are quite a number of methods available. One might trace Tertullian's use of words that have a soteriological flavour: salvation, redemption, expiation, atonement, etc. As an alternative, one might examine the ways in which Tertullian made use of passages from the New Testament that have a strong soteriological emphasis or importance. One could examine each treatise in turn, perhaps in a chronological order so as to note changes in his theology. A

⁴ Gerald O'COLLINS, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 19.

⁵ It has to be recognised that soteriology has two perspectives: what Jesus has done for us and what has happened to us as a result. Thus there is an objective and subjective dimension. G. O'COLLINS, *Christology*, p. 283, not only says this in different words but highlights the priority of the objective dimension (which is because it is always initiative to the subjective dimension's response) when he writes: "Such biblical notions of redemption... fail to yield their full meaning whenever the divine love is left out of the consideration."

⁶ Edward SCHILLEBEECKX, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology*, trans. Hubert Hoskins (London: William Collins Sons, 1979 [Eng. ed.]), p. 44.

⁷ Brian O. McDERMOTT, *Word Become Flesh: Dimensions of Christology*, New Theology Studies, vol. 9 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993), p. 211.

⁸ Jürgen MOLTSMANN, *The Way of Jesus Christ: Christology in Messianic Dimensions*, trans. Margaret Kohl (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1990 [Eng. ed.]), p. 44: "In the history of theology, the doctrine about the person of Christ has always provided the inner premise for the soteriology which is to be substantiated; while soteriology is the outward result of the christology."

comparison with earlier Christian writers on the topic could lead to conclusions about local variations in soteriological belief or about individual contributions. Finally, one could read the vast secondary literature on Tertullian in order to construct a picture of his ideas about the role of Jesus in human salvation. In this paper I shall sketch any soteriological presentations found in each of the treatises in turn. It remains to another time to compare Tertullian's position with other early Christian writers or to examine developments within or influences on his thoughts. What I hope to demonstrate is that Tertullian had much to say about the saving work of Jesus but that it was never his primary interest to explore this matter for its own sake or in a comprehensive way; his comments were always as a support for other arguments which dominated his attention. As a result of this lack of systematic treatment, a survey of his comments reveals tensions and contradictions in his thoughts, the same kind of conflict of ideas we find in the New Testament itself.

In some treatises of Tertullian we find no comment about soteriology. One could list *de Cultu Feminarum*, *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, *adversus Hermogenes*, *de Idololatria*, *ad Martyras*, *ad Nationes*, *de Pallio*, *de Spectaculis*, *de Testimonio Animae*, *ad Uxorem*, and *adversus Valentianos*.

De Paenitentia is a work dated no more precisely by Barnes than to a time before A.D. 206.⁹ It is a treatise described as homiletic and concerned with purely internal matters of ecclesiastical discipline.¹⁰ From a rhetorical perspective, Sider has classified this as a forensic treatise that treats the *stasis* of definition.¹¹ Others give the impression that they would consider this more as a deliberative piece of writing seeking not so much to explain as to urge a course of action.¹² Other than a few passing references there is really no mention of Jesus in this treatise. What interested Tertullian was the question of the repentance of the Christian who sinned after bap-

⁹ Timothy David BARNES, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985 [2nd ed.]), p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120; Tertullian, *Treatises on Penance: On Penitence and On Purity*, trans. William P. Le Saint, *Ancient Christian Writers*, vol. 28 (New York: Newman Press, 1959), p. 9.

¹¹ Robert Dick SIDER, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 103.

¹² W. P. LE SAINT, *ACW* 28, p. 9.

tism. The role that Jesus plays in this is not examined. Thus, within this work, we are dealing with subjective soteriology.

The human ability to repent is something sown by God (*de Paen.* 2.2 – *deus sevit*), but what is sown needs to be cultivated through the human activity of fear and conversion in order to bear fruit (*de Paen.* 2.2). That fruit is salvation (*de Paen.* 2.2 – *id est hominis salute*). The brief history of salvation Tertullian provided (*de Paen.* 2.3-4) stresses the divine initiative and God's mercy, patience and continual call to repentance.¹³ The baptism of repentance was to prepare people for salvation, something that would only come with Christ. There is a strong sense that salvation, the dwelling of the Spirit in the human heart, is only possible after a person has made their heart ready through repentance (*de Paen.* 2.6). Tertullian was able to distinguish those catechumens with the right attitude about baptism (those who wish to deserve it) from those with the wrong attitude (those who consider it something they have earned) (*de Paen.* 6.21 – *ille sumit, hic invadit*). Even though, for the rest of the treatise, attention is turned to the human activity of repentance, the point about it and salvation in general being a gift from God (*de Paen.* 7.5 – *dei beneficium*) must not be forgotten. As much as God rewards good deeds one must not forget that it is God who initiates the good which people do (*de Paen.* 2.9 – *Deus enim reprobationem bonorum ratam non habet utpote suorum: quorum cum auctor et defensor sit, necesse est proinde et acceptator; si acceptator, etiam remunerator*).¹⁴ It would be easy to overlook it, for it does not receive much space in the treatise, but this is not because it is unimportant but because it is not the disputed point that occasioned this work's writing.

One gets the impression that God's desire to be merciful to sinful humanity needs human repentance in order to become effective (*de Paen.* 2.7 – *haec paenitentiae causa, haec opera, negotium divinae*

¹³ At the same time, this passage gives the clear impression of divine passibility – God has changed from anger to mercy.

¹⁴ Tertullian, *de Paen.* 2.9 (CCSL 1.323): "For God, never giving His sanction to the reprobation of good deeds, inasmuch as they are His own (of which, being the author, He must necessarily be the defender too), is in like manner the acceptor of them, and if the acceptor, likewise the rewarder." (all English translations of Tertullian from A. Roberts & J. Donaldson [rev. A. C. Coxe], *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3: *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian* and vol. 4: *Fathers of the Third Century* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1885]).

misericordiae curans). Without repentance God's attitude towards those who sin is one of judgement involving chastisement (*de Paen.* 3.10). Tertullian used terms like the goodness of God being displeased by evil and being offended by sin (*de Paen.* 3.2, 5). With repentance there is God's pardon (*de Paen.* 4.1). This repentance is expressed through baptism, which is the forgiveness of sins (*de Paen.* 6.9; 7.10) and which is the culmination of a process of human effort (*de Paen.* 6.9 - *sed ut eo pervenire contingat elaborandum est*).¹⁵ Repentance, though, is not entirely a human achievement. It is an opportunity presented by God (*de Paen.* 4.3 - *occasio*). Is baptism an experience of salvation now or a guarantee (a conditional one at that) of future salvation? This too was not Tertullian's question. Given that the idea that the gift of forgiveness granted through baptism can be lost pervades the whole work, it has to be agreed that salvation is a future reality, yet at the same time, in the analogy of baptism being like surviving a shipwreck, Tertullian makes the point that those who survive once make a strenuous effort not to lose that which they have received: their salvation (*de Paen.* 7.5).

His point was that Christians ought not be people of repentance because, so conscious are they of what they have received, they dare not risk losing it by sinning after baptism (*de Paen.* 2.1; 5.1; 7.5). Repentance is for those not yet Christian. The danger he feared was a too easy-going attitude to sin and repentance: if one can repent repeatedly one will not struggle as hard to avoid sin. Once ought to be enough, but a second time, and a second time only, may be permitted (*de Paen.* 7.10). A person who does sin may repent (*paenitere*) once again and be freed (*liberari*) again once and be reconciled with God (*reconciliari*) again and make satisfaction (*satisfacias*) to God (*de Paen.* 7.12-14). When one confesses before the community one confesses before Christ and when one is forgiven by the community one is forgiven by Christ, because the Church is Christ (*de Paen.* 10.6).

Yet, throughout this treatise, Tertullian used language a theologian today, in the light of Reformation debates, writing about grace would find difficult to countenance. He wrote of God rewarding (*remunerator*) good deeds (*de Paen.* 2.9) or being in debt to the person who performs them (*de Paen.* 2.11 - *bonum factum deum*

¹⁵ See also Tertullian, *de Paen.* 6.17.

habet debitorem). Salvation itself was described as the reward for repentance (*de Paen.* 4.7 - *invitat praemio: salute*). Rather than highlight the objective way in which Jesus restored people to God's favour, Tertullian concentrated on the subjective means: repentance brings people back to it (*de Paen.* 5.1; 8.8); it is the means of winning God's favour (*de Paen.* 6.1 - *ut omnes salutis in promerendo deo petitores*). Salvation may be a gift from God (*diuinum beneficium*) that is given assuredly in baptism, but there is human effort in getting to baptism in the first place (*de Paen.* 6.9). One can notice the tension in his writing. On the one hand, in the parables in Luke 15, it is God who seeks and finds (*de Paen.* 8.4-6), while, on the other, it is God who receives back the one who repents (*de Paen.* 8.8). It is a tension to be found perhaps in the third parable of that chapter itself.

A transaction is established: as compensation for sin and as the price for forgiveness a person must offer God repentance.

*Hoc enim pretio dominus veniam addicere instituit, hac paenitentiae compensatione redimendam proponit inpunitatem.*¹⁶

Through compensation,¹⁷ in which repentance is the price paid for earlier sin, one merits forgiveness (*de Paen.* 6.6 - *merere*). This notion of compensation or satisfaction is Tertullian's contribution to soteriology.¹⁸ As Tixeront noted early in the twentieth century:

However, salvation is a personal work, and the merits and satisfactions of Jesus Christ do not exempt us from meriting by ourselves our happiness and atoning for our sins. This theory of merit and satisfaction is perhaps the one which, in his whole work, betrays his legal spirit. He framed for that theory a terminology which still survives and remains a

¹⁶ Ibid., 6.4 (CCSL 1.330): "For repentance is the price at which the Lord has determined to award pardon: He proposes the redemption of release from penalty at this compensating exchange of repentance."

¹⁷ We must note also Tertullian's use of the verb *satisfacere* - *de Paen.* 5.9 (twice); 7.14; 10.2. See W. P. LE SAINT, ACW 28, pp. 155-6, 159-60; Michael BRÜCK, "Genugtuung bei Tertullian," VC 29 (1975), pp. 276-290; Gösta HALLONSTEN, *Satisfactio bei Tertullian. Überprüfung einer Forschungstradition*, Band 39 of *Studia Theologica Lundensia* (Lund: Gleerup, 1984).

¹⁸ J. N. D. KELLY, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: A & C Black, 1977 [5th ed.]), p. 177. See also Gerard S. SLOYAN, *Jesus: Redeemer and Divine Word*, Theology and Life Series, vol. 28 (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1989), pp. 79-80. He points out that Tertullian never uses satisfaction to describe Christ's death.

characteristic of Latin theology. Not that our author ignores the share of Jesus in the fulfilment of good works; but, outside this consideration, the relations between God and man are, for him, nothing, strictly speaking, but the relations between lord and servant and involve their consequences.¹⁹

In part, it appears that Tertullian's concern had to do with the efficacy of baptism. Not that he doubted its efficacy, in fact his concern was just the opposite. He feared the situation of those who received the forgiveness of sins in baptism but had not yet offered repentance because, after forgiveness, one would not be inclined to be concerned about repentance, and the person without repentance would be found out by God (*de Paen.* 6.7-10).

It would seem that Tertullian was interested in a modified version of the question in Luke's Gospel asked of Jesus by the lawyer (Lk. 10:25), this time about what one must do to hang on to eternal life achieved through baptism. One hung on by avoiding sin after baptism. The more objective issue of the salvation won for us in Christ did not interest him in this work other than his early statement: *iam inde in semetipso paenitentiam dedicavit, rescissa sententia irarum pristinorum ignoscere pactus operi et imagini suae*.²⁰ This is not altogether surprising. Tertullian was an occasional writer. The question of what Jesus had achieved for humanity was less of an issue than that of how to deal with sinful Christians. As Dillistone observed a generation ago:

Tertullian did not attempt to construct a doctrine of atonement in terms of his own particular interests for it was not an age for systematic theological exposition. Rather was it a period, especially in the West, of applying the Christian revelation to the urgent practical problems with which the Church had to deal. In Tertullian's time no problem was more poignant, even agonizing than that of how to deal with the weaker members of the fellowship who fell victim to open and grievous sins.²¹

¹⁹ J. TIXERONT, *History of Dogmas*, vol. 1: *The Antenicene Theology*, trans. H. L. B. (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1984 [2nd Eng. ed.]), p. 319.

²⁰ Tertullian, *de Paen.* 2.3 (CCSL 1.300) : "... did from that time onward inaugurate repentance in His own self, by rescinding the sentence of His first wrath, engaging to grant pardon to His own work and image."

²¹ F. W. DILLISTONE, *The Christian Understanding of Atonement* (Digswell Place, Herts.: James Nisbet, 1968), p. 187.

Thus, I do not think we see in Tertullian, at least in this treatise, a very developed sense of the *Christus Victor* model of redemption. We may understand that model, in contrast with the Christ the Victim model, in the words of H. E. W. Turner:

The *Christus Victor* theory stresses what was wrought through Christ by God on behalf of man; the Christ Victim theory emphasizes what was offered as man by Christ for men before God.²²

In *de Paenitentia* Tertullian was more interested in the question of how to hang on to what was wrought or what happens when one loses what was wrought than in investigating what was wrought or who wrought it. Indeed, as Turner pointed out later, Tertullian's interest in satisfaction was with regard to what a person did. Only with Cyprian, a generation or so later, did satisfaction come to be applied to the activity of Christ.²³

In the later *de Pudicitia*, a work described by one of its translators as "a passionate, bigoted and yet utterly sincere attack on the doctrine and discipline of the orthodox Church..."²⁴ Tertullian revisited the issue of the possibility of repentance after baptism but this time the result was more restrictive: the Church had no power to offer forgiveness for serious sin to anyone after baptism. In this treatise, longer than *de Paenitentia*, we do find more about the role of Jesus in salvation. He came and fulfilled the old law and removed the yoke of works (*de Pud.* 6.3). How he accomplished that was not specified here. Tertullian's point was to demonstrate that, even though this was true, this did not mean that Jesus had removed the obligation to virtue and moral living. This time there is not much attention to the subjective dimension of salvation, for that is a pre-baptismal matter only, according to the more hard-line Tertullian, and this treatise only deals with the post-baptismal situation (except for ch.10 where the pre-baptismal situation is discussed, but only in relation to pagans).

Tertullian's references to the work of Jesus, the objective dimension of soteriology, are scriptural. As Patout Burns has pointed out, early Christian writers did not simply repeat what they found in

²² H. E. W. TURNER, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption: A Study of the Development of Doctrine during the First Five Centuries* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1952), p. 22.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁴ W. P. LE SAINT, *ACW* 28, p. 41.

the New Testament, they interpreted it in new language for new contexts: "The Fathers regarded Scripture as the norm of their theology, but gradually realized that they could not be limited by the vocabulary or the explanatory categories of the Scriptures."²⁵ He understands there to have been two schools of thought in the ancient Church with regard to the economy of salvation and that Tertullian was a representative of the Latin approach. He contrasts the two theological explanations:

The orientation of Latin theology contradicts this Greek universalism. Tertullian, Cyprian, and their Roman counterparts appear to have assumed that the salvation accomplished in Jesus Christ could be attained only through his Church. A person passes from sin to salvation by fulfilling the conditions which God imposes for participation in Christ's redemption rather than by developing the potentialities with which every one was gifted in creation. Thus one must believe the teaching of Christ, receive baptism, and belong to the communion of the proper Church in order to be freed from sin and raised to the glory of Christ.²⁶

In the context of arguing that serious sin could debar Christians from salvation, Tertullian argued that for pagans to be saved they needed to join the Christian community. The lost sheep, lost coin, and lost younger son of the parables in Luke 15 were to be understood as pagans who had been sought out by God and called back by Christ (*de Pud.* 7.6-7). If pagans are "called back" (*reuocatur*) or "brought back" (*reuocatur*) by Christ then they must have belonged to the "flock" in some first instance.²⁷ Perhaps this universalism Tertullian was prepared to grant did not help his belief that they had to join the Church if they were in some sense already a part of God's people, but it was necessary according to his logic in interpreting Luke.²⁸ We can notice his problem when he turned

²⁵ J. PATOUT BURNS, "The Economy of Salvation: Two Patristic Traditions," *Theological Studies* 37 (1976), p. 598.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 599.

²⁷ Tertullian, *de Pud.* 7.6 (CCSL 2.1292): "*Dic mihi, nonne omne hominum genus unus Dei grex est? Nonne uniuersarum gentium idem Deus et Dominus et pastor est?*"

²⁸ One who wanted to argue against Tertullian could point out that the sequence of belonging to the one flock, being lost, and then being found could apply just as well to the Christian who sinned (even though Tertullian denied that it could) as it could to the pagan, in that the person who sinned seriously after baptism was then lost and that, through the Church's ongoing practice of reconciliation, they were found again.

to the lost coin. The woman loses her coin in the house and Tertullian had to juggle an interpretation of the house as both Church and world in order for the coin to be understood as pagans (*de Pud.* 7.10-11).²⁹

Yet even here the objective and subjective dimensions mingle and were not differentiated clearly. When Tertullian wrote that Jesus preferred one sinner to be saved through repentance than for others to find it through righteousness, the idea of the graciousness of salvation was not to the fore.³⁰ The scriptural language of being lost and being found is what shaped Tertullian's presentation in this passage. While the lost pagan could be found, once one had been found and had been baptised, to be lost again through sin meant that one died and could not be restored to the flock (*de Pud.* 7.17). To separate oneself from the Church by serious sin meant that one placed oneself beyond salvation.

The Gospels also described the work of Jesus in terms of pardoning sin (Mt. 26:6-13; Lk. 7:37-50; Jn. 4:26) and Tertullian could repeat that (*de Pud.* 11.1-2), while making his point that this was a power reserved to him alone and not transmitted to the Church.

The death of Jesus is highlighted as the redemption of the flesh (*de Pud.* 11.3 - *redemptio carnis*). Baptism is the means of sanctification (1 Cor. 6:11 - *de Pud.* 16.5); it is the means by which human flesh is washed clean of the stain of sin because the flesh of Christ has imparted its own purity to the water (*de Pud.* 6.16). The sanctifying and purifying effect, through baptism, on the Church of Christ's deliverance to death and the shedding of blood is mentioned (Eph. 5:25-27 in *de Pud.* 18.11; 1 Jn. 1:7 in *de Pud.* 19.10, 13). Hence, for Tertullian, sin after baptism was unforgivable. Perhaps here we could see some sense of the idea that redemption

²⁹ Once again, Tertullian's contention that the parable of the lost coin could not apply to the Christian because the Christian cannot be found by the light because a Christian is in the light already (*de Pud.* 7.11) does not hold. One could readily understand the Christian who had sinned as being lost and in the darkness. Where Tertullian's argument is telling, though, is in the next sentence, when he remarked that if the lost items of the parables referred to Christians, then they would have to be described as being lost a second time and there is no such description (*de Pud.* 7.12).

³⁰ Tertullian, *de Pud.* 7.8 (CCSL 2.1293): "... *praeponit unius peccatoris salutem ex poenitentia quam illorum ex iniustitia.*"

consists in deification, in that baptism restores an original innocence and communion with God.³¹ Using 1 Cor. 6:14 Tertullian writes of people being raised by the God who raised up Jesus and comments that this is because of the human union with Christ (*de Pud.* 16.7). The Pauline idea of redemption or purchase (1 Cor. 6:20) was connected with the idea in 1 Pt. 1:18-19 that the price of that redemption was the blood of the Lord (*de Pud.* 6.18; 16.10). Here we could suggest is a primitive form of the *Christus Victor* model. There is a lengthy extract from Romans (Rom. 6:1-11) in which Tertullian argued that just as Christ died once to sin so too Christians only die once to sin as well and that therefore there should be no sin after baptism (*de Pud.* 17.4-8).³² This, perhaps, may be classified as an example of redemption by illumination and example.³³ There is much quoting of Scripture but little comment on it except in regard to the treatise's *partitio* of there being only one forgiveness; all else that could be said was omitted.

In this treatise we also find mention of the continuing work of salvation through Christ. If Tertullian was not able to permit the Church to offer forgiveness to Christians who sinned, he did not rule out forgiveness totally. Even if the Church could not forgive, Christ could and would from heaven (*de Pud.* 11.2) by interceding with the Father for the minor sins that everyone commits (*de Pud.* 19.25).

After this look at the two treatises on repentance, it is appropriate here to consider *de Baptismo*. Like the previous two, this treatise is more concerned with the individual's appropriation of the gift of salvation rather than with how that gift was provided for the world through Jesus in the first place. Water has the power to wash away death (*de Bapt.* 2.2), to wash away sin (*ablutis delictis*), and to set free into eternal life (*in uitam aeternam liberamur*) (*de Bapt.* 1.1), a sanctifying power (*sanctificare*) given it by its being sanctified by the Holy Spirit (*de Bapt.* 4.1).³⁴ Through faith sins are

³¹ H. E. W. TURNER, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption*, p. 73. It is to be noted that Tertullian is not mentioned in this chapter of Turner.

³² According to G. SLOYAN, *Jesus: Redeemer and Divine Word*, pp. 49-50, Paul not only emphasised Jesus' redemptive death for past human sins but how his death enabled people to live in the future without sin. Sloyan's point is that the second emphasis fell from theological sight around the time of Augustine.

³³ H. E. W. TURNER, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption*, pp. 29-46.

³⁴ Mark S. LETOURNEAU, "General and Special Topics in the *De Baptismo* of Tertullian," *Rhetorica* 5 (1987), p. 91, suggests, from a rhetorical perspective,

washed away, a faith witnessed in baptism by Father, Son, and Spirit (*de Bapt.* 6.1). The effect of baptism was the restoration of wholeness in a person, described as a healing of spirit (*spiritum medentur*), eternal renewal (*aeternam reformant*), and being saved (*conseruant*) means having death, sin, guilt, and penalty being washed away (*de Bapt.* 5.6). Cleansing (*emendati*) gives us the sense of being restored to a pristine original condition. In Ex. 15:22-25 where Moses threw a piece of wood into the water at Marah to turn it from being bitter to sweet, Tertullian saw a prefiguring of Jesus, the tree of life,³⁵ who restored (*remediatur*) bitter human nature to its original sweetness through the waters of baptism (*de Bapt.* 9.2). Likewise, the rock in the desert which gave water to the people when struck (Ex. 17:6) was equated with Jesus (*de Bapt.* 9.3). Many of the events of the life of Jesus involved water and Tertullian found in them a witness (*testimonium*) to baptism (*de Bapt.* 9.4).

What we can notice is that there is a combination of soteriological themes, at least as a scholar like Michael Slusser has identified them. His five categories of ancient soteriological themes are determined in response to the question: from what are we saved? His first two themes come from two important responses: death (which gives the theme of victory) and sin (which gives the theme of atonement).³⁶ Tertullian made reference to both sin and death as being overcome through baptism.

The impression is certainly given that salvation only becomes a reality for a person through baptism, for baptism is necessary for salvation (*de Bapt.* 12.1), except possibly for those, like the apostles, who were chosen first by Jesus and who were saved (*de salute tamen apostolorum*) and received the grace of baptism (*praerogativa... baptismi*) by their undivided intimacy (*individuae familiaritatis*) with him who rewarded those who had faith and followed

that the first refutative task of Tertullian was to respond to the objection that the simple act of washing cannot have supernatural effects. He sees Tertullian using arguments from the formal topics.

³⁵ See Acts 5:30; 10:40; 13:29; Gal. 3:13; 1 Pt. 2:24.

³⁶ Michael SLUSSER, "Primitive Christian Soteriological Themes," *Theological Studies* 44 (1983), p. 557. Given the Pauline statement that the wages of sin are death (Rom. 6:23 – see also Jas. 1:15) and that the sting of death is sin (1 Cor. 15:56), perhaps Slusser goes too far in discerning two separate models based one on sin and the other on death.

him with this salvation (*salus*) (*de Bapt.* 12.8).³⁷ Salvation was possible through faith alone in the days before the passion and resurrection of Jesus (*de Bapt.* 13.2), but after that and because of the explicit command of Jesus salvation comes from baptism. John 3:5 was all the proof Tertullian needed: one must be born again of water and the Spirit. Salvation could also come through martyrdom,³⁸ a second baptism, which was prefigured in the water and blood which flowed from the side of Jesus (Jn. 19:34) (*de Bapt.* 16.1-2). Its effects were for those who had not received the first or who had lost the effects of the first through sin.

There is recognition in *de Baptismo* that remission of sin and sanctification were to come with Jesus (*de Bapt.* 10.5 - *remissionis et sanctificationis in Christo*). In his lifetime Jesus remitted sins through his word (*de Bapt.* 11.3 - *in peccatorum remissionem quam verbo dabat?*) for baptism would not have such efficacy until after his death and resurrection.

... nec instructa efficacia lauacri per passionem et resurrectionem, quia nec mors nostra dissolvi posset nisi domini passione nec vita restitui sine resurrectione ipsius.³⁹

The notion of human effort in salvation, which we have noted particularly in *de Paenitentia*, is present also in *de Ieiunio*. Fasting is one way of earning the favour of God (*de Iei.* 3.1 - *promerendi deum*) and of making satisfaction (*satis deo faciat*) to God through fasting for the sin of eating what was forbidden (Gen. 3:3-13). Such fasting would rekindle salvation (*atque ita salutem aemulo modo redaccenderet inedia*) (*de Iei.* 3.4). Although there is mention

³⁷ See Mt. 9:22; Lk. 18:42; Mk. 10:52 (being saved by faith); Mt. 9:2; Mk. 2:5 (having sins forgiven); Mt. 9:9; Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27 (the tax-collector leaving all to follow Jesus); Mt. 4:21-22; Mk. 1:19; Lk. 5:11 (those who left their father and his boat to follow Jesus); and Lk. 9:59-60; Mt. 8:21-22 (the man who was told not to bury his father but to follow Jesus).

³⁸ THEWALL, p. 677, has translated *qui aqua lavissent et sanguine oportere* of *de Bapt.* 16.2 as "they who had been bathed in the water might likewise drink the blood," giving the passage a eucharistic overtone. The next sentence about the second baptism in lieu of the first indicates that the reference is to martyrdom not the eucharist (unless Tertullian is suggesting participation in the eucharist by the non-baptised).

³⁹ Tertullian, *de Bapt.* 11.4 (CCSL 1.286): "... nor the efficacy of the font established through the passion and resurrection; because neither can our death see dissolution except by the Lord's passion, nor our life be restored without his resurrection."

of Jesus' own fasting (*de Iei* 8.2), there is not much discussion about how that fasting or anything else Jesus did led to salvation other than that through fasting Jesus provided a model for how to combat the devil (*de Iei* 8.2) and that, through his death presumably, Jesus has replaced the old law with the new (*de Iei* 14.1).⁴⁰ Once again, we may draw attention to the fact that there is a mixture of soteriological themes here: the *Christus Victor* model of Turner (and its equivalent in Slusser) and Christ the Illuminator model of Turner (exemplar in Slusser).⁴¹ We may even see in the reference to *de Ieiunio* 14 a reference to Slusser's revelation model, different from the exemplar model in that in the former we do not simply imitate Jesus but discern what we are to do from what he has revealed.⁴² The giving of a new law would be such revelation.

Through the use of the term *satisfecit* with reference to Jesus healing Malchus of a wound which he did not cause (Lk. 22:50-51; Jn. 18:10-11), *de Patientia* has overtones of soteriology, suggesting that in the ministry of Jesus people experienced salvation, but this is not Tertullian's point; establishing the patience of Jesus in the face of so much negativity is (*de Pat.* 3.8). People are called to imitate this patience of Jesus through their submission (*obsequium*), a submission that deserves (*promerendi*) or courts (*invitandae*) divine favour (*de Pat.* 4.1-2; 8.3; 11.5; 15.1). The notion of imitation draws to mind the idea of Christ as illuminator or exemplar. Yet before one accuses Tertullian of being a proto-Pelagian, it is to be noted that he recognises that patience is both subsequent and antecedent to faith (*de Pat.* 6.1); this good deed of patience not only leads to righteousness with God but also flows from it. However it cannot be denied that the emphasis is on the antecedent (*de Pat.* 6.5 - *vides quem nobis patrem patientia adquirat* [emphasis added]). On the other hand, there is a recognition at the very end of the treatise that our patience is only ever a response to the patience of God and of Christ.⁴³ Tertullian counselled patience

⁴⁰ The use of the verb *sepelio* with regard to the old law certainly suggests that one see it in connection with the death of Jesus.

⁴¹ H. E. W. TURNER, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption*, pp. 47-69 (*Christus Victor*) and 29-46 (Illuminator); M. SLUSSER, "Soteriological Themes," pp. 558-560 (victory) and 565-567 (exemplar).

⁴² M. SLUSSER, "Soteriological Themes," pp. 562-564.

⁴³ Tertullian, *de Pat.* 16.5 (CCSL 1.317): "*Ceterum nos amemus patientiam dei, patientiam Christi: rependamus illi quam pro nobis ipse dependit, offeramus patientiam spiritus, patientiam carnis, qui in resurrectionem carnis et spiritus credimus.*"

in the face of death because of the Christian's confidence in that the dead will be raised, just as Jesus both died and rose again for our sake (*de Pat.* 9.2).

In *Scorpiace*, which Barnes has dated tentatively to A.D. 203/4 but certainly early in his career,⁴⁴ Tertullian offers arguments about the necessity (chs. 2-4) and the utility (chs. 5-7) of martyrdom before presenting scriptural arguments to support his position.⁴⁵ This is in response to the misunderstanding, or the poison, of those who argue that since Christ died once for all then we need not be killed (*Scorp.* 1.8). On the contrary, Tertullian argued that martyrdom is required by God and what God requires is good (*Scorp.* 2.1-2). It suited Tertullian's rhetorical argument to put forward the view that martyrdom led to salvation (*Scorp.* 5.7; 9.5). To counter the poisoned attitude that God has a blood lust, Tertullian cited Rom. 8:32 and 4:25 (*Scorp.* 7.4-5) in order to show that the death God demands is for the sake of the life of others. The objective dimension of what Christ achieved was never enough for Tertullian; the subjective implications were what interested him most.

Persecution provided a means through which God could judge people either to approve or reject them (*de Fug.* 1.4). For Tertullian, not only could salvation be lost by people's actions, but it could be won by them as well. The idea of salvation as free gift is not to be found in *de Fuga in Persecutione*, particularly when persecution is described as an *agon* that has on offer to those victorious *corona et praemia* (*de Fug.* 1.5). Those who belong to God are free from the clutches of the devil, though God presumably may permit the devil to persecute them as a trial and as a means of separating them from those who do not really belong to God's household (*de Fug.* 2.7). The example of Jesus in facing persecution was both an example to his followers and a proof of his human soul and flesh (*de Fug.* 8.1), but as a work of salvation or redemption we are told little in this treatise. The idea of *Christus Victor* triumphing over the devil and Christ the Illuminator or exemplar are both present in this treatise. Jesus' work of salvation occurs in individuals who have been clothed with him in baptism (Gal. 3:27; Eph. 4:24) and who

⁴⁴ Timothy D. BARNES, "Tertullian's *Scorpiace*," *JTS* n.s. 20 (1969), pp. 105-132.

⁴⁵ R. D. SIDER, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, pp. 123-124. Cf T. D. BARNES, "Tertullian's *Scorpiace*," pp. 109-110.

do not flee in the face of persecution (*de Fug.* 10.2) as protection (*de Fug.* 10.3). The one who buys a ransom from persecution with money is unworthy of the one who ransomed (*redemit*) us with his blood (Rom. 3:24-25; 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23; Eph. 1:7, 14; Col. 1:14; 1 Pt. 1:18-19; Heb. 9:14-15; 10:10; Tit. 2:14; 1 Jn. 1:7; Rev. 1:5 - though not every passage refers to both redemption and blood) and who freed or gained us from our sins (*ut nos a peccatis lucraretur*) (*de Fug.* 12.2, 8).⁴⁶

The idea that the Christian had to do things to obtain the rewards God promised (*ad Scap.* 1.1 - *et quae Deus repromittit consequi optantes*) is found in the opening lines of *ad Scapulam*, but of the role of Jesus in this there is no mention.

The idea of recapitulation, so central to the theology of Irenaeus,⁴⁷ finds an echo in Tertullian's *de Monogamia*. In speaking of the preferred Christian practice of marrying only once, Tertullian's argument is that such a practice was original to human creation and that what is original is normative for Christians for the purpose of Christ was to make all things as they were in the beginning (*de Mon.* 5.1 - *invenimus nos ad initium dirigi a Christo*).

In commenting on the third clause of the Lord's Prayer in *de Oratione* about God's will being done on earth as in heaven, Tertullian states that the will of God is the salvation of the adopted (*de Or.* 4.2 - *quia summa est voluntatis eius salus eorum, quos adoptavit*). There seems to be clear reference to the Pauline idea of human destiny expressed in term of adoption (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:5). Tertullian makes a point of mentioning that Jesus accomplished the will of God through preaching, working and enduring (*de Or.* 4.3 - *praedicando, operando, sustinendo*).

The notion of the incompleteness of the work of Jesus is to be found in *de Virginibus Velandis*. Basing himself on Jn. 16:12-13, Tertullian offered the opinion that all things grow and develop, including the grace of God and righteousness (*de Virg.* 1.7 - *iustitia*). This happens through the Spirit who reveals matters of discipline, an understanding of the Scriptures, and a moulding of the

⁴⁶ As T. D. BARNES, "Tertullian's *Scorpiace*," p. 118, has pointed out, the difference between *Scorpiace* and *de Fuga in Persecutione* is that the question in the former treatise is whether the Christian has to bear witness when arrested while in the latter the question is whether the Christian may avoid arrest.

⁴⁷ Eric OSBORN, *The Emergence of Christian Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 147-171.

intellect, all of which was not possible beforehand because of the human inability to understand much at any one time and which leads to a state of maturity (*de Virg.* 1.5, 7).

In *de Corona* Tertullian, in commenting on the practice of crowning the newly manumitted, reminded his Christian readers that their freedom had already been paid for (*redemptus es*) by Christ at a great price (*de Cor.* 13.5). He challenges his readers to repay Christ who presented his head for theirs.⁴⁸

The soul is listed by Tertullian as the object of salvation in *de Anima* (*de An.* 13.3) and it is his soul which Jesus lay down for the sake of others, like the good shepherd does for sheep (Jn. 10:11). Even though in the last chapters of the treatise Tertullian considered the fate of the soul waiting in Hades until the general resurrection (chs. 55-58), he did not mention what role Jesus played in that.

There is a summary of the *regula fidei* in *de Praescriptione Haereticorum* (*de Praescr.* 13.1-5). Faith provides a law and in the observance of this law a person finds salvation according to Tertullian.⁴⁹ His point was to argue that heretics did not follow the *regula fidei* and hence could attain salvation. It is the origin of what Christians believe rather than the actual substance of belief that occupied Tertullian in this work. He wrote of human destiny as a reward or payment (*merces*) promised by Jesus (*de Praescr.* 20.1).⁵⁰

In the midst of his chapters in the *Apologeticum* defending Christians against the charge of sacrilege (chs. 10-28),⁵¹ we find Tertullian making comment about the person and work of Jesus. In terms of the mission of Jesus, Tertullian wrote that it was to renovate and illuminate human nature (*Apol.* 21.7 - *ad reformandam et illuminandam eam*). The focus of this chapter is more on Christology, on the essential nature of the person of Jesus, in terms of the relationship between Jesus and God and Jesus and humanity. When Tertullian did mention salvation, he did so in a negative

⁴⁸ Tertullian, *de Cor.* 14.4 (CCSL 2.1064): "Si ob haec caput ei tuum debes, tale, si potes, ei repende, quale suum pro tuo obtulit."

⁴⁹ Tertullian, *de Praescr.* 14.4 (CCSL 1.198): "Fides in regula posita est, habet legem et salutem de observatione legis."

⁵⁰ See A. A. R. BASTIAENSEN, "Tertullian's Argumentation in *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* 20,1ff.," VC 31 (1977), pp. 35-46.

⁵¹ R. D. SIDER, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, p.76; idem, "On Symmetrical Composition in Tertullian," JTS n.s. 24 (1973), pp. 405-418.

way: had the Jews believed the Lord's first coming they would have been saved (*Apol.* 21.16). The works of Jesus — exorcisms, healings, raising the dead, controlling nature — were in order to prove his being the Logos (*Apol.* 21.17).

When we turn to *adversus Iudaeos*, a treatise I believe to be by Tertullian, which survives in a draft or unrevised form, and which he used later in the composition of *adversus Marcionem*,⁵² we find a more developed soteriology than in many of Tertullian's other treatises. His argument against the Jews was that their belief that God permanently and without change established a law with them, instituted circumcision, ordained the observance of the Sabbath, and required sacrifices was invalid (*adv. Iud.* 2.2 - 5.7). He offered many passages from the Hebrew Scriptures themselves to show that God retained the right to reform the covenant as circumstances required and that God had promised a new law, a spiritual circumcision, an eternal Sabbath, and spiritual sacrifices (*adv. Iud.* 6.1).⁵³ This new covenant or right relationship with God was to be established through a new law giver (*adv. Iud.* 6.2 - 7.2) and the entire *confirmatio* of the treatise (*adv. Iud.* 6.2 - 14.10) is devoted to demonstrating that Jesus was the fulfilment of that longing for a new covenant. Tertullian cast the salvific role of Jesus in terms of him bringing a new law to a new people. The ministry of Jesus was

⁵² Geoffrey D. DUNN, "The Universal Spread of Christianity as a Rhetorical Argument in Tertullian's *adversus Iudaeos*," *JECS* 8 (2000), pp. 1-19; idem, "Tertullian and Daniel 9:24-27 – A Patristic Interpretation of a Prophetic Time-Frame," *ZAC* 6 (2002), pp. 330-344; idem, "Probabimus venisse eum iam – The Fulfilment of Daniel's Prophetic Time-Frame in Tertullian's *adversus Iudaeos*," *ZAC* 7 (2003), pp. 140-155; idem, "Two Goats, Two Advents and Tertullian's *adversus Iudaeos*," *Augustinianum* 39 (1999), pp. 245-264. See also E. NOELDECHEN, *Die Abfassungszeit der Schriften Tertullians*, TU V.2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1888); idem, *Tertullians Schrift gegen die Juden auf Einheit, Echtheit, Entstehung geprüft*, TU XII.2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1894); Gösta SÄFLUND, *De pallio und die stilistische Entwicklung Tertullians*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 8, VIII (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1955), pp. 128-208; J.-C. FREDOUILLE, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1972), pp. 92, 254-255; Hermann TRÄNKLE, *Q. S. F. Tertulliani, Adversus Iudaeos: mit Einleitung und kritischem Kommentar* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), pp. liii-lxvii; T. D. BARNES, *Tertullian*, p. 53.

⁵³ Geoffrey D. DUNN, "Pro temporum condicione: Jews and Christians as God's People in Tertullian's *adversus Iudaeos*," in *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 2, ed. Pauline ALLEN et al. (Brisbane: Australian Catholic University, Centre for Early Christian Studies, 1999), pp. 315-341.

described as being one of preaching and of power (*adv. Iud.* 9.29). The death of Jesus was seen not as a curse, as described in Dt. 21:22-23, because he was not crucified for his own sins but in order to fulfil the prophecies in the Hebrew Scriptures (*adv. Iud.* 10.2-4).⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that Tertullian did not write that Jesus was crucified not because of his own sins but because of the sins of others. Only later is his innocence (as well as his death being because of the sins of others) stressed as the reason why God rewarded him who suffered with new life (*adv. Iud.* 10.15 - Is. 53:8-10).

In this treatise we find one of the few direct references to Jesus as saviour (*salvator*) (*adv. Iud.* 10.7).⁵⁵ This is in connection with Dt. 33:17, where Joseph is described as a two-horned bull. For Tertullian this is a reminder of the shape of the cross and of the two-fold mission of Jesus: to be a judge to some and a saviour to others. The cross was where Jesus was to struggle (*dimicaturi*) against the devil and to achieve victory (*adv. Iud.* 10.10). A comparison is made with Num. 21:4-9, the bronze serpent which was raised upon the standard to bring healing to the people. Healing comes not so much from the fact that Jesus has died but when people turn from their sin to the sacrament of the cross (*adv. Iud.* 10.10 - *ad crucis istius sacramentum intentus a delictorum petulantia solvens*). Jesus has overcome death and his followers do likewise when they turn to him. This is a clear example of the *Christus Victor* model of redemption, where Jesus is not only victor but healer as well.⁵⁶

There is the same reference to Ex. 15:22-25 about Moses using wood to sweeten the bitter water in *adversus Iudaeos* as in *de Baptismo* (*adv. Iud.* 13.12), with the same conclusion that through baptism a person is revived by the passion of Jesus. 2 Kgs. 6:1-7, where Elisha cast wood on the water to raise the sunken axe head, is seen by Tertullian as a reference to the cross of Jesus lifting up a sunken world through baptism so that through his tree people

⁵⁴ Cf. Tertullian, *de Pat.* 8.3; idem, *adv. Prax.* 29.3; idem, *de Fug.* 12.2.

⁵⁵ The others being Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 3.18.3 (the parallel to *adv. Iud.* 10.7) and 4.14.2.

⁵⁶ W. E. H. TURNER, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption*, p. 63, attributed restoration (as part of recapitulation) to the *Christus Victor* theme, while on p. 73 he described the notion of medicinal healing as being part of his third model, that of Christ the Giver of Incorruption and Deification.

might have the life they lost through Adam's tree (*adv. Iud.* 13.19). Jesus is described as a sacrifice on behalf of the Gentiles (*adv. Iud.* 13.21). Finally, the second coming is seen as the time when those who did not recognise Jesus in his first coming as a victim for us all (*adv. Iud.* 14.8) will be shown the error of their ways (*adv. Iud.* 14.1-10). The implication is there that salvation comes for those who look to the crucified Jesus.

Many of the same points are made in book three of *adversus Marcionem* where Tertullian re-used much of the second half of *adversus Iudaeos*. There are a few comments about salvation in other parts of this largest of Tertullian's works (*adv. Marc.* 1.24; 2.10.6; 2.27.7-8; 5.5.6-7; 5.7.3; 5.9.1-16), but it is books three and four which hold the greatest christological interest. The crux of Tertullian's argument is that Marcion's god, being neither creator nor redeemer, sent a Christ who only seemed to be possessed of flesh and such a Christ could not really have healed or eaten or died or rose again. There would be no basis for faith in him and no basis for human resurrection. If Christ has not come in the flesh then people are left in their sins and death is the final word (*adv. Marc.* 3.8.7).

*Nihil solidum ab inani, nihil plenum a vacuo perfici licuit. Putativus habitus, putativus actus: imaginarius operator, imaginariae operae.*⁵⁷

Tertullian uses the word restoration (*redigo*) to describe the mission of Jesus (*adv. Marc.* 3.21.1). Thus it is more than the overcoming of evil; it is the salvation of people (*adv. Marc.* 4.7.13). What Jesus has achieved is the provision of a gate for admitting people to God's glory (*adv. Marc.* 3.24.10).⁵⁸ Tertullian's interest in baptism being the way in which people are cleansed from sin is evident in book four (*adv. Marc.* 4.9.6-7). Even though in this book Tertullian discusses some parables, healings and forgiving of sins as found in Luke's Gospel, no comment is made about the extent to which they are experiences of salvation or are merely pointers to the salvation

⁵⁷ Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 3.8.4 (CCSL 1.519): "Nothing substantial can be allowed to have been effected by an unsubstantial thing; nothing full by a vacancy. If the habit were putative, the action was putative; if the worker were imaginary the works were imaginary."

⁵⁸ Eric OSBORN, *Tertullian: First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 17, prefers 'victor' to 'saviour' as it keeps a more objective perspective.

to come. Tertullian's christological interest in demonstrating that the Jesus of Luke's Gospel is connected with the creator god as judge overrode everything else. However, he did repeat the Lukan statement that Zacchaeus experienced salvation through his encounter with Jesus (Lk. 19:9) (*adv. Marc.* 4.37.1). Again making use of the Scriptures, Tertullian wrote of the work of Jesus as one of reconciliation (*adv. Marc.* 5.19.5 - Col. 1:20) in which reconciliation and creation are very much linked.

In *de Carne Christi* we find again mention of redemption occurring through the cross and that the blood of Christ was a high price to pay for it (*de Carn.* 4.3). The concern of the treatise was to argue against the docetism of Marcion and so the ontological rather than the functional aspects of Christ are to the fore. So it is something of a bonus to find a summary of soteriology that takes into account more than the death and resurrection of Jesus as salvific or redemptive parts of his work:

*Nativitatem reformat a morte regeneratione caelesti, carnem ab omni vexatione restituit, leprosam emaculat, caecam reluminat, paralyticam redintegrat, daemoniacam expiat, mortuam resuscitat, et nasci in illam erubescit?*⁵⁹

This is not to downplay the death and resurrection of Jesus himself, which Tertullian described as the world's one only hope (*de Carn.* 5.3). The functional and the ontological dimensions of Christology are not separate, for Tertullian acknowledges that the ontological came about in order to fulfil the functional – he became who he was in order that he might achieve what God planned. He became flesh in order to restore (*restituere*) flesh (*de Carn.* 14.1) and to take away sin in flesh (*peccatum carnis*) (*de Carn.* 16.2). The fact that he was able to look beyond death and resurrection meant that he was able to write not only in redemptive language but in salvific language as well (if we understand the difference to be that one speaks of buying back from an enemy and the other speaks of healing).

⁵⁹ Tertullian, *de Carn.* 4.4 (CCSL 2.879): "Our birth He reforms from death by a second birth from heaven; our flesh He restores from every harassing malady; when leprous, He cleanses it of the stain; when blind, He rekindles its light; when palsied, He renews its strength; when possessed with devils, He exorcises it; when dead, He reanimates it, – then shall *we* blush to own it?" See also *de Carn.* 7.11.

In the treatise which follows this, *de Resurrectione Mortuorum*, the focus is very much on the consequence for believers of Jesus having been born in the flesh.⁶⁰ Again the importance of Jesus having flesh like the rest of humanity is considered by Tertullian to be important for unless it could happen to him it can not happen to anyone else (*de Res.* 2.4). Jesus is given the title of redeemer (*redemptor*) (*de Res.* 2.6).⁶¹ While it is the flesh that is washed, anointed, signed with the cross, and has hands laid upon it in baptism, and feeds on the body and blood of Christ, it is so the soul can experience salvation (*de Res.* 8.3), not that the flesh is not saved as well according both to Christ's words (*de Res.* 34-37) and deeds (*de Res.* 38).⁶²

In this treatise the impression is given that rather than earning salvation through good deeds the Christian's good deeds are a repayment for the price that Christ paid upon the cross. Such repayment is most nearly achieved through martyrdom (*de Res.* 8.5-6). We are commanded to love because Christ has first loved us and his strength makes perfect our weakness (2 Cor. 12:9; Lk. 5:31; 19:10; Ezek. 18:23; Dt. 32:39) (*de Res.* 9.3-4). Salvation (*salus*) is explained in terms like *reaedificare* and *restruere* (*de Res.* 11.3). However, when considering the justice of God, Tertullian did not take long to describe God as punishing the wicked and rewarding the just, giving the impression that salvation depends solely upon human effort (*de Res.* 14.5).

The thrust of the treatise is not soteriological in an objective sense in that it does not consider so much what Christ has done for us, but rather is soteriological in a subjective sense in that it considers the meaning or the impact for us of what Christ has done. One must bear in mind that his work is polemical, attacking what he calls the heretics who deny the resurrection of the flesh, and hence the focus is naturally on this subjective dimension. The ideas of redemption and salvation are both found in this text to describe what happens to the Christian person.

⁶⁰ Robert SIDER, "Structure and Design in the 'De Resurrectione Mortuorum' of Tertullian," *VC* 23 (1969), p. 180, sees anthropological and Christological arguments running throughout this treatise.

⁶¹ See also Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4.43.3.

⁶² See R. SIDER, "The 'De Resurrectione Mortuorum' of Tertullian," p. 188, who considers chs. 33-38 to be the section of the *confirmatio* devoted to the Gospels.

In terms of what Jesus had done, Tertullian was content to repeat and interpret passages from the Scriptures. Jesus works to seek and save the lost (Lk. 19:10) (*de Res.* 34.1) by raising it (person, both body and soul) on the last day (Jn. 6:38) (*de Res.* 34.9).

The consequence of what Jesus has achieved for humanity – the resurrection of the dead – takes place at the end of the world, not when a person comes to a realisation of the truth in this life and not immediately upon death (*de Res.* 22.1). Although he was able to offer 1 Jn. 3:2 and Gal. 5:5 to support this (*de Res.* 23.6-7) and quite a number of references to other New Testament texts (*de Res.* 24-25), Tertullian also quoted from Col. 3:1-2 (*de Res.* 23.4) which seems to speak of the resurrection as a present spiritual reality in those who believe and from Col. 2:12-13, 20 (*de Res.* 23.2) which seems to interpret death spiritually. Just as spiritual death is a pointer to a bodily death, the present spiritual resurrection experienced by the believer through baptism is a pointer to a future bodily resurrection (*de Res.* 23.3). It is a modern question, not Tertullian's own, to ask to what degree those people in the Gospels who are recorded as having responded positively to their encounter with Jesus were saved already before his death and resurrection. He saw Jesus' raising of people to life not merely as a demonstration of his power but rather to confirm our hope in a future resurrection (*de Res.* 38.1-2). What it meant for the people concerned is not discussed. What the believer will experience is expressed poetically, in word reminiscent of the passage from *de Carne Christi* I quoted earlier:

*... sic et virtus in infirmitate perficietur, quod periit salvum faciens, quod mortuum est vivificans, quod percussum est sanans, quod languit medicans, quod ereptum est redimens, quod famulatum est liberans, quod seductum est revocans, quod elisum est suscitans...*⁶³

How does the objective soteriology lead to its subjective fulfilment? This is a perennial question. Tertullian answered it in passing by referring to scriptural passages like Jn. 6:40 (*de Res.* 34.11), where the Christian's belief in the Son of God results in their being raised to eternal life on the last day by God and Rom. 6:3-4, 12-

⁶³ Tertullian, *de Res.* 47.14 (CCSL 2. 986): "In this way also 'shall strength be made perfect in weakness' – saving what is lost, reviving what is dead, healing what is stricken, curing what is faint, redeeming what is lost, freeing what is enslaved, recalling what has strayed, raising what is fallen..."

13, 22-23 (*de Res.* 37.3-4, 10), where a life of dying to sin leads to the reward of eternal life. However, what sort of resurrection it is going to be for believers is more of the question in this treatise than the means by which it is to be accomplished. Sider suggests that Tertullian, following Paul, seems to talk in terms of our identification with Christ,⁶⁴ and late in the treatise Tertullian describes human resurrection as being after the example of Christ (*ad exemplum Christi*) (*de Res.* 48.8) and being guaranteed by Christ (*de Res.* 51.2).

At the end of this survey of Tertullian's texts we return to *adversus Praxean*, the one from which Grillmeier derived much of his information about Tertullian's ontological Christology. Other than a repeated mentioning that one of the things that distinguishes Father from Son is the fact that the Son is sent by the Father, there is little discussion about why the Son was sent, except for a referral to Jn. 3:17 (*adv. Prax.* 21.6). Even in chapter 29 where Tertullian considers the death of Jesus, his interest is not in the reason for the death but what the death means for the relationship between Father and Son.⁶⁵

For the most part it has to be agreed that Tertullian does not devote himself to the topic of soteriology in any of his treatises. Yet, just because this issue was not at the centre of his concerns, we should not conclude from this that Tertullian has nothing to say about it. From this survey (and I am sure there are other passages which could be added to those considered here) we can conclude that he accepted fully what he found in the Scriptures and cited such passages that deal with the salvation and redemption achieved through Christ as proof-texts to be used in the construction of arguments for topics that were at stake. We could therefore state that Tertullian's soteriology was entirely conventional. Perhaps one

⁶⁴ R. SIDER, "The 'De Resurrectione Mortuorum' of Tertullian," p. 191.

⁶⁵ Cf. R. D. SIDER, "Symmetrical Composition in Tertullian," p. 419, who believes that the last chapters focus on redemption and balance the early chapters where the focus is on creation. For a recent discussion about the Christology of this treatise, particularly with regard to the *communicatio idiomatum* see Edward J. YARNOLD, "'Videmus duplicem statum' The Visibility of the Two Natures of Christ in Tertullian's *Adversus Praxean*," *Studia Patristica*, vol. 19, ed. Elizabeth A. LIVINGSTONE, Papers presented to the 10th International Conference on Patristic Studies at Oxford, 1987 (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989), pp. 286-290; David RANKIN, "Tertullian and the Crucified God," *Pacifica* 10 (1997), pp. 298-309.

work of his which may have treated the question of soteriology in more detail is the lost *de Spe Fidelium*, about how what was promised to the Jews has been transferred to Christ and his church.⁶⁶ So any comment made about Tertullian's theology in this regard must be qualified because of the lack of the survival of his complete material.

We see across the spectrum of Tertullian's writings the full range of soteriological ideas found in the New Testament. Certainly the baptismal image seems to be very important with its suggestion that it is required for a salvation that is experienced in some way in this life but awaits a future completion. The notions of forgiveness of sin, healing and restoration, redemption, satisfaction, imitation of Christ's example, coming to perfection, and the movement from death to life all appear. The most that one can say is that Tertullian's soteriology is thoroughly biblical but not systematic. Thus we would have to conclude that Tertullian made use of all four or five of the primitive soteriological themes which Turner and Slusser identified.⁶⁷ In this he was merely depending upon what he found in the Scriptures.

Of course it would be unfair to label Tertullian as Pelagian or dominated by a theology of good works. Such understanding only developed later. This was not a question he addressed. Given that he wrote both about the human need to be baptised and live a good life in order to experience the mercy of God as well as about salvation and redemption coming from the death of Jesus, no doubt if the question had been put to him Tertullian would have reflected on the relationship between these two elements and the priority of the second over the first. Yet he did not. Such a concern was only to emerge later in the story of Christian theology. He was concerned with how people gained or kept whatever it was the Christ had gained for them.

⁶⁶ Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 3.24.2; Jerome, *Comm. in Ezek.* 36; Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* 18.

⁶⁷ M. SLUSSER, "Soteriological Themes," pp. 555-569.

Summary

While much attention has been given to Tertullian's Christology, much less attention has been paid to his soteriology. This article seeks to sketch the references to the work of Christ in his treatises. Although Tertullian had much to say on this topic, it was never the focus of attention in any of his works. A lack of systematic treatment means that we find contradictory statements in Tertullian. On the whole his interest was in the subjective dimension of soteriology – what must the Christian do to participate in salvation – rather than in the objective dimension which is concerned with what Christ himself has done for humanity. This is so particularly because of Tertullian's concern with questions of baptism and reconciliation. Modern scholars offer a variety of models of salvation and we find reference to all these models in the writings of Tertullian so that the most one can say is that Tertullian's soteriology is biblical but not systematic.

Ein christologisches Paradoxon

in der Gattungstradition der lateinischen Bibeldichtung
(Sedul. carm. pasch. II 54-62)

von
Th. GÄRTNER
(Köln)

Der in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts schreibende Bibeldichter Sedulius schildert die Menschwerdung Gottes am Anfang des zweiten Buchs seines *Carmen paschale* folgendermaßen (II 54-62):

- O facilis pietas! ne nos servile teneret*
55 *Peccato dominante iugum, servilia summus*
Membra tulit Dominus, primaque¹ (v.l. primique) ab origine mundi
Omnia qui propriis vestit nascentia donis,
Obsitus exiguis habuit velamina pannis,
Quemque procellosi non mobilis unda profundi,
60 *Terrarum non omne solum spatiosaue lati*
Non capit aula poli², puerili in corpore plenus
Mansit et angusto Deus in praesepe quievit.

Das Wundersame des beschriebenen Vorgangs wird in äußerst charakteristischer Weise durch zwei Relativgefüge³ zum Ausdruck

¹ Vgl. Ov. met. I 3 f. *primaque ab origine mundi/ Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.*

² Vgl. Claud. carm. min. 32 (de salvatore), 12-15:

... *latuitque sub uno*
Pectore, qui totum late complectitur orbem,
Et qui non spatiis terrae, non aequoris unda,
Non capitur caelo, parvos confluit in artus.

Vgl. auch carminum vel spuriorum vel suspectorum appendix 20, 6 f. *parvaque in sede morari* (sc. *iussit Genitor*), / *Quem sedes non ulla capit.*

³ Ähnlich in der äußeren Doppelstruktur ist aus dem Bereich christlicher Prosa Salvian. de gubern. Dei VI 26 (CSEL 8, p. 131, 22-24 Pauly): *propter hoc in prae-*

gebracht (57 f. und 59-62), deren erstes den Gegensatz zwischen dem aktiven Wirken Gottes als Weltschöpfer⁴ (*Omnia qui propriis vestit nascentia donis*) und seiner passiven Rolle in der Gestalt des in der Krippe unter Windeln liegenden Jesus (*Obsitus exiguis habuit velamina pannis*)⁵ hervorhebt; das zweite Relativgefüge arbeitet einen etwas anderen Gesichtspunkt heraus, nämlich den Kontrast zwischen der Größe Gottes, den die ganze

seprio iacuit cui servierunt angeli, cum iaceret; propter hoc involvi se pannorum crepundiis voluit qui caelum regebat in pannis (die ausgeschriebene Partie wird umschlossen durch zwei weitere anaphorische, mit *propter hoc* eingeleitete Perioden). Ungewöhnlicherweise bildet den Gegensatz zur Kleinheit des Kindes in der Krippe nicht die Größe des Weltschöpfers, sondern die Bedeutung des Erlösers bei Fulg. Rusp. serm. 6, 6 (CCL 91A, p. 928, 128-130 Fraipont) *qui peccatorum nostrorum pannos portavit, ipse a peccatis impios mundat; qui in praesepio iacuit, ipse usque ad caelos fideles exultat* (wo der Begriff *pannus* anders als in der üblichen Gestaltung in vergeistigter Form gebraucht wird).

⁴ Vgl. Coripp. in laud. Iust. I 340 f. *Sed factor solis postquam sub sole videri/Se voluit.*

⁵ Vgl. Augustin. serm. 190, 4 (PL 38, 1009) *in praesepio jacet, sed mundum continet; ubera sugit, sed angelos pascit; pannis involvitur, sed immortalitate nos vestit; lactatur, sed adoratur; locum in diversorio non invenit, sed templum sibi in credentium cordibus facit*; Chromat. serm. 32, 2 (CCL 9A, p. 145, 50-54 Étaix/ Lemarié) *Vide ad quantam se humilitatem Filius Dei nostri causa deicit: in praesepio ponitur qui cum patre regnat in caelo; pannis involvitur qui immortalitatis vestimenta largitur; parvulus videtur in corpore qui sublimis et potens est*; im Frühmittelalter Bed. in Luc. euang. expos. I 2, 7 (CCL 120, p. 49, 1202-50, 1213 Hurst) *qui enim maior est omni laude parvulus natus est nobis ut nos viri possimus esse perfecti; qui totum mundum vario vestit ornatu pannis vilibus involvitur ut nos stolam primam recipere valeamus; per quem omnia facta sunt, manus pedesque cunis adstringitur ut nostrae manus ad opus bonum exertae, nostri sint pedes in viam pacis directi; cui caelum sedes est duri praeseptis angustia continetur ut nos per caelestis regni gaudia dilatet; qui panis est angelorum in praesepio reclinatur ut nos quasi sancta animalia carnis suae frumento reficiat; qui ad dexteram patris sedet in diversorio loco eget ut nobis in domo patris sui multas mansiones praepararet*. Eine weitere, etwas ferner stehende Parallele zum Bekleidungsmotiv (wo das aktive Pendant zum Bekleidetwerden fehlt): Im ersten Figurengedicht des ersten Buches der Sammlung *De laudibus sanctae crucis* des Hrabanus Maurus (CC CM 100, p. 26 Perrin) ist in der bildlichen Darstellung des Gewands Christi folgendes Distichon eingeschlossen:

*Veste quidem parva hic tegitur, qui continet astra,
Atque solum palmo claudit ubique suo*

(zu *palmu claudit* vgl. Anm. 10).

von ihm geschaffene Welt nicht zu fassen vermag (*Quemque procellosi non mobilis unda profundi, / Terrarum non omne solum spatiosaue lati / Non capit aula poli*), und der Kleinheit des in der Krippe liegenden Kinds (*puerili in corpore plenus / Mansit et angusto Deus in praesepe quievit*⁶). Eine derartige Formulierung des christologischen Paradoxons hat enge Parallelen bei späteren Dichtern, die teilweise auf direkter Seduliusimitation (hierzu vgl. den „Index scriptorum, qui vel citaverunt vel imitati sunt Sedulium“, der Huemers CSEL-Ausgabe des Sedulius⁷ beigegeben ist, p. 361-371), teilweise aber auch auf motivischer Variation einer paradoxologischen rhetorischen Tradition beruhen mögen.

(1) Ein erstes Echo findet das besprochene christologische Paradoxon in der von Fr. Leo in MGH auct. antiqu. IV gedruckten „carminum spuriorum appendix“ zu Venantius Fortunatus, dort carm. 7, 17-20 (p. 384 Leo):

*Praesepe poni pertulit
Qui lucis auctor extitit;
Cum patre caelos condidit,
Sub matre pannos induit.*

Hier wird gegenüber Sedulius die Reihenfolge der beiden Glieder umgekehrt; im zweiten wird die Subordination durch ein Relativgefüge aufgegeben zugunsten eines adversativen Asyndetons⁸, und die scharfe Antithese zwischen „Bekleiden“ und

⁶ Vgl. Paulin. Aquil. carm. 11, 5 (ed. E. Dümmeler, MGH poetae I, Berlin 1881 144)

*Angusti cunas pertulit presepii,
Feno iacere non abhorret dominus,
Summa qui patris sedebat in dextera,
Rex angelorum.*

⁷ CSEL 10, Wien 1885, 361-371.

⁸ Zur asyndetischen Gestaltung vgl. Fulg. Rusp. serm. 4, 4 (CCL 91A, p. 912, 68-913, 1 Fraipont) *parvus in praesaepio, immensus in caelo; uilis in pannis, pretiosus in stellis*; mit Adversativpartikel dagegen bei Petrus Chrysologus serm. 140 III 3 (CCL 24B, p. 856, 49 f. Olivar) *iacet in pannis sed regnat in caelis; humiliatur in cunabulis sed in nubibus tonat*. Vier Ausprägungen eines parataktischen Typus desselben Paradoxons werden besprochen von A. Olivar, *lacebat in praesaepio et fulgebat in caelo*. Un estudio sobre fuentes patrísticas de textos litúrgicos,

„Bekleidetwerden“ (carm. pasch. III 57 f.) verschwindet. Daß dem Verfasser diese charakteristische Antithese zwischen Handeln und Leiden nicht unbekannt war, zeigt die folgende Strophe (21-24):

*Legem dedit qui saeculo,
Cuius decem praecepta sunt,
Dignando factus est homo
Sub legis esse vinculo.*

(2) Der berühmte Philosoph Johannes Scottus Eriugena sagt in einem an Karl den Kahlen gerichteten Gedicht (carm. 9, 63-66, ed. L. Traube, MGH poetae III 2, Berlin 1896, 552 = carm. 25, 63-66 Herren [Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 12, Dublin 1993]):

*Lucis praeclarae qui vestit sidera peplo,
Pannos induitur furvo sub culmine ruptae;
65 Quem nullus novit sensus nec mentis acumen,
Mandra boum vidit tenero velamine carnis.*

Hier wird die grammatische Form beider Relativsätze einschließlich der grammatischen Kasus der Relativpronomina (zuerst Nominativ, dann Akkusativ) beibehalten, ebenso wie die Negation im zweiten Relativsatz (*Quem nullus novit* – carm. pasch. II 59-61 *Quem ... non .../ ... non .../ Non capit*), dessen Inhalt jedoch von unfäßbarer äußerer Größe zu unbegreiflicher innerer Bedeutung vergeistigt wird. Das *praesepe*-Motiv im zweiten Glied wird geschickt variiert zu *Mandra boum vidit*.

(3) Am Ende der Marienvita der in ottonischer Zeit tätigen Dichterin Hrotsvit von Gandersheim⁹ heißt es in einer Apostrophe an Jesus (870-881):

870 *Tu sine principio natus de patre superno
Per praecepta patris complesti viscera matris,
Ex hac corpoream sumens sub tempore formam;
Quique vales proprio mundum concludere palmo (von Winterfeld:
proprio mundum conducere palma cod.)¹⁰,
Panniculis stringi non raris haut respuisti;*

in: Eulogia. Miscellanea liturgica in onore di P. B. Neunheuser, Rom 1979 (Studia Anselmiana 68), 267-275: *iacebat in praesepio et fulgebat in caelo* (267-269); *iacet in praesepio et in caelis regnat* (269 f.); *in praesepi erat et mundum continebat* (270 f.); *iacet et tonat* (271-274).

⁹ ed. P. von Winterfeld, Berlin 1902; K. Strecker, Leipzig 1930; H. Homeyer, Paderborn 1970; W. Berschin, München 2001.

- 875 *Et qui stellato resides solio super aethra*
Parvo praesepe contractus procubuisti;
Et, qui multigenis imponis nomina stellis
Ac pluviae guttas, pelagi quoque solus arenas
Rite potes numero per te comprehendere certo,
 880 *Ut fragiles pueri patienter conticuisti,*
Tempore virgineas quo suxisti pie mammas.

Wie bei Sedulius ist das erste Relativgefüge (873 f.) auf einen Kontrast zwischen Aktiv und Passiv (*concludere-stringi*) und das zweite (875 f.) auf einen Gegensatz zwischen der Größe der himmlischen Königsresidenz und der Winzigkeit der Krippe (*Parvo praesepe*) angelegt. Die durch Penthemimeres und Versende markierte Junktur *proprio ... palmo* im ersten Relativsatz scheint die in exakt gleicher Position stehende Junktur *propriis ... donis* bei Sedulius widerzuspiegeln. Was die motivische Variation im ersten Glied (873 f.) gegenüber Sedulius angeht, so dürfte Hier. epist. XXII 39, 2 (CSEL 54, p. 206, 6 s. Hilberg) vorgeschwebt haben:

... et ille, *cuius pugillo mundus includitur, praesepe continetur angustis*¹¹

(zur kanonischen Herkunft von *palmus* und *pugillus* vgl. die in Anm. 10 zitierte Isaias-Stelle). Die Motivausprägung des Hieronymus wirkt wiederum bei [Venant. Fortun.] *carm. spur. append. 1* (in laudem sanctae Mariae), 141 f. p. 374 Leo, wo der Kontrast durch das Eingeschlossensein nicht in einer Krippe oder in Windeln, sondern im Mutterleib gebildet wird:

Cuius mundi uno est haec machina tecta pugillo,
*Clauditur in fibris, casta puella, tuis*¹²,

¹⁰ von Winterfeld vergleicht vulg. Isai. 40, 12 *quis mensus est pugillo aquas et caelos palmo ponderavit?* Dieselbe Stelle wird versifiziert auch bei Paulinus von Aquileia *carm. 1*, 26-28 (ed. E. Dümmler a.a.O. 127):

Aetheris atque humi cludit qui limina pugno,
Articulis trinis vastis cum finibus orbem
Praelibrat et latum palmo metitur Olympum.

Vgl. auch den unten zitierten (vielleicht auf Hrabanus Maurus zurückgehenden) Hymnus de natali Domini.

¹¹ Motivisch ähnlich auch Augustin. *serm. 184, 3* (PL 38, 997) *jacebat in praesepe continens mundum.*

¹² Vgl. Abbo von St. Germain, *bella Parisiacae urbis I* 342 f. (Anrede an Maria, ed. P. de Winterfeld, MGH *poetae IV*, Berlin 1899, 89):

vgl. auch die Variation ebd. 8, 13-16 p. 385 Leo:

*Beata mater munere,
Cuius supernus artifex
Mundum pugillo continens
Ventris sub arca clausus est.*

Das Motiv des Eingeschlossenseins im Mutterleib wird mit den Motiven „Krippe“ und „Windeln“ kombiniert in dem Hymnus de natali Domini, der im Anhang zu den Gedichten des Hrabanus Maurus (MGH poet. lat. II p. 245 s. Dümmler) gedruckt ist (Strophe 7 f.):

*Factor caeli, terrae factor
Vulva est clausus feminae,
Auctor summus angelorum
Fit praesepe conditus.*

*Palmo caelum qui metitur¹
Terram claudit pugili,
Pannis paucis obvolutus
Infans vagit parvulus.*

(4) Fulcoius von Beauvais (11. Jahrhundert, Ausgabe zitiert in Anm. 12) variiert das Motiv in seinem als Dialog zwischen Spiritus und Homo gestalteten Epos De nuptiis Christi et ecclesiae folgendermaßen (VI 310-314):

*O felix, uteri thalamo quae claudere mater,
Quem caeli nequeunt, tellus, vastum mare, quisti;*

Fulcoius von Beauvais, De nuptiis Christi et ecclesiae (ed. Sister Mary Isaac Jogues Rousseau, Diss. Washington 1960) VI 138 f.

*Omnipotens uteri claustris vult ecce teneri,
Quem tantum pondus non possit claudere mundus.*

Ungewöhnlicherweise auf das Heilige Grab übertragen wird das Paradoxon bei Odo von Magdeburg, Ernestus VIII 52 f. .../ *Ierusalem, qua se parvo claudi monumento/ Sustinuit, cuius maiestas omnia claudit* (vielleicht beeinflusst durch ein paganes Motiv, vgl. Walter von Châtillon, Alex. X 448-450 *cui non suffecerat orbis,/ Sufficit exciso defosso marmore terral/ Quinque pedum fabricata domus*).

¹³ Vgl. Anm. 10.

*Qui tonitru terret, vagitus concrepat infans.
 Induitur pannis, qui reges murice vestit.
 Sideribus celos decorans et floribus arva
 Qui dedit Arturum, Pliadas Orionaque purum,
 In presepe datur, cui non locus equiperatur.*

Das erste Glied (310) leitet sich aus einer anderen Quelle ab: Petrus Chrysologus serm. 140 II 5 (CCL 24B, p. 852, 44-48 Olivar) *qui claudit orbem, utero clauditur*¹⁴; *naturae auctor nascitur; fit hominum primogenitus hominum creator et temporum; thesaurus caeli tegitur paupertate pannorum; vibrator fulminum infantiae dat vagitum; iacet in praesepio, cui omnis subiacet creatura*¹⁵. Danach folgt im zweiten Relativgefüge (311) die Antithese zwischen aktivem Bekleiden und passivem Bekleidetwerden (wie in carm. pasch. II 57 f.) und im dritten (312-314)¹⁶ der Kontrast zwischen der kosmischen Größe Gottes und der Kleinheit des Kindes in der Krippe (wie in carm. pasch. II 59-62).

(5) Während also Johannes Scottus Eriugena, Hrotsvit von Gandersheim und Fulcoius von Beauvais die Bauprinzipien beider Relativsätze trotz inhaltlicher Variation der einzelnen Motive jeweils getreu reproduzieren, hat ein späterer Nachgestalter des Paradoxons, Laurentius von Durham, in seinem um 1130 verfaßten Hypognosticon¹⁷ die Begriffe „Windeln“ und „Krippe“ von den Relativsätzen distanziert¹⁸, den Gegensatz zwischen Aktiv und

¹⁴ Vgl. die in Anm. 12 zitierte Stelle aus Fulcoius von Beauvais.

¹⁵ Vgl. auch Arnob. adv. nat. IV 21 (CSEL 4, p. 158, 7 s. Reifferscheid) *Tonans fulgens et fulminans et nubila terribilia conducens suxit fluentia mammaram, vagitum edidit, repisit*; Hier. epist. 82, 1 (CSEL 55, p. 108, 6 s. Hilberg) *qui mortali-um genus non fulminans et tonans, sed in praesepe vagiens et iacens salvavit in cruce*. Weiteres bei A. Olivar (wie Anm. 8) 271-274.

¹⁶ Die Erstherausgeberin (vgl. Anm. 12) zieht wohl zu Unrecht die Verse 312 f. zur vorigen Periode.

¹⁷ ed. Sister Mary Liguori Mistretta, Diss. New York 1941. Eine neue Ausgabe jetzt von Susanne Daub, Gottes Heilsplan-verdichtet, Erlangen/ Jena 2002.

¹⁸ Zu solcher Trennung der Begriffe „Windeln“ und „Krippe“ vom eigentlichen Relativgefüge vgl. Augustin. serm. 239, 6 (PL 38, 1129) *infans natus est, pannis infantilibus inuolutus est, in praesepi positus est; patienter expectavit aetates, patienter tempora pertulit, per quem facta sunt tempora*.

Passiv zum gedanklichen Prinzip *b e i d e r* Perioden erhoben und zudem das zweite Relativgefüge zu einer Partizipialkonstruktion variiert (hypogn. VIII 63-68):

Qui Deus est fit homo, fit inops, fit parvulus idem.

Ut Deus, ut dives, maximus ut sit homo.

Huic praesepe quidem cunabula, fascia viles

Panniculi, nutrix ipsius alma parens.

Qui in nichilo mundum s u s p e n d i t¹⁹, ad ubera matris

*P e n d e t*²⁰, et his *a l i t u r* cuncta benignus *a l e n s*.

Hier erklärt sich die gegenüber den vorigen Beispielen stärkere motivische Variation durch den zusätzlichen Einfluß von Venant. Fort. carm. VIII 3 (de virginitate), 103 f.:

Intemerata (sc. Maria) Deum suspendit ad ubera natum

*Et panem caeli munere lactis alit*²¹.

In der Junktur *panem caeli*²² ... *alit* ist ein Gegensatz zwischen dem Wirken Christi als (geistlicher) Nahrung für die christliche Welt und seinem Genährtwerden durch die Brust Marias bereits angelegt, wenn auch der Ausdruck des Venantius eher den begrifflichen Gegensatz zwischen *panis* und *lac* als den Kontrast zwischen

¹⁹ Vgl. vulg. IV Esr. 16, 59 *qui conclusit mare in medio aquarum et suspendit terram super aquam verbo suo*; Ven. Fortun. carm. III 9, 53 *Aethera suspendis, sola congeris, aequora fundis*; Theodulf von Orléans carm. 47, 35 f. *Qui (sc. Deus) super immensum Borean extendit inane/ Et, terra, appendit te super ipsa nihil.*

²⁰ Zum Motiv vgl. die neunte Strophe des oben zitierten Hymnus de natali Domini:

Quae divisit lucem ab umbris

Summi primum dextera,

Matris mammas ecce tractat,

Lactis potum quaesitans.

²¹ Vgl. Augustin. serm. 184, 3 (PL 38, 997) *panem nostrum illa lactabat ... et cuius ubera sugebat* (sc. Christus), *eam veritate pascebat*; Walahfr. Strab. carm. 25 a (hymnus de natale Domini, ed. E. Dümmmler, MGH poetae II, Berlin 1884, 381), 10, 1 f. *Virgo portantem veneranda portat,/ L a c t a t a l t o r e m vehit et parentem*; Hincmar. Remens. carm. 2, 25 f. (ed. L. Traube, MGH poetae III 2, Berlin 1896, 410) *Caelica regna suo p a s c i t qui corpore sancto,/ Lacte tuo* (sc. Mariae) *est p a s t u s v i t a c i b u s que salus.*

²² Vgl. evang. Joh. 6, 32 ff. (32 *Pater meus dat vobis panem de caelo verum.* [33] *panis enim Dei est qui descendit de caelo et dat vitam mundo ...* [35] *ego sum panis vitae ...*).

Nähren und Genährtwerden hervorhebt. Womöglich mit der sedulianischen Ausprägung des christologischen Paradoxons (Kontrast zwischen aktivem Wirken als Weltschöpfer und passivem Erleiden als Kind in der grammatischen Form eines Relativgefüges) vor Augen macht Laurentius in seiner Periode Christus zum Subjekt und gibt dem *suspendi ad ubera* sein aktives Pendant mit dem neu hinzugesetzten Motiv *Qui in nichilo mundum suspendit* (vgl. Anm. 19).

Zusammenfassung

In dem Aufsatz wird versucht, die Geschichte eines paradoxen christologischen Motivs in spätantiker und mittellateinischer Bibeldichtung nachzuzeichnen. Besonderes Augenmerk wird dabei gerichtet auf die Variationen der herkömmlichen Topik, welche sich aus der Kreuzung zwischen poetischer Tradition und patristischen Einflüssen ergeben.

Liturgical Latin in the *Missale Gothicum* (Vat. reg. lat. 317)

A reconsideration of Christine Mohrmann's approach *

by

E. ROSE

(Utrecht)

1. Introduction

Without exaggeration one can state that the study of liturgical Latin is a wasteland. In 1951, Walter Dürig pointed out this problem in a *status quaestionis* published in the first issue of the German journal *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*¹. In this article, subtitled 'Ein Bericht über den gegenwärtigen Stand der liturgietheologischen Philologie', Dürig gives an overview of the publications on liturgical Latin, concentrating mostly on lexicological studies. In Dürig's words, liturgical Latin 'tastet trotz mutiger Vorstöße stellenweise noch in einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Niemandsland herum'².

* This article is based on my dissertation, *Communitas in commemoratione. Liturgisch Latijn en liturgische gedachtenis in het Missale Gothicum (Vat. reg. lat. 317)*, which I defended at the University of Utrecht in 2001. In this dissertation, I included a revised edition of the *Missale Gothicum*, based on a study of the manuscript and on the edition of L. C. Mohlberg (Rome 1961), as well as a linguistic and a liturgical examination of the text. An edition with commentaries is in preparation for *Corpus Christianorum, series latina*.

I would like to thank Professor Marc Van Uytenghe (Ghent) for his careful reading of an earlier draft of this article, and for his worthwhile comments.

¹ Walter DÜRIG, *Die Erforschung der lateinisch-christlichen Sakralsprache*, in: *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 1 (1951) 32-47.

² DÜRIG, *Erforschung der Sakralsprache* 33-34.

Dürig appropriately concludes his survey by adopting a despondent remark of the liturgist Bernard Botte:

La langue liturgique nous est, en somme, mal connue. Nous en sommes encore aux besognes préliminaires³.

Dürig's description of the state of the research was made fifty years ago. Undoubtedly, the state of the art has undergone some evolution in the interim. The study of liturgical Latin texts of the early period has been considerably facilitated by the publication of studies like Ellebracht's *Remarks on the vocabulary of the ancient orations in the Missale Romanum*⁴ and Blaise's very useful liturgical dictionary⁵. Moreover, the Dutch Latinist Christine Mohrmann, in her four volumes *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, has left us a treasure of writings which explore the Latin of the liturgy⁶. These publications, however, are primarily devoted to lexicological research. Regrettably, a void still exists regarding thorough analyses of the language of the early Christian liturgy.

The lack of systematic linguistic research is not the only striking flaw in the study of liturgical Latin. A second important disadvantage is the rather one-sided focus on liturgical texts which belong to the so-called Roman Rite. Most studies enumerated in Dürig's survey of lexicological studies of liturgical texts address texts belonging to this liturgical tradition, which evolved approximately between the years 400 AD and 600 AD. Likewise, as will be shown in the course of this article, the texts on which Christine Mohrmann bases her argument emanate almost exclusively from the liturgical corpus composed in the 'golden age' of liturgical creation: texts composed by the *Patres* and those belonging to the Roman liturgy. This narrow interpretation of the concept of 'liturgical Latin' is once again plainly visible in an article written by Robert Coleman entitled 'Vulgar Latin and the diversity of

³ Bernard BOTTE, *Paschalibus initiata mysteriis*, in: *Ephemerides liturgicae* 61 (1947) 77-87, here 87.

⁴ Marie ELLEBRACHT, *Remarks on the vocabulary of the ancient orations in the Missale Romanum* (Nijmegen 1963).

⁵ Albert BLAISE, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout 1966).

⁶ Christine MOHRMANN, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* 4 vols. (Rome 1958, 1961, 1965, 1977 = *Storia e letteratura* 65, 87, 103, 143).

Christian Latin'⁷. In this article, Coleman compares the vulgar character of Vulgate Latin to the elevated style of liturgical prayers and chants, in his words the 'product of the high literary culture'⁸. In his choice of texts, Coleman confines himself to the milestones of Western liturgy, such as the *Gloria*, the festive hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and the prayers of the Roman Canon. Coleman does not entirely ignore liturgical sources which do not belong to this category, such as the liturgical sources from the early medieval period, but he disqualifies them as witnesses of a period in which 'the devotional literature suffered extensive vulgarization (in the 7C and 8C)'⁹.

Must one thus conclude that the liturgical sources of the early Middle Ages belong exclusively to the field of what we call 'vulgar Latin'? If indeed this be the case, linguistic research on these sources might be found within this discipline of Latin philology. If we are to believe the Swedish Latinist Bengt Löfstedt, little remains to be done in the field of vulgar Latin. In a *status quaestionis* of the study of this subject, Löfstedt proudly states:

Es lässt sich sogar behaupten, dass es recht wenige spätlateinische Texte gibt, denen bisher keine schwedische Dissertation gewidmet worden ist¹⁰.

Liturgical sources from the early medieval period, however, must have escaped Löfstedt's notice, as no Swede has dedicated, to the best of my knowledge, a dissertation or any other study to one of these sources.

Thus, the corpus of liturgical Latin texts from the early Middle Ages seems to fall into a metaphorical no man's land. On the one hand, the liturgical corpus appears to be totally neglected by the experts on vulgar Latin. On the other hand, specialists in liturgy and liturgical language tend to consider texts from this period as 'vulgarizations', that is, faint reflections of grandeur, obviously not worthy of studying. Perhaps the most influential author on sacral

⁷ Robert COLEMAN, *Vulgar Latin and the diversity of Christian Latin*, in: Joseph HERMAN (ed.), *Latin vulgaire - latin tardif* I (Tübingen 1987) 37-52.

⁸ COLEMAN, *Vulgar Latin* 43.

⁹ COLEMAN, *Vulgar Latin* 47.

¹⁰ Bengt LÖFSTEDT, *Die vulgärlateinische Sprachforschung in diesem Jahrhundert. Rückschau und Ausblick*, in: *Aevum* 56 (1982) 200-204, here 200.

language and liturgical Latin is Christine Mohrmann. The importance and learnedness of her work on the matter deserves special discussion which follows in the next paragraph.

2. Liturgical Latin according to Christine Mohrmann

The prolific oeuvre produced by Christine Mohrmann includes many studies of liturgical Latin. The learned Latinist and main representative of the so-called *École de Nimègue* has written much on this subject. Among her most influential studies in this field, the collection of lectures given at the Catholic University of America, and published in 1957 figures prominently¹¹. In this collection, Mohrmann depicts liturgical Latin, such as is embedded in the Latin of the early Christians¹², as a 'hieratic, sacral language', characterised by a number of specific features. Liturgical Latin, in her view, is an artificial language, comparable, for instance, to the language of Homer's poems¹³. Such an artificial language or 'Kunstsprache' can be defined as

¹¹ Christine MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin: its origins and character* (Washington 1957). Other important studies of the same author are *Le latin liturgique*, in: Bernard BOTTE & Christine MOHRMANN, *L'ordinaire de la Messe* (Paris 1953) 29-48; *Notes sur le latin liturgique*, in: *Études* II 93-108; *Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome*, in: *Études* III 67-126; *Quelques observations linguistiques à propos de la nouvelle version latine du Psautier*, in: *Études* III 197-225; *Nach vierzig Jahren*, in: *Études* IV 111-140; *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache*, in: *Études* IV 161-174.

¹² Although Mohrmann repeatedly stresses this setting of liturgical Latin within the context of Christian Latin (for example *Liturgical Latin* V and 29), it would be beyond the scope of this article to go more deeply into the question of Christian Latin as 'Sondersprache'. This question has been discussed elaborately from the time of Joseph Schrijnen onwards. A good survey is found in MOHRMANN, *Nach vierzig Jahren*; critique is found in the writings of J. MAROUZEAU, review of Joseph SCHRIJNEN, *Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein* (Nijmegen 1932), in: *Revue des études latines* 10 (1932) 241-242; id., review of Joseph SCHRIJNEN & Christine MOHRMANN, *Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian II* (Nijmegen 1937), in: *Revue des études latines* 16 (1938) 185-186; J. DE GHELLINCK, *Latin chrétien ou langue latine des chrétiens*, in: *Les études classiques* 8 (1939) 449-478; R. BRAUN, *Deus christianorum: recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien* (Paris 1977²); Einar LÖFSTEDT, *Late Latin* (Oslo 1959) 68-87; C. BECKER, *Tertullians Apologeticum: Werden und Leistung* (Munich 1954) 335-345; *Exkurs I: Das Problem der altchristlichen Sondersprache*.

¹³ MOHRMANN, *Le latin liturgique* 36; ead., *Liturgical Latin* 10-11.

eine hochstilisierte, traditionsbedingte Erscheinungsform einer Sprache und (oder) eines Stils, die in ihrer 'Zeitlosigkeit' ein eigenes Dasein führt, sich deutlich von jeder zeitgenössischen Umgangssprache abhebt, und kaum irgendwelche umgangssprachlichen Einflüsse aufweist¹⁴.

Time and again Mohrmann stresses the distance between what she calls 'Kunstsprache', and colloquial language, the language of everyday life. This distance is the first important feature of liturgical language, which is characterised by a 'desire for differentiation from the ordinary spoken language'¹⁵. According to Mohrmann, it is a fundamental human propensity to dissociate oneself from what is banal when addressing the divine. People tend to purify their prayer language in order to sanctify it¹⁶. The appearance of vulgar elements does not fit into Mohrmann's picture of sacral language:

De plus, la présence d'un vulgarisme dans la formule [*sc. ite missa est*] est très peu compatible avec le caractère général de la langue et du style de la liturgie latine: langue hiératique rigoureusement stylisée et très peu populaire¹⁷.

Liturgical Latin in the early days is, to quote her once more,

a strongly stylized, more or less artificial language, of which many elements – for instance the Orations – were not easily understood even by the average Christian of the fifth century or later. This language was far removed from that of every day life, a fact which was certainly appreciated, since, at the time, people still retained the *sens du sacré*¹⁸.

A second important feature of liturgical Latin, the absence of 'loan words', is stressed by Mohrmann, and is regarded by her as a heritage of traditional Roman purism¹⁹. Although her statement is based, in this case, specifically on Roman prayer material, Mohrmann reiterates it yet elsewhere as a feature of liturgical language in general. In an article called 'Missa', Mohrmann examines the development of the word *Missa* as the main designation of the Eucharist²⁰. One of the theories of this development scrutinised by

¹⁴ MOHRMANN, *Nach vierzig Jahren* 136.

¹⁵ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 23.

¹⁶ MOHRMANN, *Le latin liturgique* 31.

¹⁷ Christine MOHRMANN, *Missa*, in: *Études* III 351-376, here 357-358.

¹⁸ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 54.

¹⁹ MOHRMANN, *Le latin liturgique* 46.

²⁰ MOHRMANN, *Missa* (see note 17).

Mohrmann is that of Antonino Pagliaro, who suggests that *Ite missa est* is a (vulgar) paraphrase of an originally Greek construction. This theory is dismissed by Mohrmann not only due to the above mentioned improbability of vulgarisms in liturgical language²¹, but also because the use of loan words is, in Mohrmann's eyes, not common in liturgical texts. In contradistinction to the first translators of the Bible, the composers of liturgical texts tried, according to Mohrmann, to avoid stylistic as well as linguistic features of the Greek language²². The use of loan words in liturgical Latin is, according to Mohrmann, a double-edged question. On the one hand, loan words from a religious-sacral context are used frequently in liturgical texts. Technical loan words, however, are avoided to a great extent as they disturb the sacral context²³.

A third characteristic of liturgical Latin given by Mohrmann is the treatment of words and elements of pagan and poetic origin. In the early Christian era, Christians attempted to replace words which conveyed a pagan association by neutral alternatives, in order to define their Christian identity²⁴. In the liturgy, however, pagan terms were not entirely avoided in an absolute sense. Words from a non-Christian religious tradition could be used in Roman prayer texts, especially in order to stress the continuity of the Roman Empire²⁵ – formerly the realm of Jupiter, later transformed into the City of God on earth. Mohrmann points out a certain ambivalence in the manner in which liturgical texts incorporate 'pagan' elements, a similar ambivalence being visible in the attitude toward traditional poetry and its vocabulary. Although poetic words as well as terms bearing pagan association can be detected, highly sacred themes are invoked through language preferably free of such connotations. As an example Mohrmann refers to the use of the poetic word *cruor*, which is used in certain Christian prayers to indicate the blood of the martyrs. The holy and salutary blood of Christ, however, is invariably indicated with the word *sanguis*,

²¹ See note 17.

²² MOHRMANN, *Missa* 358: 'Mais la présence même d'un calque me semble très peu probable. (...) Ce qui est valable pour les anciennes versions de la Bible ne l'est pas pour la liturgie latine, création beaucoup plus tardive et qui fait preuve d'une grande indépendance stylistique et linguistique vis-à-vis des textes grecs'.

²³ MOHRMANN, *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache* 168.

²⁴ MOHRMANN, *Notes sur le latin liturgique* 102.

²⁵ MOHRMANN, *Notes sur le latin liturgique* 103.

which is free from pagan or poetic associations. 'In the stylization of the liturgical language, the traditional poetic word is felt to be 'profane', or at least not suitable to be applied to Christ'²⁶. A remarkable illustration of the incorporation of traditional poetic material is found in the famous hymn which accompanies the lighting of the Easter candle, the *Exultet*. This text and its place in Latin liturgy will be addressed in a later section of this article.

Mohrmann has thus drawn a picture of liturgical Latin as a hieratic language, far removed from everyday life; language preserved in an ivory tower, inaccessible to any external influences. Mohrmann's theory of liturgical Latin, however, has one important inherent shortcoming: it is solely based on the Latin of Roman prayer texts, which is not always explicitly indicated. Using her findings in the sources of the Roman liturgical tradition as point of departure, Mohrmann provides a general impression of liturgical language - or how it should be²⁷. Liturgical texts from other traditions are either ignored or at best tolerated. Mohrmann pays minimal attention to liturgical sources from the Merovingian period, for instance, and when she does so, it bears a rather ironic tone:

Wir wissen auch, daß im frühen Mittelalter, besonders in merowingischer Zeit, bisweilen die Kenntnis des Lateins so herabgesunken war, daß selbst die wichtigsten sakramentalen Formeln von den Priestern nicht mehr verstanden und des öftern verhaspelt wurden (*baptizo te in nomine Patri et Filiae...*)²⁸.

This approach to a crucial period in the development of the Latin language is not particularly productive. In this article, I would like to present some examples of the rich treasure of linguistic and stylistic features buried in liturgical sources which date from the early medieval period. In order to achieve this goal, I have chosen one source as a point of departure, namely the *Missale Gothicum* or Gothic Missal. This is one of the main representatives of the so-called Gallican liturgy, the liturgical tradition of early medieval Gaul. Mohrmann's theory of liturgical Latin will serve as the back-

²⁶ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 13; see also ead., *Notes sur le latin liturgique* 106.

²⁷ See for instance MOHRMANN, *Le latin liturgique* 47; ead., *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache* 167s.

²⁸ MOHRMANN, *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache* 167.

ground against which the language of the Gothic Missal will stand out. The question which needs to be answered is: to what extent can or should Mohrmann's picture of liturgical Latin be readjusted when the Latin of non-Roman, early medieval liturgical traditions will finally be given the attention which it deserves? First, an introduction to the Gothic Missal and the liturgical tradition to which it belongs will be given in the next paragraph.

3. The Gothic Missal as source of the Gallican liturgy

The manuscript called *Missale Gothicum* is neither a missal nor Gothic. The identifying name of this manuscript is indeed a late medieval addition, asserted on the first page of the manuscript²⁹. The book in question, presently preserved in the Vatican Library³⁰, dates from the end of the seventh or the early decades of the eighth century, and belongs to the genre of the sacramentaries. In the early Middle Ages, until well into the twelfth century, a variety of books was used in the liturgy of both Eucharist and the divine office. Several liturgical genres contained different sorts of prayer texts: Biblical lections were collected in the lectionary, episcopal benedictions in the benedictionale, whereas a sacramentary, used by the celebrant, contained the prayers for the celebration of the Eucharist. In the Gothic Missal prayers are provided for the masses of the Sundays and feastdays of the liturgical year. Unfortunately, the first four quires of the manuscript are lost, so that the sacramentary begins halfway through the Christmas vigil.

²⁹ f° 1^r; L. C. MOHLBERG, *Das gallikanische Sakramentar (Cod. Vatican. Regin. Lat. 317) des VII.-VIII. Jahrhunderts. Facsimile und Kommentar* (Augsburg 1929) 1-2.

³⁰ *Missale Gothicum*, Vat. reg. lat. 317. Most recent editions: H. M. BANNISTER, *Missale Gothicum. A Gallican sacramentary* (London 1917-1919 = Henry Bradshaw Society 52 and 54); L. C. MOHLBERG, *Missale Gothicum (Vat. Reg. lat. 317)* (Rome 1961 = *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series Maior, Fontes V*). The two editions use the same numeration of the prayers. In this article I refer both to Mohlberg's edition, which is for most readers the easiest accessible one, and to my revised edition, based on a comparison of Mohlberg's edition with the manuscript, incorporated in my dissertation *Communitas in commemoratione* 7-177. In addition, the publication of the facsimile by Mohlberg must be mentioned, accompanied by a paleographic study of the manuscript which is still the most elaborate publication in this respect: Mohlberg, *Das gallikanische Sakramentar* (cf. note 29).

We do not know whether any masses for the Sundays of Advent existed³¹. Nor is there any certainty as to the destination of the Gothic Missal. The book appears to have been written in the region of Burgundy, in a script related to that of Luxeuil. The manuscript is beautifully decorated with leaf, bird and fish motives characteristic of this region³². In the manuscript, no specific indications appear which would define church, cathedral or other religious community in which the sacramentary was used. Still, the saints in whose commemoration masses are celebrated strengthen the hypothesis that the book belonged to the church of Autun. Both Symphorian and Leodegar, saints whose *natale* is honoured by a mass in the Gothic Missal, served this city as bishops. Likewise, important churches in Autun were dedicated to saints who appear in the *Sanctorale* of the sacramentary, for example St Stephen³³. The question as to whether the book was used in a cathedral or rather a monastic community remains unanswered; however the elaborate celebration of the baptism ritual in the liturgy of the Easter vigil seems to point to cathedral use.

Apart from paleographical arguments³⁴, the dating of the manuscript to approximately 700 AD is largely based on the mass in hon-

³¹ The numeration of the mass formularies at the beginning of the manuscript indicates that two formularies are lost. As one quire generally corresponds to one mass formulary, the first quires probably contained, apart from these two formularies, some general matters.

³² E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini antiquiores I: the Vatican City* (Oxford 1935) 32; BANNISTER, *Missale Gothicum* vol. 1, pp. L-LXVIII; pp. LXIII-LXVIII.

³³ The Autun hypothesis, supported by most scholars including Mohlberg, is weakened by the absence of a mass for Autun's cathedral patron, St Nazarius; see MOHLBERG, *Das gallikanische Sakramentar* 101-108. Some scholars suggested different solutions. Mabillon, for instance, confused by the indication *Missale Gothicum*, thought the book might be used in the (visi)gothic liturgy and situated it therefore in the south of Gaul, the province Narbonne (BANNISTER, *Missale Gothicum* vol. 1, p. LXVI). Morin, who longtime subscribed the Autun opinion, later suggested the Alsation monastery of Gregorienmünster as a possible home for the sacramentary, largely because of the prayers in honour of pope Gregory the Great (Germain MORIN, *Sur la provenance du 'Missale Gothicum'*, in: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 37 (1941) 24-30). This hypothesis seems to have no firm foundation as there is, apart from the two prayers for the Rogation days, no trace of a special Gregory cult in the book. Apart from the absence of a celebration in honour of St Nazarius, there seems to be no reason to discard the suggestion of Autun as the place where the Gothic Missal was used.

³⁴ See LOWE, *CLA* I 32.

our of St Leodegar, who was bishop in Autun until his violent death in 679/680. Prayers in this mass refer to an already flourishing veneration of this martyr's relics, thus indicating the year 684 as a *terminus post quem*, indeed the same year in which the translation of Leodegar's relics to Poitiers took place³⁵.

The Gothic Missal comprises seventy-seven masses. As indicated above, the manuscript opens with Christmas, and then follows the liturgical year until Pentecost. There are mass formularies for various Christmas-masses, for Our Lord's Circumcision on 1 January, for Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week and Easter, for the Finding of the Cross, Ascension with the Rogation masses on the three preceding days, and Whitsunday. Between Christmas and Easter, and after Pentecost, groups of nine and twelve saint's masses respectively are interwoven. In conjunction with several separate saint's masses, the Sanctorale of the sacramentary totals twenty-six masses. The saints can be classified into three distinct groups: Biblical saints, local Gallic saints and Roman martyrs. To conclude, the manuscript contains a collection of *commune* masses for the commemoration of apostles, martyrs and confessors, as well as a collection of Sunday masses.

The Gothic Missal thus provides one with a treasure of Eucharistic prayer texts for various occasions. The sacramentary offers special insight into the manner in which the liturgy was celebrated in early medieval Gaul. The Gothic Missal, as one of the representatives of the Gallican liturgy, is a rare book indeed. The Gallican liturgy is found in a handful of sources, primarily fragmentary in character. Due to the fact that various categories of liturgical texts and prayers are collected in varying genres of liturgical books, it is difficult to ascertain a clear picture of the Eucharistic liturgy as a whole. Moreover, it is not easy to get a reliable impression of the liturgical landscape of the entire Gallic region. In the first place, churches in this province were comparatively free in their choices regarding liturgical celebrations and commemorations, while, additionally, it is not always possible to determine precise dating or location of the preserved sources. Therefore, the Gallican liturgy does not exist as a uniform entity, but is rather a collection of various liturgical usages and traditions

³⁵ MOHLBERG, *Das gallikanische Sakramentar* 98.

with a set of common characteristics³⁶. Still, the Gothic Missal gives an impression of how the Eucharistic liturgy was celebrated in a church or Christian community in Gaul approximately in the year 700 AD. In addition, the saints' masses, which betray a close relationship between hagiographical traditions and the liturgy in early medieval Gaul, shed new light on the liturgical cult of the saints in this region. This aspect of the Gothic Missal however will be elaborated on elsewhere³⁷.

4. The Gothic Missal as source of liturgical Latin

An important aspect of Mohrmann's writings on liturgical Latin is her statement that the appearance of vulgar elements in this kind of texts is hardly to be expected³⁸. Of course it is not implausible that contact with the divine begs for elevated language. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that medieval liturgical texts are written accounts of what was initially an oral tradition. The appearance of vulgar elements related to the influence of spoken language on liturgical texts, viewed in that light, should hardly be surprising. In her writings on liturgical Latin Mohrmann alleges that the gap between sacral language and colloquial language can become so broad that the sacral language survives colloquial language and thus becomes incomprehensible to many³⁹. By doing so, Mohrmann provides a one-sided view on the matter, as will become clear from the following. There is a phase in which liturgical Latin had not yet survived colloquial language, and the Gothic Missal will turn out to be an important representative of this phase.

³⁶ Élie GRIFFE, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine* vol. 1 (Paris 1964) 330; Andreas HEINZ, *Altgallische Liturgie*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* VI (Freiburg 1999) 984; Yitzhak HEN, *Unity in diversity: the liturgy of Frankish Gaul before the Carolingians*, in: Robert N. SWANSON (ed.), *Unity and diversity in the Church* (Oxford 1996 = *Studies in Church History* 32) 19-30, here 26-27.

³⁷ Cf. Els ROSE, *Liturgical commemoration of the saints in the Missale Gothicum (Vat. reg. lat. 317). New approaches to the liturgy of early medieval Gaul*, in *Vigiliae christianae* 58 (2004); forthcoming.

³⁸ See note 17.

³⁹ MOHRMANN, *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache* 170: '... die Kluft zwischen Sakral- und Alltagssprache kann so groß werden, daß die Sakralsprache die Umgangssprache überlebt und dadurch für weitere Kreise unverständlich wird. So hat das liturgische Latein innerhalb der romanischen Sprachen die lateinische Umgangssprache überlebt...'

4.1. Orthography, morphology, syntax

It is clear that both orthography and morphology in the Gothic Missal are fluid and subject to confusion. However, I would hesitate to make use of extreme pejorative terms to describe the Latin of the Gothic Missal, as have been uttered by latinists in the past, for example 'one of the darkest ages of latinity'⁴⁰, 'barbarie orthographique', 'l'étrange saveur mérovingienne'⁴¹ or even 'parler bizarre'⁴². In this part of the present article, some features of the language of the Gothic Missal will be looked at more closely.

In the field of orthography, to begin with, a change of vowels repetitively causes lack of clarity concerning the function of a word. The change from 'i' to 'e' in the ending of a verb can suggest a different tense from what is actually meant:

Clamur in castris oretur, uirtus demigandi *contemnetur*, de adsummatione martyrii contentio commouetur; dei populus ferro *confodetur*, sanguis innocentum *effundetur*, fides inlibata seruatur. (...) Unde merito tibi, domine, inter chorus martyrum et uocebus angelorum laudis tibi debitas *agemus* cum exultatione dicentis: Sanctus⁴³.

The forms in italics have the outward appearance of a future tense, whereas the intention is that of the simple present, comparable to the forms *commouetur*, *seruatur*.

A similar change of vowels, namely from 'o' to 'u', can mistakenly cause a noun to assume the form of a verb:

Deus, rerum omnium *conditur* adque *creatur*...⁴⁴

In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of changes of vowels from a phonetic perspective, Veikko Väänänen uses in his *Introduction au latin vulgaire* the well-known scheme of the pronunciation of vowels⁴⁵. This scheme reflects the process of change during which a quantitative distinction (the length of a vowel determines its pronunciation and thereby its graph) gives way to a

⁴⁰ COLEMAN, *Vulgar Latin* 50.

⁴¹ Utterances by L. Delisle, quoted by MOHLBERG, *Das gallikanische Sakramentar* 6.

⁴² H. LECLERCQ, *Missale Gothicum*, in: DACL VI.2 1393-1425, here 1393.

⁴³ *Missale Gothicum* 423. Ed. MOHLBERG 103-104; ROSE 151-152.

⁴⁴ *Missale Gothicum* 185. Ed. MOHLBERG 51; ROSE 74.

⁴⁵ Veikko VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (Paris 1981³) 30.

qualitative distinction: a long vowel is now ascribed a closed character, whereas a short vowel is ascribed an open character. In this process, short 'i' and long 'e' received more or less the same phonetic character, both reflected by the graph 'e'. The same applies to short 'u' and long 'o', both written as 'o'⁴⁶. The phenomenon of changing vowels according to the scheme as it is reproduced by Väänänen, is a general characteristic of (early) medieval Latin. What is striking in the orthography of the Gothic Missal is that the opposite movement, of which the second example given above is an illustration⁴⁷, occurs likewise, and in certain cases even more often than the expected movement. This example of hypercorrection, probably caused by the fear of committing an error⁴⁸, illustrates the quality of the orthography of the Gothic Missal. Confusion in the field of orthography in this manuscript is such that the scheme given by Väänänen is not sufficient.

Other examples of orthographical hypercorrection are found in the ending -ae for third declension nouns in the fifth case: *de ueprae prolatus* (291), *ut qui sacro baptismatae sunt renati* (282). This ending on -ae occurs once in the case of a singular imperative: *Libera nos (...) et constituae nos in bonis* (518), in the case of an adverb on -e: *nox (...) in qua maximae dilectasti nos* (270) and in adjectives in the vocative: *omnipotens aeternae deus* (423), *inmensae deus* (514), *sanctae pater, aeternae deus* (190). Such examples of hypercorrection are characteristic for Merovingian Latin, and are also found in the writings of Gregory of Tours⁴⁹.

In the field of morphology, the Gothic Missal bears important witness to changes in the relation between form and function in early medieval Latin. The balanced systems of genera, declension and conjugation, as well as the use of the pronoun, were subject to erosion, a process which eventually resulted in the reduction of the number of cases and genera, visible in the Romance languages⁵⁰. The morphology in the text of the Gothic Missal is an interesting

⁴⁶ VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction* 29-30; Joseph HERMAN, *Le latin vulgaire* (Paris 1967) 37; K. VOSSLER, *Einführung ins Vulgärlatein* (revised edition by H. SCHMECK, Munich 1954) 85-86.

⁴⁷ In the work of Gregory of Tours, a similar change from 'o' to 'u' is visible; cf. Max. BONNET, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris 1890/Hildesheim 1968) 130.

⁴⁸ See also BONNET, *Le latin de Grégoire* 97.

⁴⁹ BONNET, *Le latin de Grégoire* 99-100.

⁵⁰ VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction* 101; E. BOURCIEZ, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (ed. J. BOURCIEZ, Paris 1967⁵) 89.

illustration of the most complex transitional phase preceding this stage. Some examples will be given here for purposes of clarification.

With regard to genus, the Gothic Missal provides us with many examples of gender shifts in nouns. This change of genus is clearly visible in the case of neutral plural words ending on -a with a singular meaning, like *uiscera*, 'mercy, tenderness', *membra*, 'body', *festā*, 'feast'⁵¹. To give one example, the latter word, used with a feminine ending in the following sentence, has clearly shifted to the feminine genus:

Deus misericordiae sempiternae, qui in ipso paschalis festae recursum fidem sacratae tibi plebis accendis, auge gratiam quam dedisti...⁵²

As these plural words were often used with a singular meaning, the treatment of these words as feminine which gradually made them move to the first declension is not inexplicable.

Likewise, many neutral Greek (or originally Hebrew) loan words, which initially remained neutral in Latin, were transformed into the feminine: *pascha* in the sentence *Expectatum, fratres karissimi, et desideratum nobis paschae diem adepti*⁵³; *chrisma* in the phrase *Infusio crismae salutaris domini nostri Iesu Christi*⁵⁴.

Nouns not only change genus, they also shift from one declension to another. Thus many examples are found in the Gothic Missal where nouns from the fourth declension have moved to the second declension as some forms of these declensions are similar⁵⁵. This is, for example, often the case with the neutral word *cornu* from the fourth declension, which moves to the second declension: *Erexisisti nobis cornum salutis*⁵⁶ and ...*in quo exaltatum est cornum salutis eorum*⁵⁷. It is interesting to see that, in the first example, the editor Mohlberg overlooks the slight but clearly visible abbrevia-

⁵¹ See also VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction* 102. In this case, it is also possible that the feminine form flows from the construction *dies festa*, of which the adjective *festa*, used as a noun, is left.

⁵² *Missale Gothicum* 309. Ed. MOHLBERG 77; ROSE 115.

⁵³ *Missale Gothicum* 228. Ed. MOHLBERG 62; ROSE 90-91.

⁵⁴ *Missale Gothicum* 259. Ed. MOHLBERG 67; ROSE 91.

⁵⁵ See also BONNET, *Le latin* 367-368.

⁵⁶ *Missale Gothicum* 11. Ed. MOHLBERG 5; ROSE 11.

⁵⁷ *Missale Gothicum* 41. Ed. MOHLBERG 13; ROSE 21.

tion mark above *cornu* indicating the ending of the word on -m. Apparently Mohlberg, working with the classical grammar in mind, did not see this mark because he did not recognise the late Latin phenomenon of changing declensions.

Concerning the case system the Gothic Missal gives many instances of interchange of accusative and ablative. These interchanges occur when the ending -m is either left out or added hypercorrectly, or when the endings -um and -o are confused. Here the influence of pronunciation is clearly visible in the written texts. Where in spoken language the difference between *dominum* and *domino* was hardly recognised, these forms were confused more and more in writing. Moreover, in the Gothic Missal many examples of incongruence are found, such as *ad sacram excubiarum sollempnitate collectos* (Go 76); *diem hodierna deuocionem celebrantes* (Go 110); *ante orationem dominica* (Go 517); *in ipso paschalis festae recursum* (Go 309); *ut (...) conpraehendant quo lauacrum abluti* (Go 309); *purum semper corde complectant* (Go 502). In a pair of adjective and noun one word can have the form of an accusative, whereas the other has the form of an ablative. This unbalanced treating of ablative and accusative demonstrates that in the case of the Gothic Missal, there was no clear understanding anymore of the relationship between form and function.

Insofar as verbs are concerned, the change of conjugations must be noted⁵⁸. In the Gothic Missal, various examples of verb shifts from the second or third to the fourth conjugation are found: *...ita et in aduentu eius gaudire*⁵⁹; *...uti hanc oblacionem benedicire et sanctificare digneris*⁶⁰. Also, the change of passive and active forms, as well as the active ending of verbs which serve as *deponentia* in classical texts, characteristic elements of late Latin⁶¹, are frequently visible in the Gothic Missal.

The morphology of the Gothic Missal thus reveals a certain degree of disturbance of the relationship between form and function. Within this state of disturbance, some aspects show a more advanced stage than others. With regard to declensions, for exam-

⁵⁸ See VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction* 135.

⁵⁹ *Missale Gothicum* 293. Ed. MOHLBERG 75; ROSE 110. Cf. the French form (*ré*)jouir.

⁶⁰ *Missale Gothicum* 280. Ed. MOHLBERG 72; ROSE 107. Cf. the French form bénir.

See for example VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction* 128.

ple, the accusative and ablative have been affected more than other cases. Likewise, the handling of nouns and pronouns presents a more confused situation than that of the verb. From the examples given above, it is clear that the classical rules in the morphology of the Gothic Missal were subject to erosion, yet were not completely abandoned. Many examples could be added, but the given illustrations must suffice here⁶².

As far as syntax is concerned, vulgar and colloquial influence is particularly visible in the use of absolute constructions. The Gothic Missal provides the scholar (and reader) with many examples of accusative and nominative absolute. In the following prayer an accusative absolute is found in the constructions *mundata arcana* and *inquietudines exclusas*:

...ut mundata nostri cordis arcana cum abstinencia cyborum, iurgiorum etiam inquietudines exclusas dileccio tua et proximis nostris in cordibus pura succrescat⁶³.

Likewise, the phrase *intercidentes martyres tuos illum et illum* serves as an accusative absolute:

Propiciare, domine, supplicationibus nostris et his populi tui oblationibus intercidentes martyres tuos illum et illum praesentiam tuae uirtutis inlustra...⁶⁴

Where the nominative absolute is used as a construction, the difference between an absolute construction and a mere anacolouth is often difficult to determine. The following example taken from the mass for the martyr Saturninus of Toulouse, bears witness to this phenomenon: *In quo proficiens latitudo, dum cathedram suscipit sanctitatis coronam rapuit passionis* (Go 124)⁶⁵.

Next to the confusion in the field of absolute constructions the syntax of the Gothic Missal shows some other features characteris-

⁶² For a more complete overview, the reader is referred to Pars II, chapters two and three of ROSE, *Communitas in commemoratione* 199-246.

⁶³ *Missale Gothicum* 335. Ed. MOHLBERG 84; ROSE 124.

⁶⁴ *Missale Gothicum* 450. Ed. MOHLBERG 109; ROSE 159.

⁶⁵ Cf. Einar LÖFSTEDT, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* (Uppsala 1911) 158; J. B. HOFMANN & A. SZANTYR, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (= M. LEUMANN, J. B. HOFMANN, & A. SZANTYR, *Lateinische Grammatik. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* II.2.2) (Munich 1972³) 143.

tic for the syntax of late Latin, such as the choice for a description of the degrees of comparison. An example is found in the sentence *sacramentum tanto magis praeconabile quantum est inter homines assumptione uirginis singulare* in the mass for Mary's Assumption (Go 94). The superlative, in many cases decreased to the meaning of the positive, is sometimes formed with the help of an adverb (*multum, vehementer, valde, sane*)⁶⁶. An example of this is found in the introduction to the eucharistic prayer in the mass for Saturninus of Toulouse: *Dignum et iustum est, optimum sane est...* (Go 127)⁶⁷.

The examples given above demonstrate that in the time in which the Gothic Missal was composed, the Latin language of the liturgy had not become entirely incomprehensible yet, otherwise stated, 'the sacral language had not yet survived colloquial speech'. The Gothic Missal, as a written account of liturgical prayers, embodies the development of Latin toward Romance, rather than liturgical Latin rising above these developments as an inviolable entity. Liturgical Latin is part of these developments, as are all other forms of Latin. Only when the Carolingians extended their reform program to the field of liturgical Latin, did the liturgical language become incomprehensible to the masses. Christine Mohrmann appears to overlook the fact that liturgical Latin sources can have far greater intrinsic value than being merely 'strongly stylized', as she refers to them. In fact, they form an integral part of the transi-

⁶⁶ Cf. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction* 119.

⁶⁷ Concerning syntax, additional work could be done with the help of recent linguistic studies concerning the syntax of early medieval Latin. Without aiming at an exhaustive bibliographical overview here, I mention Bauer, who concentrates on word order in late Latin and early Romance: Brigitte BAUER, *The emergence and development of SVO patterning in Latin and French. Diachronic and psycholinguistic perspectives* (New York 1995) and ead., *Archaic syntax in Indo-European: the spread of transitivity in Latin and French* (Berlin 2000); Banniard, working on the relationship between syntax and the intelligibility of early medieval Latin texts: Michel BANNIARD, *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IV au IX siècle en Occident latin* (Paris 1992); the work done by Wright on (liturgical) Latin in the early medieval period: Roger WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool 1982), esp. pp. 73-78; and the work of Richter, who concentrates on sociolinguistic aspects of the study of early medieval Latin. A large number of the latter's writings are collected in Michael RICHTER, *Studies in medieval language and culture* (Dublin 1995).

tional stage of the Latin language and indeed provide valuable insight into this significant early medieval era. Thus, a liturgical text such as the Gothic Missal assumes significance as an important source and documentation in the history of the Latin language.

4.2. The influence of the Biblical languages

The use of loan words in the Gothic Missal as a liturgical text can be briefly summarized. The statement made by Mohrmann – that technical loan words were avoided as much as possible in liturgical texts as opposed to ‘non disturbing’ loan words which bore a religious association and hence were more readily accepted – does not apply to the Gothic Missal. In the prayers of this sacramentary, many words of Greek origin are used. In particular, many technical terms are found, such as the names of liturgical feasts (*epiphania*), the sacraments and the relevant instrumental, sacral objects (*eucharistia*, *baptisma*, *chrisma*) as well as ecclesiastical functions (*episcopus*, *catechumenus*, *diaconus*). Words from Hebrew origin are used as well, although less frequently encountered (*pascha*, *sabbatum*, *hysopum*, *leuita*, *cherubim*, *seraphim*, *gehenna*, *osanna*). It must be underlined that these words of Greek or Hebrew origin can hardly be regarded as loan words in the sense of ‘imported’ words in the context of the Gothic Missal. Greek and Hebrew loan words had been used in the general language of Western Christendom from a fairly early stage and had become current in the Latin of the Christians since then. Still, the matter of the use of words, finding their origin in the biblical languages, in the Gothic Missal as a liturgical Latin text must be discussed here in the light of Mohrmann’s repeated statement that technical loan words of Greek and/or Hebrew origin were avoided as much as possible in the context of the Latin liturgy.

Considering this question, it becomes clear very soon that the Gothic Missal prefers to choose a loan word when the word is used in a technical sense, whereas the Latin equivalent is used often when a more abstract aspect of the word is intended. A fine example appears in the word for baptism. The Greek loan word *baptisma* is generally chosen when the technical sense of the word, the actual administration of the sacrament, is intended⁶⁸. Also the baptism

⁶⁸ For example *Missale Gothicum* 50, 282; cf. ROSE, *Communitas in commemoratione* 300.

of Christ in the river Jordan is referred to with the loan word *baptisma*⁶⁹. When the text wants to express the more abstract aspect of the sacrament as a theological idea, the Latin equivalent *lauacrum* is chosen, mostly in the construction *lauacrum regenerationis*⁷⁰. A similar distinction is visible in the case of words indicating the office of bishop, where the choice is between the loan word *episcopus* and the Latin equivalent *antistes*. In the Gothic Missal, the loan word is generally used to denote the bishop as office holder. The term *episcopus* is frequently used in titles of masses which honour and celebrate the feast day of a bishop. The term *antistes*, on the other hand, is the preferred usage to express an affectionate relationship between the bishop and the faithful or alternately between God and the bishop. It is rare to encounter the Latin word *antistes* in the Gothic Missal in its independent form; it is predominantly accompanied by a possessive pronoun (*antistes tuus/suus*⁷¹, *noster*⁷²). When the intention is to indicate a bishop in the more technical sense, it is generally expressed in the loan word, whereas the more affectionate sense is expressed via the original Latin word.

Mohrmann's idea that in liturgical Latin words of Greek or Hebrew origin were avoided as much as possible, especially in the case of technical terms, does not apply to the Gothic Missal. It is obvious that loan words were even preferred to their Latin equivalents in order to express technical matters. The frequent occurrence particularly of Greek loan words in a liturgical Latin text as the Gothic Missal is hardly surprising. Not only was the Latin of the first Bible translations, and therefore the Latin of the Christians, influenced by the Biblical languages Greek and Hebrew to a great extent. Even more important is the fact that Greek was, until well into the fourth century, the liturgical language of the Western Church, as Mohrmann herself stresses at various places in her writings⁷³. The

⁶⁹ *Missale Gothicum* 87.

⁷⁰ For example *Missale Gothicum* 255, 258, 267, 273; cf. ROSE, *Communitas in commemoratione* 296.

⁷¹ *Missale Gothicum* 119, 126, 425, 429, 431, 474.

⁷² *Missale Gothicum* 351. This distinction, however, does not apply always. In the mass for St Clement the holy bishop is indicated first as *sanctus et uenerabilis Clemens episcopus* and then as *beatus Clemens antistes*, without any significant difference (*Missale Gothicum* 117 and 118. Ed. MOHLBERG 34-35; ROSE 51).

⁷³ For example Christine MOHRMANN, *Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome*, in: *Études* III 67-126, here 74; see also Theodor KLAUSER, *Der Übergang*

mere absence of Greek elements in the (technical) language of the liturgy, presupposed by Mohrmann, would have been remarkable. In fact, the vocabulary of liturgical Latin as found in the Gothic Missal does not seem to differ much from 'Christian Latin' in general, as defined by Mohrmann:

Cette langue de groupe était, au début, un idiome éminemment vulgaire, caractérisé par un grand nombre d'emprunts, grecs et hébreux, et par beaucoup de néologismes lexicologiques et sémasiologiques⁷⁴.

4.3. The influence of poetic elements

The best example of the incorporation of existing poetic traditions in early medieval Latin liturgy is found in the Easter hymn that accompanies the entrance and the lighting of the Easter candle, the so-called *Exultet*⁷⁵. This marvelous hymn is transmitted in various early medieval manuscripts of the Spanish and Gallican liturgical traditions. The Gothic Missal might be the oldest manuscript in which this text, often ascribed to bishop Ambrose, is handed down. In this book, the hymn is ascribed to Augustine, who wrote it 'when he was still a deacon'⁷⁶.

In the light of this study, it is interesting to observe Christine Mohrmann's approach to the prayer and its position in Western liturgy. Mohrmann refers to this remarkable text – which she first and foremost regards as a highlight of Latin liturgy – exclusively in the context of the Roman Rite. She indicates the *Exultet* as a very late addition to the Roman liturgy: the prayer was not introduced in Rome until the Carolingian era⁷⁷. According to Mohrmann, the *Exultet* is a *Fremdkörper* among originally Roman prayers⁷⁸. Similar to Jerome, Mohrmann does not really appreciate the Virgilian elab-

der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache, in: L.C. MOHLBERG (ed.), *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* I (Città del Vaticano 1946) 467-482.

⁷⁴ MOHRMANN, *Le latin liturgique* 29.

⁷⁵ On this subject, a great amount of literature is on hand. A good bibliographic overview is found in Guido FUCHS & Hans Martin WEIKMANN, *Das Exultet. Geschichte, Theologie und Gestaltung der österlichen Lichtdanksagung* (Regensburg 1992) 151-153.

⁷⁶ *Missale Gothicum* 225: *Benediccion caerae beati Augustini episcopi, quam adhuc diaconus esset, edidet et caecinit*. Ed. MOHLBERG 59; ROSE 87.

⁷⁷ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 72.

⁷⁸ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 71: 'A curious poetical piece of prose occupies a completely isolated place in the Roman liturgy'. See also pp. 72 and 73, where

oration on the work of the industrious bee and her contribution to the Easter candle, one of the most remarkable passages of the *Exultet* in its early medieval versions⁷⁹. Whereas Jerome lodged a protest against this part of the Easter hymn because its style did not, in his eyes, conform to Biblical style⁸⁰, Mohrmann criticises the mannered style of the praise of the bees, which, in her view, does not fit into 'la solennité de la liturgie'⁸¹. It is not only the non-Christian origin of the material, but also the poetic character of the prayer which makes the *Exultet* a permanent *Fremdkörper* in 'la structure sobre et lapidaire de la liturgie romaine'⁸².

This approach to the famous Easter hymn from a purely Roman point of view does not illuminate the liturgical context in which this prayer formed the core of the liturgical year from a very early period. Considered against the background of the Gallican and Spanish liturgy, it is not surprising that this text was used as the heart of the Easter liturgy in these regions. The prayers of the Gallican sacramentaries of the early Middle Ages provide ample room for narrative and legendary traditions. The detailed description of the diligent labour of the bees in the creation of the wax and the candle corresponds to the general style of Gallican liturgical texts, even if the *Exultet* is not originally Gallican⁸³. Obviously, the compilers of the Gallican liturgy raised no objections to the use

Mohrmann stresses the difference between the *Exultet* ('this sublime prayer') and the style of the Roman liturgy.

⁷⁹ On the famous 'praise of the bee' and its disappearance from the *Exultet* see Heinrich ZWICK, *Osterlobpreis und Taufe. Studien zu Struktur und Theologie des Exultet und anderer Osterpraeconien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Taufmotive* (Frankfurt a.M. 1986) 67-73.

⁸⁰ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 72-73; ead., *Le latin liturgique* 42-43; see also Germain MORIN, *La "Lettre à Présidius" sur le cierge pascal*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 8 (1891) 20-27, esp. 25-26.

⁸¹ MOHRMANN, *Le latin liturgique* 44.

⁸² Ibidem.

⁸³ On the origin of the *Exultet* opinions differ; see for example Bernard CAPELLE, *L'Exultet' pascal oeuvre de Saint Ambroise*, in: MOHLBERG (ed.), *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* I 219-246; Bonifatius FISCHER, *Ambrosius der Verfasser des österlichen Exultet?*, in: *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1952) 61-74; Christine MOHRMANN, *Exultent divina mysteria*, in: ead., *Études* II 223-231, here p. 231 note 19. Capelle holds to the authorship of Ambrose, whereas Fischer regards the *Exultet* as a text from Gallican origin. Heinrich Zweck rejects the authorship of Ambrose, and suggests North Italy or South Gaul as the place of origin of the *Exultet*: ZWICK, *Osterlobpreis und Taufe* 80-82.

of such a text whose 'whole style (...) is influenced by Classical poetry'⁸⁴. Where Mohrmann suggests that it is precisely the sharp contrast with the 'sober and severe' Roman liturgical style which eventually bestowed the *Exultet* a most prominent place in the Easter liturgy of the Roman Catholic church⁸⁵, I would prefer to stress the fact that this marvelous Easter hymn, of which both narrative character and poetic quality is in perfect harmony with the nature of the Gallican liturgy, is one of the non-Roman elements which fortunately survived the strong Rome-focused view on liturgy by which later liturgical reform movements were characterised.

The incorporation of poetic elements in Gallican liturgical texts is not only visible in the Easter hymn of the Gothic Missal. The mass for the commemoration of the Holy Innocents in the Christmas Octave is another fine example of a similar free use of themes and material derived from poetry, though in a somewhat different manner. In this case, it is a Christian poet who inspired the composer(s) of the liturgical prayers for the celebration of the *dies natalis* of the Innocents (28 December), called *Infantes* in the Gothic Missal. Long before a feast day on the Christian calendar was dedicated to the young victims of Herod's envy of the 'new King', their fate was being sung in hymns and poems. The Gallic poet Paulinus of Nola (355-431) incorporated the commemoration of the young martyrs in an elegy on the death of a friend's young son⁸⁶. His Spanish contemporary Prudentius (b. 348) gave the Infants a place in his great Epiphany hymn, included in the *Cathemerinon*⁸⁷. In the *Cathemerinon* an ode to the children is incorporated, which is still sung in many ecclesiastical traditions⁸⁸:

⁸⁴ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 73.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ PAULINUS OF NOLA, *Carmina* 31, l. 585-588. Ed. G. DE HARTEL, CSEL 30 (Vienna 1894) 328. See also M.R. DUDLEY, *Natalis Innocentium: the Holy Innocents in Liturgy and Drama*, in: D. WOOD, *The Church and Childhood* (Oxford 1994 = *Studies in Church History* 31) 233-242, here 235.

⁸⁷ PRUDENTIUS, *Liber Cathemerinon* XII, *Hymnus Epifaniae*. Ed. M.P. CUNNINGHAM, CCSL 126, 65-72. In early Medieval Spanish liturgy, the commemoration of the Innocents was celebrated on 8 January, in the Epiphany Octave, and not in the Christmas Octave; see *Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum*, ed. M. FÉROTIN (Paris 1912) 97; see also ROSE, *Communitas in commemoratione* 350.

⁸⁸ Rachel MORIARTY, *Little martyr-flowers: Prudentius Ancient and Modern*. Unpublished paper given at the Summer Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, St. Andrews 1997.

*Saluete flores martyrum*⁸⁹. This originally Spanish hymn, in which the glorious martyrdom of the children is admired and the ferocity of cruel Herod is derided, resounds in the prayers in honour of the *Infantes* in the Gothic Missal. The image of the children as 'little martyr flowers' recurs several times in these prayers. The first prayer opens with this image:

God, who has crowned the universal church with the virtues of your precious martyrs as if with flowers...⁹⁰

Likewise, the offering prayer (*immolatio missae*) states that the children are rightly called flowers among the martyrs:

The children, born in the midst of the cold of infidelity, are rightly called 'flowers of martyrdom', who the night frost of persecution destroyed just when they were about to come out as the first gems of the Church⁹¹.

Here, the liturgical text even surpasses Prudentius in elaborating the image of the children as flowers of martyrdom, prematurely plucked before they could come to full bloom.

5. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the language of a non-Roman, Gallic liturgical document makes clear that the theory of Mohrmann and other scholars *vis à vis* liturgical Latin is in need of revision. In the past, scholars have paid little attention to the linguistic peculiarities of early medieval liturgical sources. This lack of interest in the language of the Gothic Missal and Gallican liturgical documents from the same period⁹² can be partially explained by the strongly

⁸⁹ CCSL 126, p. 69.

⁹⁰ *Missale Gothicum* 46: *Deus qui uniuersam aeclesiam tuam praeciosorum martyrum tuorum uirtutibus uelut quibusdam floribus coronasti...* Ed. MOHLBERG 14; ROSE 23.

⁹¹ *Missale Gothicum* 49: *Qui iure dicuntur martyrum flores, qui in medio frigore infidelitatis exorti uelut primas erumpentes ecclesiae gemmas quaedam persecutionis pruina [pruina] discussit...* Ed. MOHLBERG 15; ROSE 25.

⁹² The Gothic Missal does not stand alone: liturgical manuscripts such as the Bobbio Missal (*Missale Bobbiense*. Ed. E. A. LOWE, A. WILMART & H. WILSON, *The Bobbio Missal: a Gallican Mass-book. Facsimile, Text and Notes* (London 1917-1924 = Henry Bradshaw Society 53, 58, 59)) and the so-called Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary (*Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*. Ed. H. C. A. DOLD &

classical view on the Latin language which dominated from the Carolingian era until the present century. This view of the Latin language, equally visible in the most recent edition of the manuscript by L.C. Mohlberg (as I have already indicated with the example *cornu-cornum* in § 4.1), sentenced early medieval Latin sources to a 'shadowy corner'. Moreover, the sources of the liturgy which can be considered as documents of 'vulgar Latin', such as the Gothic Missal, are ignored by the specialists of this kind of Latin just as well. Obviously, liturgical documents were not considered appropriate study material. One of the main reasons, however, for the lack of attention bestowed upon non-Roman sources of early medieval Latin liturgy is the strong focus on the liturgy of Rome by which the study of both liturgy and liturgical Latin is determined. This preference for the study of Roman material is particularly visible in the work of Christine Mohrmann. An important explanation for Mohrmann's focus on the history of the liturgy of Rome can be found in her involvement in the debate on the preservation of Latin in the liturgy of her days. In the mid half of the twentieth century, the high point of Mohrmann's career, this was a most current discussion. In her writings on liturgical Latin, Mohrmann almost invariably refers to this debate⁹³. Mohrmann manifested herself in the first place as an ardent supporter of the preservation of Latin in the liturgy, stressing the importance of the sacral quality of liturgical language. In case of the translation of liturgical texts in the vernaculars, this sacral quality should be maintained, according to Mohrmann⁹⁴. Mohrmann's concern for the language of the

L. EIZENHÖFER, *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München* (Beuron 1964)) are of equal interest. Some work has been done on the Bobbio Missal and will be published as: Yitzhak HEN & Rob MEENS, *The Bobbio Missal. Liturgy and religious culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge 2004 = Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology; forthcoming).

⁹³ For example MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin* 74-80; ead., *Le latin liturgique* 47-48; ead., *Notes sur le latin liturgique* 108; ead., *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache* 173-174.

⁹⁴ See for example MOHRMANN, *Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache* 174: 'Vom sprachlichen Gesichtspunkt aus glaube ich, daß sich, wenn auch mit Mühe und großer Anstrengung, in unseren modernen Nationalsprachen sakrale Sprachen bilden lassen', although earlier, Mohrmann was convinced that this sacral quality could be found only in Latin (cf. *Liturgical Latin* 76: 'And yet we must realize that sacral stylization forms an essential element of every official prayer language and that this sacral, hieratic character cannot, and should never, be relinquished.

liturgy of her days undoubtedly influenced her view on the history of liturgical Latin.

Summary

Contemporary study of late Latin shows an important lacuna: research on the field of 'liturgical Latin'. Although many sophisticated volumes appeared studying the Latin between Late Antiquity and the Carolingian period, liturgical texts, though important witnesses to this period of transition in the development of the Latin language, are hardly paid attention to. And if liturgical texts are subject of study, the focus is rather one-sidedly on highlights of the liturgical tradition, mainly Roman texts originating from the golden age of patristic writing, roughly the years between 400 AD and 600 AD. This narrow interpretation of the concept of 'liturgical Latin', visible in the work of, among others, Christine Mohrmann and Robert Coleman, is in need of revision. In the present study, the language of the *Missale Gothicum* (ca 700 AD), a main representative of the Merovingian liturgy and belonging to what is considered as 'one of the darkest ages of latinity' (Coleman), is subject of study. The article tries to answer the question, how such a confined view on liturgical Latin came into existence, and how this view can or must be revised when a source as the *Missale Gothicum* is called to witness.

From the point of view of the general development of the Western languages – to say nothing of the problems raised by other languages – the present time is certainly not propitious for the abandonment of Latin'.

Himnos de la antigua liturgia hispánica

Edición crítica, traducción y fuentes*

por

CASTRO SÁNCHEZ

(Córdoba)

El presente artículo estudia una serie de himnos de la liturgia hispánica, la mayor parte del *Proprium de Sanctis*, alguno de *Tempore*, de los siglos VIII y IX¹, tomando como referencia la edición de los himnos de Clemens Blume². Nos ha parecido que esta selección de himnos podría resultar significativa tanto por el hecho de que el estudio de estos himnos está prácticamente concluido como por las correcciones que se proponen a la edición de Blume.

* Este estudio es una pequeña muestra de la edición crítica de los himnos de la liturgia hispánica que estamos preparando.

Agradecemos al profesor Emilio García Ruiz la lectura de este trabajo y sus observaciones.

¹ Para la datación de los himnos de la liturgia hispánica cf. U. CHEVALIER, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, Leipzig, 1901; reprint 1971. W. M. WHITEHILL — J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *Los manuscritos del Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Madrid, 1930. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, 2 v., Salamanca-Madrid, 1958-1959. J. SZÖVÉRFY, *Iberian Hymnody*, Worcester, Mass., 1971. A. MUNDÓ, *La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos*, in *Hispania Sacra*, 18, 1965, p. 1-25. Según SZÖVÉRFY (op. cit. pp. 44, 45, 53, 55), los himnos *Ad sanctae Agathae virginis*; *Christe lux lucis, Deus*; *Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium*; *O beate mundi auctor*; *O Dei verbum patris ore*; *Te deprecamur, Domine*; *Vrbis Romuleae iam toga*, se habrían compuesto en el s. VIII. Los demás, *Adstantes pariter sexus omnigenus*; *Christe, tu rerum opifexque operum*; *Clementis festum celebratur hodie*; *Festum insigne prodiit cuscum*; *Festum Christe rex per orbem*; *Fons Deus aeternae pacis, lux*; *Gaudet caterva nobilis*; *Lucis auctor clemens lumen*; *O caelorum alme princeps*; *O rerum domine, conditor omnium*; *O sacerdotum inclita corona*; *Sollemne festum plebs benigna*; *Ecce micantia veluti sidera*; *Te decet ymnus in Sion, omnipotens*, en el s. IX.

² C. BLUME, *Hymnodia Gothica. Die Mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus*, Leipzig, 1897, AH XXVII.

Parece oportuno recordar aquí las enormes dificultades que el estudio de la himnología de nuestra liturgia plantea al investigador y lo inseguro que resulta transitar por este campo. Y ello por la escasa tradición manuscrita para algunos himnos, por el mal estado de conservación de algunos de los códices, que hace muy difícil su lectura, y también, a veces, por la mala factura de su escritura. A estas dificultades, de orden formal, hay que añadir las referentes al contenido, como son el recurso al resumen por parte del autor, llevado a veces a extremos que hacen incomprensible el texto (dificultad que a veces puede obviarse recurriendo a la fuente correspondiente); la gran cantidad de faltas, que, más que en una sintaxis y morfología ya "averiadas", hacen pensar en un copista que, en no pocas ocasiones, no entendía lo que estaba escribiendo; y finalmente la inseguridad en la datación de algunos de los manuscritos conservados.

Teniendo como referencia la citada edición de Blume, la primera, y la única completa, de los himnos, y teniendo en cuenta las ediciones anteriores y posteriores a él y los estudios sobre la himnología de nuestra liturgia³, hacemos una nueva lectura de los manuscritos en los que se encuentran estos himnos, los códices *M E Z L O B D F Q* y *X*, que describimos más abajo.

El estudio, marcado por un deseo de fidelidad a la tradición manuscrita, tiene cuatro partes: texto, aparato crítico, traducción y *fontes/loci similes*. En cuanto al texto, hemos tratado de respetar al máximo la lectura de los códices, hasta el punto de que en algún caso, lo reconocemos, nuestra propuesta puede resultar forzada. También en la grafía tratamos de ser fieles a las fuentes manuscritas, según criterio hoy comúnmente aceptado⁴. Pero no resulta fácil aplicar este criterio cuando hay más de un manuscrito y alguno de ellos es además de datación no segura. Porque ¿qué grafía adoptar cuando un himno está recogido en varios códices, cuando además

³ B. THORSBERG, *Études sur l'hymnologie*, Upsala, 1962. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Estudios sobre la antigua literatura relacionada con Santiago el Mayor*, in *Compostellanum*, 11, 1966, p. 457-502. J. GIL, *El himnario gótico*, in *Habis*, 7, 1976, p. 187-211. A. DE ALMEIDA MATOS, *Hinos do Temporal Hispânico até à invasão muçulmana. Estudo histórico-crítico*, Coimbra, 1977.

⁴ J. GIL, *Para la edición de los textos visigodos*, in *Habis*, 4, 1973, p. 193 ss. ID. *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, Madrid, 1973, p. LV ss. J. FONTAINE, *Isidore de Séville. Traité de la nature*, Burdeos, 1960, p. 86-103.

en un mismo códice, separados tan sólo por dos palabras, nos encontramos *cum* y *quum* con el mismo valor? En la necesidad de tener que adoptar un criterio lo más coherente y homogéneo posible, si bien abiertos a la posibilidad de modificarlo en el futuro, seguimos la grafía del manuscrito considerado más antiguo. Los himnos aparecen en el orden que tienen en la edición de Blume y se resaltan con cursiva y negrita las lecturas que proponemos.

El aparato crítico es, en general, negativo. Hemos de añadir que se han subsanado numerosos fallos de lectura cometidos por Blume. Cuando las variantes propuestas por él a la lección de los códices se refieren a la grafía, “regularizada” en su edición, no se recogen siempre en nuestro aparato⁵.

El texto va acompañado de una traducción. Según nuestra información, la primera que se hace. Asumimos el enorme riesgo que siempre comporta abrir camino, sobre todo en un campo tan inseguro como éste, como decíamos antes. A pesar de ello, lo hacemos en beneficio del lector, que de este modo podrá comprender mejor nuestras propuestas, al que pedimos desde aquí que haga extensiva esa comprensión a los fallos que hayamos cometido. La traducción se presenta en párrafos numerados, correspondientes a las estrofas de cada himno. En ella los corchetes, como es habitual, encierran palabras no existentes en el texto latino, pero convenientes para su mejor comprensión.

Finalmente, y siguiendo a grandes rasgos la línea de otros trabajos, especialmente el de Thorsberg, añadimos una selección de textos, que guardan relación más o menos estrecha con el texto del himno y que, en algún caso ha podido inspirar a su autor. Son tex-

⁵ Las cifras que aparecen al lado de las siglas de los códices en cada himno se refieren a folio para los manuscritos, entre los que incluimos X, a columna para la *Patrología Latina*, y a página, para la edición de Blume.

A veces se distingue entre PL1 y PL2 para referirnos a las lecturas de los códices 35.1 y 33.3, respectivamente, contenidas en la *Patrología Latina*, en la que se recogen los himnos: *Lucis auctor clemens, lumen inmensum; Festum insigne prodiit coruscum; O sacerdotum inclita corona; O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor; Clementis festum celebratur odie; Xriste, lux lucis, deus angelorum; Te decet ymnus in Syon, omnipotens; Gaudet caterba nobilis; O rerum, domine, conditor omnium; O dei uerbum, patris ore proditum; Xriste, tu rerum opifexque operum; O caelorum alme princeps, Micael potissime; Solemne festum, plebs benigna, promite; Festum, Xriste rex, per orbem inluxit almificum; Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium; Urbis Romulee iam toga candida.*

tos de la correspondiente pasión o misa del santo, de las Sagradas Escrituras, de los Santos Padres⁶.

De los códices colacionados, el *M* y el *L* contienen las colecciones más importantes de himnos de nuestra liturgia. Ambos tienen un núcleo común de himnos y se complementan en la parte no común.

M = *Psalmi Cantica Hymni*. Es más rico que el *L*, pero plantea una serie de problemas referidos sobre todo a su origen y fecha de composición, que por lo general se sitúa entre los siglos IX y X, si bien A. Mundó la retrasa al 1100⁷. Tiene 172 folios, en pergamino de 230 x 250 mm., a dos columnas de 29 líneas, en minúscula visigoda de la segunda mitad del IX o principios del X. La numeración, del s. XVIII, está hecha por páginas. Una primera parte, en números arábigos hasta la pág. 215, contiene salmos y cánticos. La segunda parte, en romanos hasta la 123, contiene los himnos. Perteneció al Archivo catedral de Toledo, donde llevó la signatura 35.1, y de allí pasó a la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, donde lleva la signatura 10001. Blume lo designa con la sigla MT⁸.

E = *Antifonarium*. Es uno de los códices más perfectos de cuantos nos han legado los monjes copistas, según Férotin⁹. Está escrito en minúscula visigótica del norte de la Península, en folios de 280 x 170 mm. de caja, en una sola columna de 23 a 26 líneas, en las páginas que sólo tienen texto, y de 12 a 13, en las que sólo tienen preces con notación musical. Fue escrito en la segunda mitad del siglo X por una sola mano y lleva anotaciones posteriores en los folios 87, 116, 149.

Es un Antifonario con oracional festivo, himnario y *Liber precum*. Su estado de conservación es lamentable por efecto de la humedad y el vandalismo.

⁶ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4. *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. Edic. Socii Bollandiani, París, 1863 ss. F. CABROL, H. LECLERCQ, M. FÉROTIN, *Le liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, París, 1912. A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario Hispánico*, 2 v., Barcelona-Madrid, 1953 y 1955. La abreviatura *Pass.* de las fuentes hace referencia al Pasionario Hispánico.

⁷ Cf. J. ENCISO, *El Breviario Mozárabe de la Biblioteca Nacional*, in *Estudios Bíblicos II*, 1943, p. 189-211; A. MUNDÓ, *La datación*, cit. n. 2, p. 1-25. J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *Los himnos mozárabes. I Congreso Internacional de Estudios mozárabes*, Toledo, 1975. p. 135-162.

⁸ Contiene los himnos: *Lucis auctor clemens, lumen immensum; Festum insigne prodiit coruscum; O sacerdotum inclita corona; O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor; Clementis festum celebratur odie; Te decet ymnus in Syon, omnipotens; O rerum, domine, conditor omnium; O dei uerbum, patris ore proditum; Xriste, tu rerum opifexque operum; Festum, Xriste rex, per orbem inluxit almificum; Exsultanimum, turba fidelium; Urbis Romulee iam toga candida.*

⁹ F. CABROL, H. LECLERCQ, M. FÉROTIN, *Le liber Mozarabicus*, cit. n. 7, col. 893.

Su parecido con el Antifonario de León ha permitido reconstruir con cierta facilidad sus numerosas lagunas. El himnario es prácticamente igual a los himnarios de Silos (ms. 30851 del Museo Británico, en nuestra edición L) y de Toledo (ms. 35.1 en nuestra edición M). Hoy se encuentra en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid con la signatura *Aemilianensis* 30. Blume lo designa con la sigla MC¹⁰.

Z = *Officia et Missae*. El códice tiene 199 folios a línea tirada de 27 líneas, en caja de 230 x 135 mm. Está incompleto al principio y al final y también en el medio. Según Mundó, es de finales del siglo X y principios del XI. Su letra visigótica no tiene trazos anchos como la toledana-andaluza, sino que es bastante fina, como la de los códices del norte. Pudo haber sido escrito en Toledo. Fue utilizado por Ortiz y luego pasó a la Catedral de Toledo, donde lleva la signatura 35.6. Blume lo designa con la sigla Tc¹¹.

L = *Psalterium Hymni*. El códice, formado probablemente en Castilla a partir del mismo fondo visigótico que el M, se data en el siglo XI y está incompleto. Está escrito en folios de 400 x 310 mm., a dos columnas, con amplios márgenes muy frágiles por efecto de la humedad. Especialmente en los himnos hay glosas de fechas distintas y dudosas. Procedente del Archivo monástico de Santo Domingo de Silos, hoy se encuentra en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico con la signatura Add. 30851. Blume lo designa con la sigla Lsd¹².

O = *Manuale Antiquissimum, Rituale, Horae diurnae et nocturnae*. El códice, escrito en letra visigótica del s. XI, comprende dos libros diferentes: un *Misticus* (ff. 1-30), con notación musical del norte de la Península, y un *Liber horarum* (ff. 31-42), escrito probablemente antes del 1080. Sus folios son de 245 x 160 mm., con 16 líneas. Le faltan algunos folios. Se encuentra en el monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos, donde lleva la signatura Silos 7. Su

¹⁰ Editado por M. S. GROSS Y PUJOL, *El Liber Misticus de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 30), Barcelona, 1984. Contiene los himnos: [*Ad sancte A]lgathe uirginis; Clementis festum celebratur odie; Xriste, lux lucis, deus angelorum; Adstantes pariter sexus omnigenus; Solemne festum, plebs benigna, promite; Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium.*

¹¹ Editado por J. JANINI, *Liber Missarum de Toledo*, v. II, Toledo, 1983, p. 151-229. Contiene sólo el himno: *O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor.*

¹² Fue editado por J. P. GILSON, *The Mozarabic Psalter* (ms. British Museum, Add. 30.851), Londres, 1905. La edición fue revisada por H. M. BANNISTER. Contiene los himnos: *Te deprecamur, domine; Lucis auctor clemens, lumen immensum; O sacerdotum inclita corona; O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor; Clementis festum celebratur odie; Ecce micantia ueluti sidera; Adstantes pariter sexus omnigenus; Fons, deus, eterne pacis, lux, origo luminis; O rerum, domine, conditor omnium; O dei uerbum, patris ore proditum; Xriste, tu rerum opifexque operum; O caelorum alme princeps, Micael potissime; Festum, Xriste rex, per orbem inluxit alimificum.*

arquetipo, en opinión de Férotin¹³, no puede remontarse más allá del s. IX y, según él, fue utilizado por Ortiz¹⁴.

B = *Officia et Missae*. El códice tiene 177 folios de 400 x 320 mm. Incluye un *Misticus* propiamente dicho (ff. 1-172v) del s. XI, procedente de la mitad norte de la Península Ibérica, y un fragmento del *Liber Canticorum* (ff. 173-177v) del s. X. Está escrito en minúscula visigótica, a dos columnas, de 22 a 24 líneas. Procede del Archivo monástico de Santo Domingo de Silos y hoy se encuentra en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico, donde lleva la signatura Add. 30844. Blume lo designa con la sigla Lsa¹⁵.

D = *Alia Officia Toletana*. Tiene este códice 161 folios de 365 x 254 mm. Está escrito a dos columnas, con notación musical del norte de la Península. Los trazos de su grafía están muy desdibujados y son de mala factura. Los folios 1-7v, a dos columnas de 31 líneas, en letra visigótica de finales del X. Los folios 8-159v son del siglo XI, a dos columnas de 27 líneas (a veces 29). Los folios 89-92v son posteriores y añadidos. Procede del Archivo monástico de Santo Domingo de Silos y hoy se encuentra en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico, donde lleva la signatura Ad. 30845. Blume lo designa con la sigla Lsb¹⁶.

F = *Officia et Missae*. Este códice tiene 175 folios de 285 x 221 mm. Está escrito en minúscula visigótica de varias manos, en la mitad norte de la Península, en el siglo XI. Las piezas de canto están en visigótica menor. El códice, ya mutilado a finales del s. XV, fue manejado por el canónigo Ortiz para la edición de su *Breuiarium Gothicum*. Guarda relación con los manuscritos 35.4 y 35.6. Procede del Archivo monástico de Santo Domingo de Silos y hoy se encuentra en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico, donde lleva la signatura Add. 30846. Blume lo designa con la sigla Lsc¹⁷.

Q = *Officia et Missae*. El códice, primorosamente decorado, tiene 177 folios de 345 x 278 mm, a dos columnas de 27 líneas, en caja de escritura de 283 x 222 mm. Su notación musical es la toledana del último periodo. Los folios 176 a 177v pertenecen a otro códice. Su letra es la visigótica redonda, bastante fina, de mediados del XI. Según Mundó, es del siglo XII-XIII. Procede de

F. CABROL, H. LECLERCQ, M. FÉROTIN, *Le liber Mozarabicus*, cit. n. col. 842.

¹⁴ Editado por J. JANINI, *Liber Horarum de Silos*, in *Anales Valentinos*, 12, 1986, p. 17-73. Contiene sólo el himno: *Lucis auctor clemens, lumen inmensum*.

¹⁵ Editado por J. JANINI, *Officia Silensia. Liber Misticus I*, in *Hispania Sacra*, 29, 1976, p. 3-57. Contiene los himnos: *Adstantes pariter sexus omnigenus; Festum, Xriste rex, per orbem inluxit almificum*.

¹⁶ Editado por J. JANINI, *Officia Silensia. Liber Misticus II*, in *Hispania Sacra*, 30, 1977, p. 59-143. Contiene los himnos: *O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor; Gaudet caterba nobilis; O rerum, domine, conditor omnium*.

¹⁷ Editado por J. JANINI, *Officia Silensia. Liber Misticus III*, in *Hispania Sacra*, 31, 1978, p. 147-273. Contiene el himno: *Vrbis Romulee iam toga candida*.

la parroquia de santa Eulalia de Toledo, fue utilizado por el canónigo Ortiz y luego pasó a la librería de la Catedral de Toledo, donde lleva la signatura 35.4¹⁸.

X = Con esta sigla, que nosotros mantenemos, designa Blume el *Breuiarium Gothicum secundum regulam beati Isidori*. Es una edición llevada a cabo por el canónigo Alfonso Ortiz en Toledo en 1502 por encargo del cardenal Cisneros con el fin de proporcionar a las parroquias de Toledo los textos necesarios para la celebración del culto en el rito mozárabe¹⁹. No conocemos todos los códices de que se sirvió Ortiz para esta edición, aunque se piensa que no todos los códices utilizados por él han llegado a nosotros. Según Blume, aquí radica su importancia²⁰.

A continuación presentamos en tabla sinóptica los *incipit* de los himnos aquí editados, así como los mss. y folios de los mismos en que se encuentran.

¹⁸ Editado por J. JANINI, *Liber Missarum de Toledo*, v. II, Toledo, 1983, p. 9-145. Contiene el himno: *Vrbis Romulee iam toga candida*.

¹⁹ El *Breuiarium* de Ortiz fue editado por F. A. Lorenzana, en Madrid en 1775. Edición que fue recogida en J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina, Tomus LXXXVI, Parisii, 1891. Cf. L. BROU, *Études sur le missel et le bréviaire mozarabes imprimés*, in *Hispania Sacra*, 11, 1958, p. 349-398.

²⁰ Contiene los himnos: *Lucis auctor clemens, lumen inmensum; Festum insigne prodiit coruscum; O sacerdotum inclita corona; O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor; Clementis festum celebratur odie; Xriste, lux lucis, deus angelorum; Gaudet caterba nobilis; O rerum, domine, conditor omnium; O dei uerbum, patris ore proditum; O caelorum alme princeps, Micael potissime; Solemne festum, plebs benigna, promite; Festum, Xriste rex, per orbem inluxit almificum; Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium; Vrbis Romulee iam toga candida*.

		M	E	Z	L	O	B	D	F	Q	X	PLI	PL2	Blame
46	Feria tertia				164									100
76	Ad Compleorium	118			165	106					304v	930	966	112
88	In sanctae Agathae		215											127
90	In sanctae Agathae	34									347v	1094		129
94	In sancti Babilae	30			126						342v	1079		134
101	In sancti Christophori	70		160v	136			38			387v	1166		143
102	In sancti Clementis	6	22		113						417v	1256		145
110	In sanctae Dorotheae. Ad Vesperas		218								348	1096		155
111	In sanctae Dorotheae	36										894		156
113	In sanctae Euphemiae				143									160
115	In sanctae Eugeniae		134		121v		86v							164
119	In ss. Facundi et Primitivi				114									169
121	In ss. Fausti, Ianuarii et Martialis. Ad Vesperas							128v			403v	1225		174
124	In s. Genesii Arelatensis	79			142			98			396v	1194		178
130	In sancti Iacobi	18			124						385	1306		186
155	In sancti Marthaei	82			144							905		219
158	In sancti Michaelis. Ad Vesperas				146v						367	1213		223
164	In sancti Sebastiani. Ad Vesperas		187v								334v	1044		231
173	In sancti Thomae. Ad Vesperas	11			118v		50v				429	1301		246
175	In sancti Thyrsi	32	212								343v	1083		249
176	In sancti Torquati. Ad Vesperas	59							67v	42v	363	1112		253

Abreviaturas utilizadas

<i>a.</i>	= ante
<i>cett.</i>	= ceteri
<i>cod.</i>	= codex
<i>codd.</i>	= codices
<i>eras.</i>	= erasit
<i>exp.</i>	= expunxit
<i>inc</i>	= incipit
<i>inf.</i>	= infra
<i>ins.</i>	= inseruit
<i>l.</i>	= linea
<i>leg.</i>	= legi
<i>m.</i>	= manu

<i>int.</i>	= inter
<i>n.</i>	= non
<i>om.</i>	= omisit, omiserunt
<i>p.</i>	= post
<i>pot.</i>	= potest
<i>punct.</i>	= punctum, puncta
<i>ras.</i>	= rasura
<i>scrip.</i>	= scripsit
<i>sign.</i>	= signum
<i>supr.</i>	= supra
<i>uirg.</i>	= uirgulam

46. FERIA TERTIA.²¹

Te *deprecamur*, domine,
 misericordem et pium,
 propter nomen tuum, *domine*,
 esto nobis propitius.

- 5 Sollicitudinem nostram
 super te, deus, iactamus;
 nisi misertus fueris,
 in vano laorabimus.

- Ea, que tibi displicent,
 10 te adiubante uincamus;
 saluasti nos uigilantes,
 custodi nos dormientes,

- Vt in pace in idipsum*
 securi requiescamus,
 15 exsurgentes diluculo
 sobrie te adoremus.

- Peccata nostra *dilue*
et miserere, domine,
 qui regnas in perpetuum,
 20 adesto nostris precibus.

46. *cod.*: L (164)

ed. Blume (100)

1 deprecamur] perfruamur *Blume* domine] dominum (*in ras. a* domine) *L Almeida* 3 domine] deus *Blume* domine+ *Gilson* 5 sollicitudinem nostram] nostram sollicitudinem *Almeida* 6 iactamus] iacimus *Almeida* p. iactamus *uirg. scr. Blume* 10 te adiubante] adiuuante te *Almeida* uincamus] uincemus *Almeida* p. uincamus *uirg. scr. Blume* 11 nos uigilantes] uigilantes nos *Almeida* 12 nos dormientes] dormientes nos *Almeida* p. dormientes *punct. scr. Blume* 13 ut in pace] *Bannister*, in pace *L*, in pace nunc *Blume Almeida* in idipsum] (*id ins.*) *L Almeida*, in hoc ipsum *Blume* 14 requiescamus] requiescemus *Almeida* 16 sobrie te adoremus] te sobrie adorabimus *Almeida* 17 dilue] (*a. ras.*) *L Almeida*, ablue (*in ras.*) *L Blume* 18 et miserere domine] (*a. ras.*) *L Almeida*, miserere nobis deus (*in ras.*) *L Blume*

²¹ Este himno fue objeto de una comunicación al IV Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos, celebrado en Córdoba en septiembre del 2002. El himno ha sido editado por A. DE ALMEIDA MATOS, *Hinos do Temporal*, cit. n. 4, p. 110.

Qui es unus potentia,
dele nostra cirografa,
ut tuam semper gloriam
cuncta laudemus per secla.

23 tuam...gloriam] tua...gloria *L*, tua+...gloria+ *Gilson*

46. El martes.

1. Te rogamos, señor misericordioso y bueno, por tu nombre, señor, sénos propicio.
2. En ti, Dios, abandonamos nuestra angustia; si no te compadecieras, en vano trabajaremos.
3. Que con tu ayuda vencamos lo que te desagrada; nos salvaste en la vigilia, guádanos en el sueño.
4. Que en seguida nos durmamos sin peligro y en paz y, levantándonos al alba, sobrios, te adoremos.
5. Lava nuestros pecados y ten misericordia, Señor, tú que reinas por siempre, atiende nuestras súplicas.
6. Tú que eres único por tu poder, borra la sentencia que pesa sobre nosotros, para que siempre alabemos tu gloria por todos los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similares:

El himno, como dice Pérez de Urbel²², es una oración de la noche inspirada fundamentalmente en los salmos, aunque también hay algunas referencias a otros libros de las Sagradas Escrituras.

uu. 1-4

Hym. 182, 4

huius adclines, domine,/ te deprecamur, precibus,/ etherea consortia,/ celsa dona fastigia

Hier. C. Ioan. col. 408, *lin.* 10

"tuaue uero sanctimoniae, pro optima uoluntate quasi ad finem usque perducta sit, deprecamur dominum in sanctis locis nocte ac die, ut ei reddat perfectam mercedem, et coronam uitae largiatur."

Aug. Ep. 140, 7

cum itaque non exaudimur ad temporalia bona retinenda uel adipiscenda, quando pro his deprecamur deum, in eo, quod nos non exaudit, derelinquit nos; sed ad potiora, quae uult, ut intellegamus et praeferamus et concupiscamus, non nos derelinquit.

²² J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *Origen de los himnos mozárabes*, in *Bulletin hispanique*, 23, 1926, p. 240.

Ps. 24, 11

Propter nomen tuum, Domine, propitiaberis peccato meo; multum est enim.

Ps. 78, 9

Et propitius esto peccatis nostris, propter nomen tuum.

Ps. 142, 11

Propter nomen tuum, Domine, uiuificabis me; in aequitate tua educes de tribulatione animam meam;

uu. 5-8

Petr. I, 5, 7

omnem sollicitudinem uestram proicientes in eum, quoniam ipsi cura est de uobis

Ps. 54, 23

lacta super Dominum curam tuam et ipse te enutriet; non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem iusto

Ps. 126, 1

Nisi Dominus aedificauerit domum, in uanum laborauerunt qui aedificant eam; nisi Dominus custodierit ciuitatem, frustra uigilauit qui custodit eam.

uu. 9-12

Ps. 4, 9

In pace in id ipsum dormiam, et requiescam.

Ps. 56, 9

Exsurge, gloria mea; exsurge, psalterium et cithara; exurgam diluculo.

uu. 17-20

Tob. 8, 10

dixit itaque Sara: miserere nobis, Domine, miserere nobis, et consenesamus ambo pariter sani.

uu. 21-24

Col. 2, 14

delens quod aduersum nos erat chirografum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio, adfigens illud cruci.

Sed. Scot. Eph. p. 118, 1

id est ut laudemus gloriam gratiae ipsius.

Sed. Scot. Eph. p. 120, 16

quos redimendo suo sanguine adquisiuit ut etiam in hoc laudemus gloriam eius, quod non deo sed laudatoribus prosit non cesso gratias agens.

76. Ad Completorium.

Lucis auctor clemens, lumen inmensum,
lumen cuius fulget sanctus eternus
Xristus, cum quo regnat, quum ipso in unum
et sanctus spiritus, una potestas.

- 5 Tetre noctis huius caliginem pelle
serpentisque fraudem, quesumus, fuga,
nos armatos crucis signaculo salua,
sacrosancto tuo nomine dita,
Quos peccati mole *gravi depressos*
10 sua milleformis fraude decepit
se uictorem gaudens; quoque se uictum
cognoscat uirtute omnipotentis.
Pater immortalis, omnium pastor,
inuidentem hostem frange fuscantem,
15 lumen nobis prebe perhenne de *fonte*,
tenebroso calle non pabeamus.

76. codd.: M (118), L (165), O (106), X (304v)

edd. PL1 (930), PL2 (966), Blume (112)

1 inmensum] immensum X PL1-2 Blume Almeida 3 Xristus] Christus PL1-2
Blume Almeida Janini Flores cum quo regnat] cum regnat X, quo cum regnas
Almeida quum] cum LX PL2 Blume Almeida Janini Flores 4 et sanctus spi-
ritus] spiritus et sanctus Almeida 5 caliginem] calliginem O Janini 6 frau-
dem] fraude MLOX PL1, fraudes PL2 fraude+ Gilson 7 signaculo salua] salua
signaculo Almeida salua] salba O Janini 8 p. dita punct. scr. Blume 9 graui
depressos] grauide pressit O Flores, grauide pressos X PL1-2 Blume Janini 10
milleformis] mille formis OX PL1 Blume Almeida Janini Flores 11 p. gaudens
uirg. scr. Blume 12 cognoscat] agnoscat LO Almeida Flores uirtute] uirtutem
MLO PL1 Flores uirtuteque Almeida uirtutem+ Gilson uirtuteque agnos-
cat Almeida 13 immortalis] immortalis X PL1-2 Blume Almeida 14 frange
fuscantem] confringe saluator LO Flores, frange peccantem X 15 perhenne] per-
enne X PL2 Blume Flores, perene O Janini de fonte] Gil, de sancto MLOX PL
Blume Janini Flores, e fonte Almeida 16 tenebroso calle non pabeamus] nos
eterne uite redde beatos LO Janini Flores, tenebroso calle non paueamus X PL1-
2 Blume Almeida nos+... beatos+ Gilson

²³ El himno ha sido editado por A. DE ALMEIDA MATOS, *Hinos do Temporal* cit. n. 4, p. 109-10 y por J. J. FLORES ARCAS, *Las horas diurnas del Liber Horarum de Silos. Introducción y edición crítica* (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monast., 7), Abadía de Silos, 1997, p. 185-86.

Redemptor excelse, rex omnis terre,
delictorum pius gemitus adtende,
insidiantem hostem confringe, saluator,
20 nos eterne uite redde beatos.

Noctem nobis istam dona quietam,
inimicum hostem fuga a nobis,
crucis signum uincat omne inicium,
te, Xriste, rogamus: mane nobiscum.

25 Gloria et honor, potestas et uirtus
ingenito deo genitoque Xristo
spirituque simul paraclito sancto,
cuius uerbo clarent secula cuncta.

17 redemptor] redemptor (-p- *ins.*) LOX PL2 Blume Almeida Flores excelse] eterne MX PL1-2 18 adtende] attende Blume Almeida Flores 19 insidiantem hostem confringe saluator] MX PL1-2 Blume (frange) Almeida, lumen nobis prebe de fonte (ffonte O) perenne L Janini Flores lumen+...perenne+ Gilson 20 nos eterne uite redde beatos] tenebroso calle non pabeamus LO Janini (paueamus Flores) tenebroso+...pabeamus+ Gilson 22 fuga] M (*ras. intr. g-a*) LX PL1-2 Blume Almeida Janini Flores, fugat O fuga hostem Almeida 23 crucis] cricis O Janini omne] et omne (et *ins.*) L Flores, et ome O inicium] iniquum LX PL2 Blume Flores, inimicum PL1 Almeida, inicuuum Janini 24 Xriste] Xriste PL1-2 Blume Janini Flores Xriste te Almeida 25 et honor] atque honor Almeida potestas et uirtus] deitati trino LO Flores, potestas et uirtutis X, trinae deitati Almeida trino+ Gilson 26 ingenito deo genitoque] MLX PL1-2 Blume (genito Almeida) Janini, genito a deo genitoque O Xristo] Christo PL1-2 Blume Almeida Janini, nostro O Flores 27 spirituque simul] spirituique X PL1-2, paraclito simul Almeida paraclito sancto] paraclitoque (-que *ins.*) sancto L, spiritu sancto Almeida paraclitoque+ Gilson 28 clarent] claret LO cuncta] regnans (*in ras.*) L

76. A completas.

1. Creador bondadoso de la luz y luz infinita, cuya luz, Cristo, brilla eternamente santo, con quien reina, y junto con el Espíritu Santo, poder único.
2. Aleja las tinieblas de esta negra noche y ahuyenta, te pedimos, a la engañosa serpiente; armados con el signo de la cruz, sálvanos y enriquecenos con tu sacrosanto nombre a nosotros,
3. A quienes engañó y humilló con la pesada carga del pecado el que tiene mil formas, alegrándose de su victoria; que reconozca que también él ha sido vencido por el poder del todopoderoso.
4. Padre inmortal, pastor universal, quebranta al enemigo embustero y envidioso, danos la luz de la fuente eterna, que no temamos en la senda tenebrosa.

5. Redentor excelso, rey de toda la tierra, oye piadoso el llanto de los pecadores, vence, salvador, al enemigo que acecha y a nosotros haznos eternamente bienaventurados.

6. Danos esta noche tranquila, aleja de nosotros al Enemigo hostil, que el signo de la cruz venza toda injusticia; a ti, Cristo, te pedimos: quédate con nosotros.

7. Gloria y honor, poder y virtud a Dios ingénito y a Cristo engendrado y al Espíritu Santo paráclito, por cuya palabra resplandecen todos los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes:

En el himno, en nuestra opinión, puede apreciarse una influencia temática de los textos que presentamos.

uu. 1-4

Prud. Peri. 10, 316

Intemporalis, antequam primus dies, / esse et fuisse semper unus obtinet; / lux ipse uera ueri et auctor luminis, / cum lumen esset lumen effudit suum, / ex luce fulgor natus hic est filius. /

Aug. Eu. Io. 39, 3

trinitas unus deus; trinitas, una aeternitas, una potestas, una maiestas; tres, sed non dii.

uu. 5-8

Sacram. Gello. 2112

Gratias agimus inennarrabile piaetati[s] tuae omnipotens <deus> qui nos, depulsa noctis caligine, ad diae<i> huius principium perduxisti et, abiecta ignorantiae cecitate, ad cultum tui nominis adque stientiam reuocasti; inlabe sensibus nostris omnipotens pater ut <in> preceptorum tuorum luce[m] gradientes te ducem sequamur et principem.

Isid. Sent. 3, 660, 25

Inter eas poenas quas iustus in corpore patitur, atque eas quas mente per fraudem diaboli tolerat multum interest.

Ambr. Parad. 12, 58

et ideo diaboli fraudes uel in hac legimus lectione uel prophetia, ut discamus quemadmodum artes eius cauere possimus; cognoscenda sunt enim temptamenta eius non ut sequamur, sed ut docti instructique caueamus.

Bed. Mund. 4, 3, 1

Sanctae crucis signaculo/tuo sacrato corpore/ defende nos ut filios,/omnes rogamus, undique.

uu. 9-12

Ambr. Iob. 1, 3, 7

Quid enim est aliud peccatum nisi sarcina, quod huius saeculi onerat uitam graui depressum fasce delicti?

*uu. 13-16**Aug. Serm. 308A, 43*

lucernam ergo dixit Iohannem, accensam de fonte luminis, ut testimonium perhiberet ueritati.

Apoc. 21, 6

et dixit mihi: factum est: ego sum α et ω : initium et finis: ego sitienti dabo de fonte aquae vivae gratis

*uu. 21-24**Sacram. Aug. 1366, 1*

Quaesumus domine deus noster diei molestias noctis quiete[m] sustenta ut necessari<a> temporum uicissitudine succedente nostra reficiatur infirmitas: per dominum nostrum.

Sacram. Eng. 1904, 1

Quaesumus Domine Deus noster, diei molestias noctis quiete sustenta, ut necessaria temporum uicissitudine succedente, nostra reficiatur infirmitas.

Lc. 24, 29

Et coegerunt illum, dicentes: Mane nobiscum, quoniam aduesperascit, et inclinata est iam dies. Et intrauit cum illis.

88. In sanctae Agathae.²⁴

[Ad sancte A]gate uirginis
festum sacratum sanguine
[n]unc, plebs pia, concurrete
Xristoque uota reddi[te].

- 5 [H]ec uirgo digna germine,
sed passione [digni]or,
mundi refellit noxia,
adepta est celestia.

88. *cod.: E (215)**ed. Blume (127)*

1 [ad sancte A]gate *scripsi*, [...]gate *E*, [ad sanctae A]gathae *Blume* 3 [n]unc
scripsi, [...]unc *E*, nunc *Blume* 4 reddi[te] *scripsi*, reddi[...]E, reddite *Blume* 5
[h]ec *scripsi*, [...]ec *E*, haec *Blume* 6 [digni]or *Blume*, [...]or *E* p. [digni]or
uirg. scripsi

²⁴ Este himno fue objeto de una comunicación al IV Congreso Internacional de Poesía Latina Medieval, celebrado en Santiago de Compostela en septiembre del 2002. Para este himno cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 152-3.

- [*Qu*]e nauiter Xristum amans
 10 ipsumque solum predicans
 est temta iussu presidis,
 artatur *ima* carceris.
- Temtata multis nam prius,
 ut imolaret idolis,
 15 sed uirgo sancta impiis
 libare rennuat aris.
- Tunc *trux* tyrannus acrius
 urit puellam *cedibus*,
 pectus papilla tollitur
 20 castumque corpus tunditur.
- Magnusque Xristi senior
 tunc claustra *rupit* carceris,
reddet papillam integram
 curatque *omni* uulnera.
- 25 Sic, sic puella sanctior
 tanto *adepta* premio
 genu orando flectitur
 funditque celo spiritum.
- Mox namque uir clarissimus
 30 scribtam tab[ellam *portat*],
 mentem *sacram* pronuntians
 defens[ionem patrie].

9 [qu]e scripsi, [...]e E, haec Blume nauiter] grauiter Blume Xristum]
 Christum Blume 12 ima] imo Blume 13 temptata] temptata Blume 14 imo-
 laret] immolaret Blume 16 rennuat] renuit Blume 17 tunc] tum Blume
 trux] Gil, trox E, atrox Blume 18 cedibus] tedibus Blume 19 p. tollitur uirg.
 scr. Blume 21 Xristi] Christi Blume 22 rupit] rumpit Blume 23 reddet]
 reddit Blume (reddet = reddit)²⁵ 24 omni] omnia Blume omni uulnera²⁶ 26
 adepta] adepto Blume 30 scribtam] scriptam Blume tab[ellam portat] scrip-
 si, tab[...] E, tabell[am deferens] Blume 31 sacram] sanctam Blume 32
 defens[ionem patrie] scripsi, defens[...] E, defens[ionem patriae] Blume

²⁵ Cf. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Movimientos fonéticos en latín visigodo*, in *Emerita*, 25, 1957. ID., *El latín de la Península Ibérica*, cit. n. 12, 179 ss. J. GIL, *Notas sobre fonética del latín visigodo*, in *Habis*, 1, 1970, 54.

²⁶ J. GIL, *Miscellanea Visigothica*, Sevilla, 1972, p. 17 ss. ID. *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 189.

Nam montis Etne incendium
dum cu[rsu rapidissimo]
35 pronom ad urbem flectitur,
claret [puelle meritum].

Tunc e sepulcro martyrís
uelum s[acrum plebs] *deferet*,
cuius pia presentia
40 mox flamm[e uis extincta est].

Iam uirgo nunc sanctissima,
plebi fi[deli proroga]
pro horum indulgentia
pacis red[dendo commoda].

45 Que enim concibes tuos
magno ab [igne eruis],
[tu] redde nos iam li[ueros]
iugo remo[to pessimo].

Sit functis et fidelibus
50 locus quiete abtior,
presta tutelam orfanis
subsídiumque uiduis.

Deo patri [sit gloria
eiusque soli filio
55 cum spiritu paraclito
in sempiterna secula].

33 Etne] Aetnae *Blume* 34 cu[rsu rapidissimo] *Blume*, cu[...] *E* 35 pronom] pronom *E* 36 claret [puellae meritum] *Blume*, [...] *E* 38 s[acrum plebs] *Blume*, s[...] *E* deferet] deferunt *Blume* (deferet = defert)²⁷ 40 flamm[e uis extincta est] *scripsi*, flamm[...] *E*, flamm[ae uis exstincta est] *Blume* 41 p. sanctissima uirg. *scripsi* 42 fideli] *Blume*, fi[...] *E* proroga] *Blume*, [...] *E* 43 pro horum] probrorum *Blume* indulgentia] indulgentiam *Blume* 44 red[dendo] *Blume*, red[...] *E* commoda] *Blume*, [...] *E* 45 que] *scripsi*, qui *E*, quae *Blume* concibes] conciuēs *Blume* 46 ab [igne eruis] *Blume*, ab[...] *E* 47 tu] *Blume*, [...] *E* li[ueros] *scripsi*, li[...] *E*, li[beros] *Blume* 48 remoto] *Blume*, remo[...] *E* pessimo] *Blume*, [...] *E* 50 abtior] aptior *Blume* 51 orfanis] orphanis *Blume* 53 deo patri...secula] *scripsi*, deo patri. *E*, deo patri...saecula *Blume*

88. En honor de santa Águeda.

1. Acude ahora, pueblo piadoso, a la fiesta de la virgen santa Águeda, santificada por su sangre, y dirige tus súplicas a Cristo.

²⁷ GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 189.

2. Esta virgen, ilustre por su nacimiento, pero más ilustre por su pasión, rechazó los males del mundo y alcanzó los bienes del cielo.
3. Ella, que amaba celosamente a Cristo y que a él solo predicaba, es apresada por orden del magistrado y encadenada en lo más profundo de una cárcel.
4. Fue primero tentada por muchas para que sacrificara a los ídolos, pero la santa virgen rechazó hacer sacrificios a los impíos altares.
5. Entonces el cruel tirano quema violentamente a la joven con teas; le son arrancados los pezones de su pecho y su casto cuerpo es azotado.
6. Y entonces un noble anciano de Cristo rompe los cerrojos de la cárcel, devuelve la integridad a sus pezones y le cura de todas sus heridas.
7. La santa joven, después de conseguir así tan grande recompensa, dobla su rodilla orando y entrega su alma al cielo.
8. Después un varón resplandeciente muestra una tabla escrita proclamando que su santo corazón era la protección de la patria.
9. Pues cuando el fuego del monte Etna en rapidísima carrera corre en dirección a la ciudad, brillan los merecimientos de la joven.
10. Entonces del sepulcro de la mártir el pueblo arranca el sagrado velo, con cuya presencia piadosa pronto se apagó la violenta llama.
11. Y ahora, virgen santísima, ruega por el pueblo fiel, devolviéndole por su perdón el bien de la paz.
12. Tú que a tus conciudadanos los preservaste del fuego destructor, tú haznos ya libres a nosotros y aleja el yugo malvado.
13. Tengan los fieles difuntos el lugar apropiado para su descanso, da tu protección a los huérfanos y a las viudas apoyo.
14. A Dios padre y a su único hijo con el espíritu paráclito sea la gloria por los siglos de los siglos.

Fontes/Loci similes:

Las estrofas narrativas del himno, igual que el himno 90, *Festum insigne prodiit coruscum*, parecen inspiradas en la pasión de la santa mártir de Catania, Águeda. Esta pasión entró en España no antes del siglo IX, según Fábrega²⁸.

uu. 5-8

Pass. 2

Hec enim nobilissimis orta parentibus erat, mente et specie ualde pulcherrima. Nam quum in eandem Catiniensium ciuitatem uirtutibus plenam gereret uitam, ac Deo dicatam uirginitatem ab ineunte etate, sancte et pudice uiuens,...

²⁸ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n.

p. 184; v. II, 220-232.

*uu. 9-16**Pass. 4*

His itaque et huiuscemodi furiis comprehensus, beatam Agathem iubet a suis apparitoribus quoadtari, atque eam cuidam matrone, Afrodisie nomine, precepit tradi; que Afrodisia nouem filias turpissimas habebat, sicut erat mater earum. Hoc autem ideo fecit, ut per dies triginta quotidie blandirentur ei, et, si possent, aliqua ratione eius animum conmutarent. Afrodisia autem accipiens eam, adiunctis secum filiabus suis, modo illicita promittendo, modo a spem deterrendo, sperabat se mentem sanctam posse a bono proposito reuocari. Quibus sancta Agathe libera uoce dicebat: Mens mea super petre solidatam a Christo fundata est: uerba uestra uenti sunt; promissiones uestre pluuię sunt; terrores flumina sunt, que quantumuis in pugnea domus mee fundamentum, non poterit cadere, fundata enim est super petram.

*uu. 17-20**Pass. 16*

Et confestim iussit testas acutas spargi, et subtus testas carbones ignitos mitti, et ibidem Agathem sanctissimam nudo corpore uolutari.

Pass. 11

Furens iterum Quintianus, iubet eam in mamillam torqueri, et diutissime tortā, eadem mamillam iussit abscidi.

*uu. 21-24**Pass. 12*

Quumque uirgo beata in carcerem fuisset inclusa, ecce circa media nocte uenit subito senes quidam ante quem fortiter luminis ambulabat, ferens in manu sua diuersa medicamenta.

Pass. 14

Tunc beata Agathe, in hoc gaudens, ac se in oratione proiciens, dixit: Gratias tibi ago, Domine Iesu Christe, qui memor factus es mici, et misisti ad me apostolum tuum, qui me confortauit, et recreauit uiscera mea. Quumque conpleret orationem suam, respiciens in celum, seu ad omnes maculas corporis sui, uidit quod salua facta erant omnia membra eius, et recuperata erat mamilla eius.

*uu. 25-28**Pass. 17*

[Domine] te deprecor, ut accipias spiritum meum modo, quia iam tempus est: quod me iubeas seculum istum derelinquere, et ad tuam gloriam peruenire. Hec quum in conspectu plurimorum magna uoce dixisset, statim ut flexit genua, emisit spiritum.

*uu. 29-32**Pass. 18*

Factum est autem dum aromatibus ac pigmentis uariis tota diligentia corpus sancte uirginis condiretur, aduenit subito preclarus quidam iuuenis indutus uestibus sericiis, quem sequebantur amplius quam centum pueri, omnes ornati et pulchri, quem nemo umquam in illa ciuitate uiderat, uel

postea uidit, sed nec quisquam inuentus est, qui se diceret, illum aliquando uidisse, uel nosse. Veniens ergo, ingressus est locum ubi corpus sacratissimum condebatur, portans tabulam lenem ex marmore scribtam. Quumque corpus in novo sarcofago poneretur, posuit et ille tabulam continens hoc: Mentem sanctam spontaneam, Dei honorem et patrie liberationem.

uu. 33-40

Pass. 20

Vt autem scribtura illa, quam Dei angelus posuerat, euidentius probaretur, transacto anni circulo, in ipso die anniuersarii eiusdem uenerabilis uirginis, mons Ethenus eructauit incendium; et ecce quasi fluius torrens ita uehementissimus ignis, saxa et terra liquefaciens, magno impetu ueniebat ad Catiniensium ciuitatem. Tunc grandis multitudo paganorum, de monte fugientes, descenderunt, et uenerunt ad locum ubi posita erat beata Agathe; et arripientes inde uelum, unde erat coopertum sepulcrum eius statuerunt illud contra ueniente<m> incendium, et confestim in eadem hora stetit ignis diuin<us>; inquoerat enim ignis pridie kalendas februarias, et cessauit die nonas februarias, qui est dies sepulture eius.

90. In sanctae Agathae.²⁹

In Laudibus.

Festum insigne prodiit coruscum,
uoces in aula resonent cunctorum
deo dicata, plebs alumna tota,
pandite uota.

- 5 Hec uirgo sancta germineque clara
seculi cuncta respuat caduca,
Xristum secuta acriori pene
subdidit membra.

90. *codd.*: *M* (34), *X* (347v)

edd. *PL* (1094), *Blume* (129)

1 prodiit] prodit *PL* 2 resonent] resonet *X* 3 alumna] alterna *X* 5 sancta]
sacra *X* 7 pene] pena *M*

²⁹ Este himno fue objeto de una comunicación al IV Congreso Internacional de Poesía Latina Medieval, celebrado en Santiago de Compostela en septiembre del 2002. Para algunas estrofas de este himno cf. B. THORSBERG, *Érudes*, cit. n. 4, p. 152-153.

- Iudex inicus ipse Quintianus
 10 uirginem sanctam Agatem cum uidit,
 decem malignis feminis obscenis
 tradi precepit.
- Quam cum uidissent, blandiuntur uerbis:
 “audi preceptum iudicis monentis,
 15 adora deos et lucrare uitam,
 premia multa.”
- Set fide plena nobilis puella
 execrat cuncta uanitatum uerba
 spemque defixam retinet in Xristo
 20 *semper inuicta.*
- Quam Quintianus presentari iubens
 idola uana cogit adoranda;
 fortis puella *retinet in Xristo*
fidem perfectam.
- 25 Iratus iudex siuilat crudelis,
 tortores suos excitat *in malis*,
 torqueri iubet delicatum corpus
 puelle sacrum.
- Penas inlatas uiriliter portat,
 30 corpus intactum domino conseruat,
 fide, qua credit, omnia tormenta
 fortiter uincit.
- Additur pena crudelis et seua,
 uirginis sacre *torquitur* mammilla

9 inicus] iniquus *X PL Blume* 10 Agatem] Agatham *X PL Blume* 13 quam] *X PL Blume*, qu[...]*M* 15 adora] adorare *M* 16 premia multa] premiaque multa *X PL* 17 set] sed *X PL Blume* 18 execrat] exsecrat *X PL Blume* 19 defixam] fixam *X PL* Xristo] Christo *X PL Blume* 20 semper] spemque *Blume* inuicta] inuitam *M*, inuictam *Blume*, in uita *Gil* 21 iubens] iubet *X* 22 idola] ydola *X* p. adoranda uirg. scr. *Blume* 23 retinet in Xristo] Xristum est professa *X Blume* 24 fidem perfectam] fide perfecta *MX Blume* 25 siuilat] sibi-lat *X PL Blume* 26 in malis] in mammillis *X*, inmanis *PL Blume* 28 sacrum] sacre *X* 29 inlatas] illatas *PL Blume* 34 torquitur] torquetur *X PL Blume* (torquitur = torquetur)³⁰ mammilla] mamilla *PL Blume* p. mammilla uirg. scr. *Blume*

³⁰ Cf. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Movimientos*, cit. n. 26, ID. *El latín de la Península Ibérica*, in *Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispánica*, I, Madrid, 1959, p. 179 s. J. GIL, *Notas sobre fonética*, cit. n. 26, 54.

- 35 diuque torta *abscidi* precepit
ubera sacra.

Tunc uirgo sancta in carcere trusa
fortis in Xristo facta est allela,
cuius e celis angelica cura

- 40 sanat mammillam.

Splendor cum *sanctus* tenebras inlustrat,
per totam noctem lux e celis micat,
pabore multo territi custodes
fugiunt omnes.

- 45 Furore plenus ultroneus tortor
testas acutas, ignitos carbones
corpus sacratum uolutari iubet
latere nudo.

- En terremotus factus est inmanis
50 merorque cunctos terruit tortores,
unum oppressit, nomine Siluanum,
pars parietis.

Omnis conuentus ille ciuitatis
tremore uiso sic concurrunt omnes

- 55 iudicem seuum uolentes occidi,
fugit ipse.

Post uirgo leta ergastulis clausa
expandit manus dominum exorans,
sacram efflauit animam in celos

- 60 *toga cum sancta.*

35 abscidi] abscindi *PL Blume* 38 allela] athleta *X PL Blume* 39 e] in *Blume*
40 mammillam] mamillam *PL Blume* 41 cum *om. X* sanctus] sanctis *M*
Blume inlustrat] illustrat *PL Blume* 42 micat] emicat *M* 47 uolutari] uoli-
tari *M* 49 terremotus] terrae motus *PL Blume* inmanis] immanis *X PL Blume*
p. inmanis uirg. scr. Blume 50 merorque] moerorque *PL* cunctos] cunctis *M*
55 *p. occidi punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 56 fugiit] fugit *X*, [au]fugit *Blume* (fugiit
= fugiuit)³¹ 59 celos] coelos *PL*, celo *X p. animam uirg. scr. Blume* 60 toga]
lata *Blume* sancta] sanctis *M PL Blume*, sanctus *Gil* toga cum sancta³²

³¹ Cf. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *El latín de la Península Ibérica*, cit. n. 31 p. 182;
J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 189.

³² Uso metonímico de *toga*, cf. *toga monachorum* (congregación de monjes, *Ap. Pez.*)

Angelus dei descendit de celo
corpusque sanctum *cumulat* honorum,
tabula signat aureis scripta
litteris sacram.

- 65 Iudex inicus nunquam erubescens,
uolens inquiri eius facultates,
pessima morte morsibus equorum
nece uastatur.

- Mira *tam* satis prodierunt signa,
70 anni uertentis facta *comprobantia*,
Etheneus ipse mons eructuabit
ignem ardentem.

- Videntes cuncti rogum uenientem,
uelum sepulcri simul expandentes,
75 ignis estetit honorificandum
corpus beatum.

- Deus, qui tanta tribuisti dona
uirgini tue, celestia regna,
nobis indignis ob honorem eius
80 dilue culpas,

Ob cuius laudem clerus decantatur;
precibus eius tibi sit acceptum
ratumque reddat pleuis tue uictum
honore sacro.

62 corpusque sanctum] corporis sancti *Thorsberg* *cumulat*] *Gil*, tumula *M*,
tumulat *X PL Blume*, tumulum *Thorsberg* *p.* tumulat *uirg. scr. Blume* cumu-
lat³³ honorum] honoris *X*, honorans *Thorsberg* *p.* honorum *uirg. scripsi* 63
tabula...scripta] tabulas...scriptas *PL* 64 literis] litteris *X Thorsberg* sacram]
sacris *PL* 65 inicus] iniquus *X PL Blume* 66 uolens inquiri] uoluens inquiri
rit *X PL* 69 mira tam] miratam *X*, mira tum *Blume* 70 *comprobantia*] com-
probaris *M*, comprobare *Gil* 71 *Etheneus*] *Aethneus* *PL Blume* eructuabit]
eructauit *X PL*, eructuauit *Blume* 74 expandentes] expandentem *M* 80 *p.*
culpas *punct. scr. Blume* 81 decantatur] decantans *X PL Blume* (decantatur =
decantat)³⁴ *p.* decantans *uirg. scr. Blume* 82 acceptum] acceptus *Blume* *p.*
acceptus *uirg. scr. Blume* 84 sacro] sacrum *MX PL*

³³ Cf. J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 195. También *ThLL* IV 1382, 62.

³⁴ Variante deponente de *decantat*. Cf. P. FLOBERT, *Les verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne*, París, 1975, p. 264. J. GIL, *Apuntes sobre morfología de Alvaro de Córdoba*, in *Habis*, 2, 1971, p. 203.

- 85 Sacerdos uita habeatur clarus,
moribus bonis tibi sit ornatus,
ut digne possit tuum immolare
corpus beatum.

- Cuiusque *festum annuis recursis*
90 *laudis* honoris persoluimus uotum,
eius obtentu letemur cum sanctis
tuis in celo.

- Hec in *honore* carmina qui dixit,
uirginis sacre merita narrauit,
95 tuo ex dono heres sit in celo
sanctorum coro.

- Gloria tibi, patri glorioso,
et Ihesu Xristo, redemptori nostro,
qui tecum regnat cum spiritu sancto
100 iugi per eum.

89 *festum annuis*] *festi annuo Blume* *recursis*] *Gil*, *recursum M*, *recursibus X PL*, *recurso Blume* (*recursis* = *recursibus*)³⁵ 90 *laudis*] *laudum X PL Blume Gil*
93 *honore*] *honorem X PL Blume* *carmina qui*] *carmina que M*, *carminaque X PL* 94 *sacre merita*] *sacrae et merita PL* 95 *celo*] *celi PL* 97 *p. tibi et glorioso uirg. scripsi* 100 *iugi*] *iuge PL Blume* *per eum*] *per euo M*

90. En honor de santa Águeda. En laudes.

1. Llegó esplendorosa la señalada festividad; que todas las voces resuenen en el templo consagrado a Dios, entonad vuestras súplicas, pueblo todo servidor suyo.
2. Esta virgen santa, e ilustre por su nacimiento, rechazó todas las cosas perecederas del siglo; siguiendo a Cristo, sometió su cuerpo a duros castigos.
3. Cuando el malvado magistrado Quintiano vio a la virgen santa Águeda, mandó entregarla a diez desvergonzadas y malas mujeres.
4. Cuando ellas la vieron, intentan persuadirla con suaves palabras: "Oye la orden del magistrado que te advierte, adora a los dioses y gana con ello la vida y numerosas recompensas".
5. Pero la noble joven, llena de fe, rechaza todas sus vanas palabras y, siempre invencible, mantiene su esperanza clavada en Cristo.
6. Manda Quintiano que sea llevada a su presencia y la obliga a adorar a los vanos ídolos, mas la valerosa joven mantiene intacta su fe en Cristo.

³⁵ Cf. Himnos 90, 23, 1; 114, 15, 3; 141, 3, 1 180, 4, 4 (*annuo recursio* en 197, 2, 1) y *Liber Sacramentorum* 136, 2; 574, 24.

- 7 El cruel magistrado grita airado, incita a sus verdugos en medio de los castigos y les ordena torturar el cuerpo frágil y sagrado de la joven.
8. Soporta virilmente los castigos que le infligen, conserva intacto su cuerpo para el señor, vence con valentía todos los tormentos con la fe con la que cree.
9. Se añade un castigo cruel y despiadado: los senos de la santa virgen son lacerados y, después de lacerados mucho tiempo, ordena que sus santos pechos le sean arrancados.
10. Después la santa virgen fue encarcelada, haciéndose en Cristo una valiente atleta, cuyos senos cura el cuidado de un ángel bajado del cielo.
11. Un sagrado resplandor ilumina las tinieblas, una luz brilla desde el cielo toda la noche y los guardianes huyen todos llenos de temor.
12. El diligente verdugo, enfurecido, ordena que su sagrado cuerpo sea desnudado y se le haga rodar sobre tiestos en punta y carbones encendidos.
13. He aquí que se produjo un enorme terremoto y la tristeza y el temor se apoderaron de todos los verdugos, y a uno de ellos, llamado Silvano, lo aplastó un trozo de pared.
14. El pueblo todo que se había reunido, después de ver el temblor, corren todos, queriendo matar al cruel magistrado, pero él huyó
15. Después la virgen que había sido encarcelada, llena de alegría, extiende sus manos suplicando al señor; exhaló su santo espíritu a los cielos con el coro de los santos.
16. Un ángel de Dios baja del cielo y honra el cuerpo sagrado; una tabla escrita con letras de oro señala a la santa.
17. El inicuo magistrado sin avergonzarse en ningún momento, queriendo averiguar las propiedades de la santa, es destrozado a bocados por sus caballos con una muerte tristísima.
18. Aparecieron de forma clara extrañas señales para probar los sucesos del año terminado, incluso el monte Etna arrojó llamas ardientes.
19. Cuando todos vieron el fuego corriendo hacia ellos, extendieron al punto el velo del sepulcro y las llamas se detuvieron para honrar el cuerpo santo.
20. Oh Dios que a tu virgen otorgaste el don inmenso del reino celestial, a nosotros indignos líbranos de nuestros pecados por el merecimiento de aquélla,
21. En cuya alabanza canta el clero; que por sus súplicas la vida de tu pueblo te sea grata y se vea aprobada por sus sagrados méritos.
22. Que el sacerdote se distinga por su vida, que para ti esté adornado de buenas costumbres, para que dignamente pueda sacrificar tu sagrado cuerpo.
23. Y que nos alegremos con tus santos en el cielo, gracias a aquélla, en cuya festividad cada año te alabamos y glorificamos.

24. Que el que entonó en honor de la santa virgen estos cantos y contó sus martirios, por tu don sea heredero en el cielo con el coro de tus santos.

25. Gloria a ti, padre glorioso, y a Jesucristo nuestro redentor, que contigo reina con el espíritu santo por siempre.

Fontes / Loci similes:

A lo dicho al hablar de las fuentes del himno n° 88 hay que añadir que la parte narrativa de este himno es más extensa y en ella se cuentan con todo detalle los padecimientos de la santa.

uu. 5-8

Pass. 2

Hec enim nobilissimis orta parentibus erat, mente et specie ualde pulcherrima.

uu. 9-12

Pass. 2

Nam quum in eandem Catiniensium ciuitatem uirtutibus plenam gereret uitam, ac Deo dicatam uirginitatem ab ineunte etate, sancte et pudice uiuens, in omnibus perornaret, Quintianus quidam sceleratissimus consularis Sicilie, audiens sancte uirginis opinionem multifaria intentione satagebat,...

Pass. 4

His itaque et huiusmodi furiis comprehensus, beatam Agathem iubet a suis apparitoribus quoartari, atque eam cuidam matrone, Afrodise nomine, precepit tradi; que Afrodisia nouem filias turpissimas habebat, sicut erat mater earum.

uu. 13-16

Pass. 4

Hoc autem ideo fecit, ut per dies triginta quotidie blandirentur ei, et, si posset, aliqua ratione eius animum conmutarent. Afrodisia autem accipiens eam, adiunctis secum filiabus suis, modo illicita promittendo, modo a spem deterrendo, sperabat se mentem sanctam posse a bono proposito reuocari.

uu. 17-20

Pass. 4

Hoc autem dicens, flebat quotidie et orabat, et sicut sitiens in ardorem solis nonnisi fluentia fontium concupiscit, ita illa nicil aliud desiderabat nisi ad martyrii coronam peruenire.

Pass. 5

Ego gemas et ornamenta insignia, uestimenta auro texta obtuli; ego domos et predia suburbana repromisi; ego uarium ornamentum domus; ego familias diuersi sexus, etatis exhibui; sed illa, quasi terram quam suis pedibus conculcat, ita illa omnia pro nicilo habuit et despexit.

*uu. 21-24**Pass. 6*

Hoc audiens Quintianus ira comotus, iussit eam confestim ad suum secretarium duci.

Pass. 7

Quintianus dixit: Elige tibi unum quodcumque consilium, aut diuersas penas inter damnaticios quasi stulta incurrere, aut quasi sapiens et nobilis, quod teneatur absque dubitationem aliquam imolare. Vnde nunc accede et sacrifica diis omnipotentibus, quos ueros deos esse diuinitas demonstrauit.

Pass. 9

Quintianus dixit: Quid miki uerborum superfluum cursum? Aut sacrifica diis, aut faciam te uariis interiri suppliciis. Agathe dixit: Quibus me suppliciis terres? Si feras miki inmittas, audito Christi nomine, mansuescent; si ignes adhibeas, de celo miki saluificum ros angeli ministrabunt; si plagas et uerbera ingeras, habeo intra me Spiritum Sanctum, per quem uniuersa tua tormenta despiciam...Tunc iratus Quintianus, iussit eam celerius trahi ad carcerem, quia cum uoce publica confundebat.

Pass. 10

Sequenti igitur die impiissimus Quintianus eam suis aspectibus iussit abtari. Cui et dixit: Quid tractasti circa salutem tuam? Agathe ueneranda respondit: Salus mea Christus est.

*uu. 25-28**Pass. 11*

Tunc comotus uehementissime Quintianus iussit eam in eculeo suspendi et torqueri.

*uu. 29-32**Pass. 11*

Agathe respondit: Ego in his penis ita delector, sicut qui bonum nuntium audit, aut sicut qui uidet quem diu desiderauit, aut qui inuenit thesauros multos: ita et ego delector in his penis corporalibus posita.

*uu. 33-36**Pass. 11*

Furens iterum Quintianus, iubet eam in mamillam torqueri, et diutissime torta, eadem mamillam iussit abscidi.

*uu. 37-40**Pass. 12*

Tunc crudelissimus Quintianus iussit eam iterum in carcerem recipi et precepit ut nulli medicorum ad eam uenire penitus licuisset, et neque panem, neque aquam ab aliquo ministrari. Quumque uirgo beata in carcerem fuisset inclusa, ecce circa media nocte uenit subito senes quidam ante quem fortiter luminis ambulabat, ferens in manu sua diuersa medicamenta;...

Pass. 13

Tunc subridens senior dixit: Et me ipse misit ad te, nam et ego apostolus eius sum, sed scito te in eius iam nomine esse saluatam.

*uu. 41-44**Pass. 14*

Ita autem per totam noctem in illo carcere sancte lux splendida circumfulsit, ut paupore custodes territi effugerent, et carcerem apertum reliquissent.

*uu. 45-48**Pass. 16*

Et confestim iussit testas acutas spargi, et subtus testas carbones ignitos mitti, et ibidem Agathem sanctissimam nudo corpore uolutari.

*uu. 49-52**Pass. 16*

Quumque hoc fieret, ecce subito terremotus grandis factus est, et locus ipse, in quo sancte uirginis [corpus] uolutabatur, exagitatus est, et pars parietis ipsius cecidit, et oppressit consiliarium Quintiani, nomine Siluanum,...

*uu. 53-56**Pass. 16*

Omnis etiam Catiniensium ciuitas nimia terremotus concussa est in tantum, ut omnes populi ad secretarium Quintiani concurrerent, atque ingenti tumultu clamarent: Quod quia ipse sanctam Dei famulam impiis cruciatibus ageret, idcirco ipsi periculum sustinerent. Tunc nefandissimus Quintianus fugiens, ex uno latere terremotum timebat, ex alio autem seditionem populi formidabat.

*uu. 57-60**Pass. 17*

Beatissima uero Agathe, ingressa iterum in carcere, expandit manus suas ad Dominum, et dixit: Domine, Deus meus, qui me creasti, et custodisti ab infantia mea, et fecisti me in iuuentute uiriliter agere, qui tulisti a me amorem seculi huius, qui corpus meum a pollutione liberasti, qui fecisti me uincere tormenta carnificum, ferrum, ignem, et uincula, qui mici inter torquentes uirtutem et patientiam tribuisti; te deprecor, ut accipias spiritum meum modo, quia iam tempus est: quod me iubeas seculum istum derelinquere, et ad tuam gloriam peruenire. Hec quum in conspectu plurimorum magna uoce dixisset, statim ut flexit genua, emisit spiritum.

*uu. 61-64**Pass. 18*

Factum est autem dum aromatibus ac pigmentis uariis tota diligentia corpus sancte uirginis condiretur, aduenit subito preclarus quidam iuuenis indutus uestibus sericiis, quem sequebantur amplius quam centum pueri, omnes ornati et pulchri, quem nemo umquam in illa ciuitate uiderat, uel postea uidit, sed nec quisquam inuentus est, qui se diceret, illum aliquando uidisse, uel nosse. Veniens ergo, ingressus est locum ubi corpus sacratissimum condebatur, portans tabulam lenem ex marmore scribtam. Quumque corpus in nouo sarcofago poneretur, posuit et ille tabulam continens hoc: Mentem sanctam spontaneam, Dei honorem et patrie liberationem.

*uu. 65-68**Pass. 19*

Quod audiens insipientissimus Quintianus, arripuit iter cum suo officio, pergens inuestigare beate uirginis facultates, ac, si quos de eius parentela fuisse cognosceret, ferocitate propria terruisset. Iudicio autem Dei, dum uadit in medio itinere interiit. Dum enim per flumen, nauem sedens, transitum faceret, duo equi in eadem positi, fremitum contra se dantes, et calces aduersus inuicem mittentes, unus ex illis Quintianum morsu uastauit, alius autem calcibus eum tundens, in flumine proiecit, et ex illa hora non est inuentum corpus eius...

*uu. 69-72**Pass. 20*

Vt autem scribtura illa, quam Dei angelus posuerat, euidentius probaretur, transacto anni circulo, in ipso die anniuersarii eiusdem uenerabilis uirginis, mons Ethenus eructauit incendium;

*uu. 73-76**Pass. 20*

et ecce quasi fluuius torrens ita uehementissimus ignis, saxa et terra liquefaciens, magno impetu ueniebat ad Catiniensium ciuitatem. Tunc grandis multitudo paganorum, de monte fugientes, descenderunt, et uenerunt ad locum ubi posita erat beata Agathe; et arripientes inde uelum, unde erat coopertum sepulcrum eius, statuerunt illud contra ueniente<m> incendium, et confestim in eadem hora stetit ignis diuin<us>; inquouerat enim ignis pridie kalendas februarias, et cessauit die nonas februarias, qui est dies sepulture eius. Quod ideo gestum est celesti clementia, ut merita sancte uirginis manifesta, et probata, omnes habuissent, quia de periculo mortis et incendii eius suffragia martyris liberasset, operante diuina uirtute, que sanctis suis gloriam semper tribuit et honorem.

94. In sancti Babilae.

O sacerdotum inclita corona
atque coruscus leuitarum ordo,
clero adscito precinamus ymnum
mente benigni.

94. *codd.*: M (30), L (126: *uu. 1-51*), X (342v)

edd. PL (1079), Blume (134)

2 coruscus] coruscum M PL 3 adscito] ascito Blume ymnum] hymnum X
PL Blume 4 benigni] benigna X PL

- 5 Formam exempli Babilas antestis
nobis tenendam dimicans inpressit,
ne templi dei hostia pandamus
callido hosti.

- Hic uir uirtute fidei munitus
10 Antiocenam dum regeret arcem,
sprebit profanum atriis a sanctis
Numerianum.

- Illico captus sistitur tyranno
infola uerus Xristo immolandus,
5 *uersutiosa* abdicat asserta
uera utendo.

- Reputans* namque dogmata peruersa
rerum fatetur omnium auctorem,
celsi parentis *quoeternum* prolem,
20 orbem creasse.

Aris ortatur demonum litare,
spernens artatur uacis catenarum,
collo grauatur pondere *boiarum*,
compede pede.

5 antestis] antistes X PL Blume 6 inpressit] impressit X Blume 7 templi] templum L templum+ Gilson hostia] ostia X PL Blume 8 callido] callidi ML callidi+ Gilson hosti] ostis M, hostis L hostis+ Gilson 9 hic uir] uir hic L p. munitus uirg. scr. Blume 10 antiocenam] antiochenam X PL Blume dum regeret] regeret X, regeret dum Blume 11 sprebit] spreuit X PL Blume atriis a sanctis] matriis sanctis M, atriis sanctis PL 13 illico] ylico L, illico X tyranno] tyranno PL Blume 14 infola uerus] infula uero X infola+ Gilson immolandus] inmolandus M 15 uersutiosa] uersutiora Blume uersutiosa+ Gilson 16 uera] ueram ML, uerum Blume ueram+ Gilson 17 reputans] refutans Blume 19 quoeternum] coeternam X PL Blume quoeternum+ Gilson p. prolem uirg. scripsi prolem³⁶ 21 ortatur] abtatur L, hortatur PL Blume 22 spernens] spernes L spernes+ Gilson artatur] arctatur PL uacis] face X, bacis Blume catenarum] cathenarum X 23 collo] colla L Gil, colo PL boiarum] bolarum ML PL Blume 24 compede pede] compede in pede X

³⁶ Para el uso de *proles* como masculino, ampliamente documentado en los himnos (85, 6; 96, 1; 113, 66; 155, 59; 164, 52), cf. J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 188-89.

- 25 Fit gregi pastor magnum documentum,
urbi monstratur ueluti contemptus,
hinc obans defert Xristo uota laudum
uictor insignis.
- Fictile uicit ratiocinando,
30 uanas *perdocens liberales artes*,
indicit sensum potius disertum
trium puerorum,
- Suboles sequens genetrix, quos mittit
agonizandos presule cum almo,
35 qui alapati patrem et magistrum
eundem dicunt.
- Hic quippe parens uerus ut Abraham est,
hostia qui se tribus cum pueris
obtulit sacra stipitis in ara
40 regi polorum.
- Inter insontes lotis ulnis ambit
sacrum altare stipite elatus;
dira dum perfert uincla uel tormenta
comitans docet.
- 45 Simul confessi nomen trinitatis
sustinent simul lacerantum hictus,
sed *capuere* ab hoste tropeum
dono diuino.

25 gregi] grege *M* 26 urbi] urbis *ML* contemptus] contemptus *PL* *Blume*,
contentus *X* *p.* contemptus *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 27 obans] ouans *X PL*
Blume 29 fictile] fictilem *MLX PL* ratiocinando] ratiocinandum *L* 30
uanas] uanans *M* perdocens] perdocet *M PL Blume* liberales artes] artes libe-
rales *Blume* 31 disertum] desertum *M* 32 *p.* puerorum *punct. scr. Blume* 33
suboles] subolens *ML*, soboles *X PL* *p.* sequens *uirg. scr. Blume* genetrix]
genetrix *X PL* *p.* genetrix *uirg. scripsi* 34 almo] multo *M* agonizandos]
agonizando *X* 35 qui alapati] qualia pati *PL*, qui pati patrem *X* 37 Abraham]
Abraam *MX PL* 38 hostia] hostiam *Blume* cum pueris] cum puris *X* 39
obtulit] obstulit *PL* stipitis] stipiti *PL* ara] aram *L* 41 lotis ulnis] lotus
undas *X* 42 stipite] stipiti *MX PL* elatus] delatus *X* *p.* elatus *uirg. scr. Blume*
43 dum *supr. l. L* 44 comitans] comites *Blume* 46 sustinent] sustinet *M*
lacerantum] laceratum (*ras. int. a-t*) *M*, laceratus *L*, lacerantem *PL* hictus] ictus
X PL Blume 47 sed] set *M* capuere] rapuere *Blume* (capuere = cepere)³⁷ tro-
peum] tropeum *LX*, trophaeum *PL*, tropaeum *Blume*

³⁷ Cf. *Liber Sacramentorum*, c. 538, 5 y J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 189.

Ad perimendum postmodum producti
 50 alacres pergunt carmen precinentes
tipudii ultricem quadragenum
 uoce sonora.

Tunc presul plebem contestans affatur,
 ita ut esset uinclis oneratus,
 55 ad confundendum iudicem profanum
 sepeliretur.

Paruulos quoque Babilas litandos
 patri adsignat ense uerberandos,
 quorum agonem pulcrius consummat
 60 sanguine fuso.

Quique consepti urna sepulcrali
 uigent perenni memoria passi,
 sede promissa potiti in arce
 diademati.

65 Bino in ipsis munere per ipsos
 obtines missos, ciuitas, quesita,
 nimium gaude glorians in Xristo
 iubilo magno.

Hic obsequenda membra rediuiua
 70 *possidet* sursum animas uictrices,
 stolis indutas candidis, fulgentes
 palmas gerentes.

Inde, redemptor, cerne de supernis
 ratem redempti gregis incubantem

51 tripudii] *Gil*, tripudi salmi *M*, tripudi (*cett. om.*) *L*, tripudii almi *X*, tripudi psalmi *PL*, tripudi psalmum *Blume* tripudii³⁸ ultricem] ultrice *M*, ultra *Blume*
 52 uoce sonora] uoces honora *M*, uoce honorant *X* 54 uinclis] uinculis *M*
 oneratus] honeratum *M* 58 adsignat] assignat *Blume* 59 pulcrius] pulchrius
PL Blume 61 consepti] conscepti *X* sepulcrali] sepulcrari *X* 63 sede pro-
 missa] sedes promissas *M* arce] arcem *MX PL* 64 diademati] diademate *X*
PL 66 obtines] obtinens *X* ciuitas quesita] ciuitasque ita *X* *p.* ciuitas *uirg.*
scripsi 67 gaude] gaudet *MX* 68 iubilo] iubili *M* 70 possidet] possident
X Blume *p.* possidet *uirg. scr. Blume* 73 redemptor] redemptor *X PL Blume*
 74 redempti] redempti *X PL Blume*

³⁸ Cf. *GIL*, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 198.

75 *secli in mare, turbine impulsam
temptationum.*

*Dextere tue auxilium prebe
eamque cunctis a malis defende,
tecum uicturam ueens in supernis*

80 *euo perenni.*

*Gloria summa, Xriste, tibi semper
simul cum patre spirituque sancto
sit nunc et semper, soli tibi deo
trino et uno.*

75 turbine] torbina (t- *sup. l.*, -a *in ras. e* -t) M, turbina PL impulsam tempta-
tionum] *scripsi*, impulsantem temptationum (tem- *sup. l.*) M, impulsam temptatio-
num X, impulsantem tentationum PL, impulsam tentationum Blume
78 a malis] a mali M

94. En honor de san Bábilas.

1. Oh ilustre asamblea de sacerdotes y brillante orden de diáconos, convocado el clero, cantemos este himno con corazón bondadoso.
2. El obispo Bábilas, luchando, nos dio un ejemplo que nosotros debemos mantener [en el recuerdo], para que no abramos las puertas del templo de Dios al astuto enemigo.
3. Este varón, protegido con la fortaleza de su fe, cuando presidía la sede de Antioquía, alejó del atrio santo al impío Numeriano.
4. Al instante es apresado y llevado a presencia del tirano cual verdadera víctima que va a ser inmolada a Cristo, mas con la verdad rechaza las engañosas afirmaciones.
5. Pues discute las perversas doctrinas y confiesa que el autor de todas las cosas, hijo coeterno del padre altísimo, creó el mundo.
6. Es exhortado a sacrificar en el altar de los ídolos; por negarse es encadenado, su cuello es cargado con el peso de las cadenas y sus pies con grilletes.
7. El pastor se convierte en precioso ejemplo para su rebaño; es presentado al pueblo como despreciable, mas después, claro vencedor, lleno de gozo, ofrece a Cristo alabanzas.
8. Venció la falsedad con la razón, enseña que son vanos los estudios liberales, dice que es más elocuente el sentir de los tres niños.
9. Sigue la madre a sus hijos y los envía a padecer el martirio junto al santo obispo, al que llaman padre y maestro mientras son golpeados.
10. Como Abraham, ciertamente es verdadero padre él, que junto con los tres niños, se ofrece como víctima al rey de los cielos en el sagrado altar de leños.

11. Con sus manos lavadas entre los inocentes, levantado sobre los leños, rodea el altar sagrado; mientras soporta sus crueles ataduras y tormentos, acompañándolos los instruye.
12. Confesando con una sola voz el nombre de la trinidad, juntos soportan los golpes de sus verdugos, mas por la gracia de Dios arrebataron el trofeo al enemigo.
13. Conducidos después a la muerte, caminan aprisa, entonando con voz sonora un canto de gozo, el vengador [salmo] cuadragésimo.
14. Entoces el obispo se dirige al pueblo pidiendo ser enterrado así, cargado como estaba de cadenas, para confundir al impío magistrado.
15. Destina también Bábilas a los niños para que fueran atravesados por la espada y ofrecidos como víctimas al padre, mas su padecimiento termina hermosamente al derramar su sangre.
16. Encerrados en la urna sepulcral después de padecer el martirio, florecen en el eterno recuerdo, coronados de diademas y dueños de la sede prometida en el alcázar celeste.
17. Tú, ciudad, logras lo que deseas con doble presente, por medio de tus enviados y en ellos mismos; alégrate sobremanera y gloríate en Cristo con profundo júbilo.
18. [Esta ciudad] posee aquí sus miembros, que tras la resurrección seguirán al cielo a sus almas vencedoras, vestidas de blancas túnicas, llevando resplandecientes palmas.
19. Por eso, redentor, mira desde el cielo la nave de tu grey redimida zarandeada en el mar del siglo y empujada por las olas de las tentaciones.
20. Ayúdala con tu diestra, defiéndela de todos los males, llévala para que contigo viva en el cielo por los siglos eternos.
21. Sea a ti, Cristo, siempre la gloria suma y al padre y al espíritu santo ahora y siempre, a ti solo Dios uno y trino.

Fontes / Loci similes:

Como hace notar J. Pérez de Urbel, al comienzo de este himno, a diferencia de la mayor parte de los himnos, no se invita al pueblo, sino que se requiere la presencia del clero. En su opinión, en este himno hay reminiscencias de la misa dedicada al santo en la liturgia mozárabe³⁹. Así mismo puede seguirse a lo largo de todo él la influencia de la pasión del santo⁴⁰.

uu. 5-8

Pass. 2

...Babylas nobis prestat exemplum: ...

³⁹ J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *Origen*, cit. n. 23, p. 130.

⁴⁰ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. II, p. 196 ss.

*uu. 9-12**Pass. 2*

Nam quum Numerianus imperator, nouis sacrificibus thure redundans, necdum inluuie sordidi nidoris ablutus, facto impetu, ingredi pararet ecclesiam, ut locum illum ueneratione dignissimum profana uiolatione calcaret, Babylas episcopus illius et ciuitatis et temporibus, conuocatis omnibus christianis, ubi hoc primum comperit, quid agere deberet ostendit, hac omnes ratione confirmans...

Pass. 3

Hoc sermone conpleto, ecclesie ianua repugnaturus obsedit, repellens aduenientem regem increpatione non modica, qua diceret: Hic non licet intrare pollutum.

Sacram. 122

...aditumque domus tue Numeriano locum sanctum calcare uolenti eximius palestra repugnaturus obstruit...

A.S. Ian. XXIV 889

Ipsa uero egressus foras expectabat Numerianum. Adueniente uero Numeriano, et uolente ingredi ecclesiam Domini, habens manus pollutas, ui ingredi conabatur. At uero famulus Dei Babylas, repellens eum, dixit: Iam dixi tibi, Ecclesiam Domini non potest homo sacrilegus et immundus introire. Videns uero fiduciam uiri Numerianus, timens etiam famam maximam quæ erat de eo, iussit eum in crastinum custodiri.

*uu. 13-16**Pass. 4*

Alia die quum in excelsa palatii sui residisset sede, exhibitum eum, iussit induci, et presentibus cunctis ait: Quis te, infelicissime hominum, insipientie error inuasit...

I Cor. 8,6

...et unus Dominus Iesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum.

*uu. 21-24**Pass. 8*

Numerianus ait: Scribture uestre plene mendacio sunt, nostre ueritate nituntur. Quare sacrificia, ne per tormenta moriaris...

Pass. 11

Numerianus ait: Amplius tuam contumaciam ferre non possum. Quin ceruix boiarum ponderibus grauata desideat, pedes uincula altiora suscipiant...

Sacram. 122

...quod pro tuo nomine boiarum ponderibus inligatus, pedibusque reuinctus in rota...

Sacram. 124

...boiarum ponderibus adicitur, uinculis arctioribus inligatur, eculeoque suspenditur...

uu. 25-28

Pass. 13

His Victorinus auditis, Babylam ferro onustum, ut ab omnibus discipulis cerneretur, tota iussit urbe monstrari. Qui exultans letitia, gratias Domino precesque fundebat, et gloriabatur uirtutem suam ab omnibus prespici.

Sacram. 122

...quasi luiturus quod professus fuerat, iubetur urbe monstrari: quo potius plus inde sumeret gaudii, quod pro tuo nomine dignus esset contumeliam pati.

A.S. Ian. XXIV 889

Numerianus dixit Victorino duci: Babylam insipientium doctorem tormentis subiice. Igitur iubeo imponi torquem ferream collo eius, similiter et pedibus eius compedes ferreos ad turpitudinem suam et gentis suæ...Dux autem imposuit Babylæ torquem ferream in ceruicem, similiter et in pedes eius compedes: et dimisit eum sub custodibus in propatulo ut ab omnibus uideretur. Babylas uero eleuans oculos suos ad cælum, dixit: Deo meo gratias ago, qui me ad tantum perduxit honorem, per confessionem nominis sui. Christo autem meo credo, et fiduciam in eo habeo, quoniam dabit mihi fortitudinem et tolerantiam aduersus insidias uestras, et patris uestri instigantis satanæ.

uu. 29-32

Pass. 14

Numerianus ait: Sacrifica ergo, si tibi cordis est lux ista, quam conspicias,...Babylas respondit: Vis scire, quia perfecta sapientia non semper in etate consistat? Habeo tres discipulos infantes: accersire eos precipe, et aduertere quanta in illis plenitudo timoris Dei, quanta sit gratia...

Sacram. 123

Dux quippe preuius atque magister Babilas trium puerorum presentiam expetiit, per quam confutaretur iniusta uerbositas Numeriani.

uu. 33-36

Pass. 14

...Ad hec infantuli, Babylam sibi patrem, Babylam dominum, Babylam doctorem esse dixerunt.

Pass. 15

Induci post hec precepit et matrem...

Pass. 16

Imperator iratus cedi iussit alapis infantes, et uerberatos sub custodia tuta seruari.

Sacram. 123

Qui dum cum matre accersiti uenerunt, interrogati una cum matre, Babilam sibi patrem esse testati sunt... Quin etiam matrem persequens furor ante filios, quos non agnosceret uerberari alapis mandat; sed una trium infantium societas uoce clamabat, quod Babilas sibi esset dominus atque pater, pro quo eorum mater talia sustineret.

*uu. 41-44**Sacram. 124*

Is igitur ueri pontificatus peragens cursum, lotis inter innocentes manibus, uerum diuino sacrificium litauit altario: dum se cum his quos nutrierat salutarem uictimam per gladii animaduersionem obtulit Christo Domino et Redemptori eterno

*uu. 49-52**Pass. 24*

...Babylas egrediens portam, hymnum Domino pro gratiarum actione precesque fundebat, dicens: Liberasti enim nos ex affligentibus nos, et eos, qui nos oderunt, confudisti. Eundem psalmum et infantes dicebant, dulcem magistrum etiam in morte conmitantes.

*uu. 53-56**Pass. 24*

Ad hec imperator iratus, Babylam cum infantibus ferire gladio iubet. Babylas uero, egrediens letus, circumadstantes iam ferendus adloquitur, obtestans singulos per Dominum Iesum Christum, ut cum omnibus uinculis, que uel pedibus erant ligata uel collo eius, in tumulto poneretur; et tyrannus lugeret extinctus, quum intellexeret id pro honore haberi, quod fecerat pro dolore.

*uu. 57-60**Pass. 25*

Qui quum interficiendi essent, Babylas rogabat, ut ante oculos eius decollerentur infantes, et sic demum ipse iam securus obcumberet. Quod quum carnifex annuisset, Babylas infantes dextra leuaque conplectens, ait: Ecce ego et filii mei, quos a Domino acceperam, Domino rursus adsigno; ...

101 In sancti Christophori.⁴¹

O beate mundi auctor atque rerum conditor,
qui non es acceptor omnis persone nec munerum,
sed in his qui te requirunt ades clementissimus.

101. *codd.*: M (70), Z (160v), L (136) [*uu. 1-4*], D (38), X (387v)
edd. PL (1166), Blume (143)

1 atque] adque ZD 2 omnis] omne Z 3 sed in his qui te requirunt] set dum quisque te requirit M (sed) X PL p. sed et requirunt uirg. scr. Blume ades] adhes Z

⁴¹ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 153-54.

- Qui beatum celi ciuem, Xristoforum martirem,
5 eximens a cenulento limo prauī germinis,
glorioso tuo nutu presciendo adtrais,

Spreta *quoque* uir deuotus generis flagitia
ueritatis sequeretur promptior uestigia
hac proinde tuam, Xriste, potiretur gratiam.

- 10 Deciusque imperator captum a comitibus
necti suis hunc beatum nititur militibus,
quem uirilem prorsus esse bello adprobabat.

Eligansque 'statura, mente elegantior,
uisu fulgens, corde uibrans et capillis rutilans,

- 15 ore Xristum, corde Xristum Xristoforus insonat.

Iste nempe lingue nostre nesciens eloquia,
Xristi in uirtute dari sibi patrem inprecans,
ilico deo fabente loquebatur omnia.

4 qui beatum celi ciuem Xristoforum] *MZ* (cibem) *DX PL* (Christophorum) *Blume*, qui beatum Xristoforum celi cibem *L cet. om. L* martirem] *martyrem Z PL Blume* 5 a cenulento] *atenulento DX* limo] *uino X* prauī] *prabi ZD p. germinis uirg. scripsi* 6 nutu] *nuto Z* presciendo] *precinendo M* adtrais] *adtrahis ZX PL Blume* 7 spreta quoque uir deuotus] *secreta quos uidebatur Z*, secreta sui deuotus *D*, spretaque uir deuotus *X*, spreta sui uir deuotus *Blume* quoque (= quo-que)⁴² flagitia] *efflagitat Z*, flagitie *X* 8 ueritatis] *ut ueritatis X PL* sequeretur (-re- *sub. l.*) *D* promptior] *protior M*, promptior *X PL Blume* 9 hac proinde tuam] *adque inde tuam D*, ac proinde tua *X PL*, ac proinde tuam *Blume* Xriste] *Christe Z PL Blume* gratiam] *gratia ZX PL*, grati- (*cet. non pot. leg.*) *D* 11 12 in *D* necti suis] *nectis suis Z* 12 11 in *D* quem uirilem prorsus] *quem uirile prorsus MD*, quem uirili prorsus *Z*, quem uiti leprosus *X* adprobabat] *adprobaberit Z*, approbauerat *X*, approbauerat *PL Blume* 13 eligansque] *eligans hic ZD*, elegansque *X PL*, elegans hic *Blume* elegantior] *elegantior X*, elegantior *PL Blume* 14 uisu] *uiso Z* corde] *corda D* uibrans] *fibrans ZD* rutilans] *rutilans X* 15 ore Xristum corde Xristum] *Xristum mente seculum D* Xristoforus] *Christophorus PL Blume* 16 iste] *ste D* 17 Xristi] *Xriste D* dari sibi] *sibi dare D* inprecans] *inpetrat D*, inprecans *Blume* 18 ilico] *iloco Z*, illico *X* fabente] *fauyente X PL Blume*

⁴² -que (como -ue en 115, 42; 124, 42) tiene un valor puramente expletivo (= 101,10 y 13; 113,10; 155,7, 27, 63 y 74; 164,28).

- Tunc deinde aulam Xristi precaturus adiens
 20 postulata inpetrabit, uirgam suam frondere;
 uirtute *corroboratus* in agone proficit.
- Veritatis plena fide insequens uestigia
 militum se persequentum fracmina multiplicat,
 quo aberent saturati plena cuncti saccula.
- 25 Ad fidem Xristi proinde conuocati milites
 quum beato Xristoforo fonte almo labacri
 expiati gestiebant *rudimento gratie*.
- Vnde *tunc beatum istum conligantes* milites
 una uoluntate sistunt Decii conspectibus,
 30 *quem diro* sermone *sanctus* protinus adgreditur.
- Nec moratus* rex crudelis, furibundus acriter,
 sanctum iubet Xristoforum pensum radi ungulis,
 denudatis *eius* costis carnibus *excerperent*.

19 aulam] aula ZD Xristi] Christi PL Blume adiens] aderens M, adsistit D, audiens X, adhaerens PL 20 postulata inpetrabit] postulata imperabit Z, postulabit inpetrare D, postulatus inpetrauit X, postulata inpetrauit PL, postulata impetravit Blume p. inpetrabit uirg. scripsi uirgam suam] uirgam sua D p. frondere uirg. scr. Blume 21 corroboratus] qua rouoratus Z, quam roboratus D, qua roboratus X Blume 23 se persequentum] sempersequentem D, se persequentium X fracmina] fragmina ZDX PL Blume 24 quo aberent] quo ueherent M PL, quod habere X plena cuncti] cuncti plena Z, plena cuncta D, plena cunctis X saccula] acola X 25 Xristi] Christi PL Blume proinde] deinde D conuocati] euocati M PL, prouocati D 26-28 om. Z quum] cum DX PL Blume Xristoforo] Christophoro PL Blume fonte almo labacri] fonte agni labacris D 27 rudimento] rudimenta D Blume gratie] fidei Blume 28 unde tunc] uatem hunc MX PL, unde hunc Blume p. hunc uirg. scr. Blume beatum] deinde MX PL Blume istum] isti M PL, istos X Blume conligantes] conligatum M PL, conligatos X Blume 30 quem diro] quem duro ZX Thorsberg, quem suo D, qui duro Blume Janini sanctus] sanctos M PL Blume adgreditur] aggreditur Blume 31 nec moratus] nec moratum M, memoratus ZD Blume p. crudelis uirg. scripsi acriter] agriter Z p. acriter uirg. scripsi 32 Xristoforum] Christophorum PL Blume radi ungulis] rudis unguis X 33 denudatis eius costis] denudatis donec costis Z Blume, denudate eius coste X excerperent] exerperent Z, discerperent D Blume, excerperet X

- Aquilinam tunc deinde sanctamque Gallenicam
 35 *uehementer penis actas ditat* Xristo martires;
 pugione consecrauit memoratos milites.

Ignibus post *hoc* beatum deputat atrocibus,
 attigit sed nusquam illum flamme *pirus* ualidus,
 non secus ut aurum fulgens rutilans *adgreditur*.

- 40 Sociis dehinc ad astra decem missis milibus,
 quos pro Xristo desecauit gladius tyrannicus,
 ense idem uerberatus etheris proueitur.

Inde omnes te precamur, *sponsor* fidelissime,
 ut tue promissionis federa non abneges,

- 45 que cum sancto Xristoforo pepegisti dulciter,

Sed per eum mereamur adsequi celestia,
 amputata prorsus nobis omnia piacula,
 fulgeat perennis deus in eterna secula.

34 Aquilinam] *M* (-m n. pot. legi) *D PL Blume*, Aquilina *ZX*, Aquillinam *Janini*
 Gallenicam] *MZ* (-m n. pot. legi) *D PL Blume*, Gallonicam *X* 35 uehementer
 penis actas] uehementer penis hactas *Z*, penis actas seuienter *D Blume*, uehe-
 menter penis actam *X*, uehementer penis actos *PL* ditat Xristo martires] dicans
 Xristo martyrem *Z*, dicat Xristo martires *D*, seuienter dicant Christo martyres *X*,
 litat Christo martyres *Blume* 36 consecrauit] consecrabit *ZD* 37 post hoc]
 post hec *X PL Blume* atrocibus] atrociter *M* 38 attigit sed nusquam] atti-
 gisse nusquam *M*, adtingit sed nusquam *Z*, adtegissee nusquam *D*, attigit sensus
 postquam *X*, adtigit nusquam *PL* illum] ille *X* pirus] pictus *MD*, sputus *X*,
 pyrus *PL*, pyrsus *Blume* ualidus] ualidis *Z* 39 non secus] nam secus *MD PL*,
 nam sicut *Z* ut om. *D* adgreditur] om. *D*, egreditur *Blume* 40 sociis] socii
ZX dehinc ad astra] dilatat astra *M*, dehic ad astra *D*, dehinc dilatant castra *X*
 decem missis] decem missos *D*, decem milia *X* milibus] milites *MDX* 41
 Xristo] Christo *PL Blume* desecauit] desecabit *ZD*, dessecauit *PL* tyrannicus]
 tyrannicus *ZX PL Blume* 42 uerberatus] uerueratus *Z*, uerberati *X* etheris]
 ethere *Z*, ethera *X PL* proueitur] prouoluitur *D*, prouehuntur *X*, prouehitur
Blume 43 om. *D* sponsor] pater *X*, Christe *Blume* fidelissime] clemen-
 tissime *X* 44 ut tue] et tue *X* federa] federe *X* non abneges] non neges *X*,
 adneges *PL* 45 que] quam *ZD*, qua *M*, quo *X* Xristoforo] Christophorum
D, Christophoro *PL Blume* pepegisti] pepigisti *DZX PL Blume* p. dulciter
punct. scr. Blume 46 om. *D* sed] set *M*, sic *X* adsequi] assequi *PL Blume*
 celestia (-a *supr. l.*) *Z* 47 prorsus nobis] prorsus a nobis *MD PL* piacula] pec-
 camina *D* 48 fulgeat] et fulgeat *X PL* perennis deus] perenne sidus *Z*, per-
 enne deus *X*

101. En honor de san Cristóbal.

1. Oh santo autor del mundo y principio de las cosas, que no haces acepción de personas ni de ofrendas, sino que, lleno de clemencia, estás presente en aquéllos que te buscan,
2. Que, sacando al mártir Cristóbal, santo ciudadano del cielo, del cenagoso lodo de su envilecido origen, por tu gloriosa voluntad lo atraes hacia ti predestinándolo,
3. Para que el celoso varón, menospreciando las ignominias de su origen, siguiera con decisión los pasos de la verdad y por tanto, Cristo, se apoderara de tu gracia.
4. El emperador Decio se esfuerza en unir a sus soldados a este santo, capturado de entre sus compañeros y cuya valentía había probado en la lucha.
5. Distinguido por su estatura y más distinguido aún por su espíritu, de rubios cabellos, de brillante mirada y de corazón ardiente, Cristóbal hace resonar a Cristo en su corazón y en su boca.
6. Pues aunque él desconocía nuestra lengua, pidiendo al padre que le sea dada por el poder de Cristo, al punto con la ayuda de Dios lo hablaba todo.
7. Entonces acercándose al templo de Cristo para orar, consiguió lo que pedía, que su vara floreciera; fortalecido por este milagro, venció en el combate.
8. Siguiendo los pasos de la verdad con fe plena multiplica los pedazos de pan de los soldados que le perseguían, de manera que todos, saciados, llenaron sus bolsas.
9. Llamados después los soldados a la fe de Cristo, purificados junto con el santo Cristóbal en las santas aguas del bautismo, se alegraban con las primicias de la gracia.
10. Atando entonces los soldados al santo, se detienen con un solo deseo en presencia de Decio, a quien el santo al instante ataca con duras palabras.
11. Sin demora el cruel rey, fuera de sí, ordena que cuelguen al santo Cristóbal y lo despellejen violentamente con garfios, que descubran sus costillas y las arranquen de las carnes.
12. Luego [el rey] inmola a Cristo como mártires a las santas Aquilina y Galénica, después de hacerles padecer crueles tormentos; con la espada consagró a los soldados recordados.
13. Después manda al santo a la terrible hoguera, pero en ninguna parte le toca la llama del fuego devorador, lo mismo que ataca al oro dándole brillo y resplandor.
14. Son enviados a los cielos diez mil compañeros, a quienes degolló por Cristo la espada del tirano; después también él es golpeado por la espada y llevado a los cielos.
15. Por esto todos te suplicamos, garante fidelísimo, que no reniegues del pacto de tu promesa que gustosamente sellaste con san Cristóbal,

16. Sino que por él merezcamos alcanzar los cielos y que, arrancada de nosotros en adelante toda maldad, Dios eterno resplandezca por los siglos perdurables.

Fontes / Loci similes:

En opinión de Fábrega⁴³, Pérez de Urbel dejó ya suficientemente probada la dependencia inmediata de este himno de la pasión del santo, lo mismo que la misa que se le dedica en el Liber Sacramentorum, "lo más bello del Sacramentario"⁴⁴.

u. 2

Act. 10, 34

aperiens autem Petrus os dixit: in veritate conperi quoniam non est personarum acceptor Deus.

Par. 19, 7

sit timor Domini vobiscum et cum diligentia cuncta facite: non est enim apud Dominum Deum nostrum iniquitas nec personarum acceptio nec cupido munerum.

Rom. 2, 11

non est enim personarum acceptio apud Deum.

Ephes. 6, 9

et vos domini eadem facite illis remittentes minas: scientes quia et illorum et vester Dominus est in caelis: et personarum acceptio non est apud eum.

Col. 3, 25

qui enim iniuriam facit recipiet id quod inique gessit; et non est personarum acceptio apud Deum.

uu. 10-12

Pass. 3

Quidam autem uir, cum esset alienigena regionis eorum, qui homines manducabant, qui habebat terribilem uisionem, et quasi canino capite, in bello comprehensus est e comitibus temporibus illius, et perductus est ad regem. Probauit autem illum in numero armarianorum, qui adsistebant ad manum regis.

uu. 16-18

Pass. 3

Quum autem proponeretur impiissimum edictum a iudice, hic ei beatissimus non poterat loqui nostre lingue sermonem. Corde autem perturbabantur uiscera eius ualde. Egrediens autem de palatio foris, proiecit se in faciem, deprecans Deum dari sibi loquelam per uirtutem Christi. Deus autem, diligens humanum genus, non distulit, sed statim adstitit in similitudinem uiri

⁴³ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v.I, p.221 ss.; v. II, p. 299-309.

⁴⁴ J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *Origen*, cit. n. 23, p. 465 ss.

fulgentis, dicens: Surge. Et adprehendens ei manum, erexit eum, et aperiens os eius, insufflauit in eum, et dedit ei spiritum intellectus, et loquebatur omnia quecumque uolebat.

uu. 13-15

Pass. 5

Quid uidisti? Dic. Et ait: Quod uidi renuntio meo domino; caput eius terribile ita ut canis est: capilli capitis eius nimium expansi, rutilantes sicut aurum.

19-21

Pass. 6

Hec eis cogitantibus, beatus Rebribus ingressus domum Domini, ante altare fixit uirgam suam contra fenestram, et procidens in faciem suam, adorauit, dicens: Domine Deus meus, fac uirgam istam frondescere, si uere uocasti me ad meditanda eloquia tua. Et statim uirga fronduit, et fides uirum confortauit.

uu. 22-30

Pass. 8

Nunc autem, si tibi non placet uenire nobiscum, remane. Et dixit eis: Audite meam uocem, et manducabitis bona. Milites autem prompto animo dixerunt: Quid est quod uis? Dic nobis. Et dixit illis: Deponite ea, que superauerunt uobis, et orabo pro uobis ad Dominum meum, et uidebitis uirtutem Dei mei.

Pass. 9

Exaudiuit Dominus deprecationem serui sui, et mittens angelum, benedixit, et multiplicati sunt, ita ut omnes satiarentur, et sacculos suos impleuerunt. Et glorificauerunt Deum et dixerunt: Vere magnus est Deus christianorum, et exaudit eos, qui sperant in eum. Et nos credimus in eum per quem has uirtutes facis, quia potens est saluare nos. Beatus autem Rebribus cepit psallere, dicens: Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum, omnes serui Domini. Respondebant autem milites. Conpleto uero psalmo, inclinantes genua sua adorauerunt. Et surgentes accersierunt presbyterem sancti loci, nomine Petrum. Veniens autem baptizauit milites, similiter autem et beatum Rebribum, et uocauit nomen eius Christophorus, id est Christum induens.

Pass. 10

Baptizatis autem eis, exultantibus in Domino, cepit beatus Christoforus exhortare eos,...Hec autem eo dicente, properabant ad ciuitatem. Et dicit eis beatus Christoforus: Fratres mei, ligate me, ne forte ut quis uidet me non ligatum, accuset uos, et inueniamini culpabiles propter me. Illi autem protulerunt preparatam catenam. Ipse uero post tergum faciens manus, ligauerunt eum sicut arietem electum ex magno grege, in sacrificium Deo paratum; et ita prolatus est regi.

Pass. 11

Rex uero uidens uultum eius, properauit cadere de sede sua. Dixit autem ei athleta fortissimus Christi: O infelicissimum regnum, et corruptibilem! Si

me seruum Dei ita timuisti, Deo rationem quomodo redditurus es? Punire enim te Deus habet, et exiget de manibus tuis animas, quas perdidisti.

uu. 31-33

Pass. 12

Tunc rex iratus iubet eum suspensum unguis radi. Horis autem multis transactis, sanctus martyr non respondit quicquam, sed tantummodo Domino loquebatur et deprecabatur. Iterum iubet eum torqueri fortiter. Et quum denudate fuissent coste eius, ministri dicunt ei: Miserere tibi ipsi et nostri, et sacrificare.

uu. 34-36

Pass. 13

Tunc dicit officium: Sunt due mulieres meretrices in hac ciuitate. Has iube adduci, et pretiosissimis uestimentis induantur, et uariis unguentis, et sic precludamus eum in domicilio paruo una cum ipsis, et blandiantur ei, et inclinent eum ad nostros libitus. Placuerunt autem regi sermones isti.

Pass. 19

Tunc nimium iratus est rex, et iussit subulam adferri, et terebrari calcaneum eius, ut usque ad scapulam penetraret, et sic eam suspendi, et duos lapides molares adpendi ad pedes eius, et unum in collo eius...Et quum consummata fuisset hec beatissima, iussit tyrannus serua[re] corpora beatissimarum martyrum, ut incenderet ea. Consummate sunt autem octauo kalendas iulias.

Pass. 21

...Nos autem, ex quo cognouimus seruum Dei perfectissimum, solidam escam accipientes, et Christo Domino credentes, ignem et tormenta contemnimus. Tunc iratus tyrannus dixit: Ne forte et alii accedant ad illos, hii celerius interficiantur. Iubet ergo capita eorum amputari.

uu. 37-39

Pass. 22

Iratus rex iussit fieri scamnum ereum aduersus statum hominis, et poni in medium ciuitatis, et clauis confingi sanctum desuper in scamno. Et quum factum fuisset, iussit adferri copiam lignorum, et nucleum oliuarum multum nimis, et decem et octo mensuras olei, et picem multum inponi super ligna, et ita subposuerunt ignem a tribus partibus. Calefactum autem pice et oleo, decurrebat fluuius igneus per circuitum flamme, ita ut multitudo gentilium perirent. Volumtate autem Dei uentus flauit, et minauit flammam contra domos, que proxime fiebant, et succendit eas, et ruerunt triginta domos.

uu. 40-42

Pass. 24

Hec audientes populi, clamauerunt, dicentes: Vnus est Deus in quo credit sanctus Christo forus. Vere non frustra laborauit; scit enim ad quem confugit. Et nos tibi credimus, qui potes saluare sperantes in te, Domine Deus. Et simul decem milia crediderunt, et clamauerunt, dicentes: Omnipotens Deus, tibi credimus...Si enim non fugieris, forsitan et tu morieris. Decem milia enim unanimes crediderunt in Christo, et querunt te interficere.

Pass. 25

Tunc rex in multo furore accensus, congregata multitudo exercitus, uenit ad locum ubi erant, qui in Deum credebant, et faciens capita septem concisit eos ex omni parte. Nec enim decollauit eos, ut est consuetudinis, sed sicut lupo ingrediens in ouile absque pastore, sic eos concidit.

102. In sancti Clementis.⁴⁵

- Clementis festum celebratur odie,
uenite, plebes, et mirate compotem
adseclam Petri, domini apostoli,
romane sedis tertium antestitem,
5 quem sibi Xristus consecrabit martirem.

Hic habitando in urbe Romulea,
adnuntiando Ihesum Xristum dominum,
inluminabit *Teodore* Sisinnium,
dum *uisum Petrum* orans *ipsa* prospicit;
10 sic a Clemente baptizatus creditur.

102. *codd.*: M (6), E (22), L (113), X (417v)

edd. PL (1256), Blume (145)

1 Clementis] *MLX PL Blume*, [...]s *E* odie] hodie *LX PL Blume* 2 plebes] *ML PL Blume*, pleb[...]*E*, plebs *X* mirate compotem] *ML Blume*, mirate [...]tem *E*, miramini compotes *X PL* 3 adseclam] asseclam *X PL Blume* adseclam *glos. L* discipulum 4 romane] *MLX PL Blume*, roman[...]*E* sedis] *ML Blume*, [...]is *E*, sedit *X PL* tertium] *LX PL Blume*, tertius *M*, [...]E antestitem] *M*, [...]ti[...] *E*, antistitem *LX PL Blume* antistitem *glos. L* presule 5 sibi Xristus] sibi Christus *PL Blume*, Xristus sibi *X* consecrabit] consecrauit *LX PL Blume* martirem] martyrem *X PL Blume* 6 qui digne regens romuleos populos *X* habitando] abitando *L*, [...]abit[...]*nd*[...]*E* urbe] *MLX PL Blume*, [...]rbe *E* 7 adnuntiando] annuntiando *EL*, adnunciando *X* Ihesum] Iesum *X PL Blume* Xristum] Christum *PL Blume* p. dominum *uirg. scripsi* 8 inluminabit] illuminauit *EX Blume*, inluminauit *PL* Teodore] Teodore *E*, Theodore *X PL*, Theodorum *Blume* Sisinnium] Sisinnium *X PL Blume* 9 uisum Petrum] uiso Petro *ELX Blume* orans ipsa] in soporem *M PL*, in sopore *E*, orans ipse *X Blume* p. prospicit *uirg. scr. Blume* 10 baptizatus] baptizatus *X PL Blume*

⁴⁵ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 154-155.

Hic predicando Xristi euangelium
 et conuocando caterbas fidelium
 Traiani iussu ducitur exilium
 trans Pontum mare in preruptum eremum;
 15 ibi peregit insigne miraculum.

Aquarum uenas ex abisso eduxit
 et satiabit sitientes incolas,
 qui per metalla excidebant marmora
 et *estuebant* tabe et siti ualida
 20 pro Xristi nomen portantes supplicia.

Quos ubi cernit beatus *a ter* bino
 poculum ferre sibi miliario,
 ortatur cunctos predicandum dominum,
 ut suis fontem aperiret laticum
 25 sacris salubrem mire confessoribus.

Quorum oblata dum litaret immolans
 sacer antistes, meritis insignior,
 agnum adstare cernit sibi dominum
 signantem locum, quem ut idem pupugit,
 30 elicit undam affluentem in fluuium.

Hec fama cunctas per girum prouincias
 complens *tunc* plebes ad credendum excitat,
 que confluentes suscepto baptismo
 capiunt normam fidei catholice,
 35 *condiunt* edes quindecenas quinquies.

11 Xristi] Christi *PL Blume* 12 caterbas] katerbas *EL*, cateruas *PL Blume*
 katerbas *glos. L* turbas 13 Traiani] Traiano *L* exilium] exsilium *L*, in exilium
PL exsilium *glos. L* damnatione 14 trans Pontum] transpontum *X* ere-
 mum] heremum *EX* 15 ibi *om. X* peregit insigne *glos. L* fecit magnum 16
 aquarum uenas] *MLX PL Blume*, [...] *E* abisso] abysso *E* eduxit] protulit *X*
 17 satiabit] satiauit *X PL Blume* incolas] *MLX PL Blume*, [...] *E* 18 qui per]
MLX PL Blume, [...] *E* excidebant *glos. L* exardescabant 19 et estuebant] *M*,
 [...]nt *E*, et satiabit *L*, et extuabant *X*, et aestuabant *PL Blume* satiabit+ *Gilson*
 tabe et siti] *MX*, [...]t tabe *E*, tabe siti *L PL Blume* 20 Xristi] Christi *PL Blume*
 nomen] nomine *X*, nomini *PL* portantes] *MLX PL Blume*, por[...] *E* 21-35
om. MEL beatus a ter bino] *Thorsberg Gil*, beatus ater bino *X*, beatus pater bino
Blume 23 ortatur] hortatur *PL Blume* predicandum] *scripsi*, ad predicandum
X PL, praedicandum *Blume* 24 p. laticum *uirg. scr. Blume* 28 adstare] astare
PL Blume 29 pupugit] pupungit *X* 30 affluentem] adfluentem *Blume* 31
 girum] gyrum *PL Blume* 32 complens tunc plebes] complens plebes *X*, com-
 plens [mox] plebes *Blume* 34 capiunt] cupiunt *PL p. catholice uirg. scripsi*
 35 condiunt edes] condunt et edes *PL Blume* quinquies] quinquis *X*

- Ob hoc crescente emula inuidia
profundo mari mergitur cum ancora;
 ibi humatur sepulchrali camara
 in qua receptus; extat nunc ecclesia,
 40 ubi fideles confluunt per secula.
- Qui cursu anni tectus aqua ualida
 alto in mari subtus undas latitat;
 cuius recurrens annua festiuitas,
 recedens mare fere tria milia
 45 per septem dies uias prebet fulgidas.
- Cuius sepulcrum uelut aurum rutilat,
 ancora colli ut argentum emicat;
fiunt uirtutes per fideles petitas
 agentes deo gratias multimodas,
 50 qui prestat sanctis tanta mirabilia.
- Te ergo, Clemens, martir alme, supplices
 agonis tui celebrantes gaudia
 te odierno poscimus cum fletibus,
 ut reis adsis, succurras labentibus,
 55 hac per te culpe careamus cumulo.
- Exemplo tuo uersi a peioribus
 ad meliora *adtendamus* iugiter,

36 inuidia] *MLX PL Blume*, [...] *E* 37 profundo] profundum *L Blume* profundum+ *Gilson* mari] maris *ELX Blume* ancora] anchora *X PL* 38 ibi] ubi *X* humatur] *MX PL Blume*, [...]atur *E*, umatur *L* sepulchrali] sepulchrali *E PL* camara] camera *X Blume* 39 in qua receptus] in qua fundata *X* extat] exstat *Blume* nunc] *MLX PL Blume*, [...]nc *E* ecclesia] ecclesia *X PL Blume* 41 cursu] cursus *ML*, cursus? *Gil* qui cursu] *MLX PL Blume*, [...] *E* 42 undas] unda *E* 43 recurrens] *MLX PL Blume*, [...] *E* p. festiuitas *uirg. scripsi* 44 recedens] recedit *EL* mare] ponti *X* tria milia] tria miliaria *X PL* 45 per septem] *MLX PL Blume*, [...] *E* prebet] prefert *L* 46 sepulcrum] sepulchre *E* uelut aurum] *MLX PL Blume*, uel[...] *E* 47 ancora] anchora *EX PL* emicat] *MLX PL Blume*, em[...] *E* 48 fiunt] *MLX PL Gil*, [...] *E*, facit *Blume* fiunt+ *Gilson* 49 gratias multimodas] *MLX PL Blume*, gr[...]das *E* 50 mirabilia] *MLX PL Blume*, mira[...] *E* 51-60 om. *EL* 52 p. gaudia *uirg. scr. Blume* 53 odierno] hodie *X*, hodierno *PL Blume* 54 adsis] lapsis *X*, assis *Blume* 55 hac] ac *X PL Blume* culpe] culparum *X*, culpae *Blume* cumulo] cumulum *M* 57 adtendamus] contendamus *X Blume* 58 obtimiora] optimiora *Blume*, optima *X PL* p. ambientes *uirg. scripsi* dignius] et nos dignius *PL*

obtimiora ambientes, dignius
mandata uite seruemus, felicius
60 ut post sanctorum adunemur cetibus.

Xristum rogemus, uerbum patris unicum,
et obsecremus aliumque spiritum,
ut mundi procul auferat iactantiam,
uirtutum nobis donet abundantiam,
65 per quam eternam mereamur gloriam.

Gloria patri, gloria sit filio,
gloria sancto procedenti spiritu,
qui deus unus regit mundi macinam,
disponit cuncta *reuolbendo* tempora
70 tenetque regnum perpetim per secula.

61 Xristum] *LX Blume*, ipsum *M PL*, x[...] *E* rogemus] *LX PL Blume*, roge-
mus *M*, [...]ge[...] *E* 62 et obsecremus] *MLX PL Blume*, et adorem[...] *E* spi-
ritum] spirituum *L* 63 mundi] *MLX PL Blume*, [...]ndi *E* iactantiam] *LX*
PL Blume, iactantia *M*, iactant[...] *E* 64 uirtutum] *MLX PL Blume*, [...]tutum
E abundantiam] habundantiam *EL* 65 per quam] per quod *M*, per quem *X*
eternam] *MLX PL Blume*, etern[...] *E* mereamur] habeamus *MX PL* 66 glo-
ria patri] sit trinitati *M* (*cet. om.*) *M* presta quesumus unita potentia *X PL*
67 procedenti] precedenti *L* precedenti+ *Gilson* replensque globi cunctam
solus machinam *X PL* 68 macinam] *scripsi*, macina *EL*, machinam *Blume* uir-
tute firmans ingens adesto gloria *X PL* 69 reuolbendo] resolbendi *E*, reuo-
luenda *Blume* eterna cuius laus et clementia *X PL* 70 perpetim] perpetuum
E et honor iugis affatim per secula *X PL*

102. En honor de san Clemente.

1. Hoy se celebra la festividad de Clemente, venid, fieles, y venerad al sucesor de Pedro, apóstol del señor, tercer obispo de la sede romana, al que Cristo consagró como mártir para sí.
2. Cuando vivía en la ciudad de Rómulo y anunciaba al señor Jesucristo, Teodora, al mismo tiempo que en su oración ve y reconoce a Pedro, devolvió la vista a Sisinio; así creyó y fue bautizado por Clemente.
3. Porque predicaba el evangelio de Cristo y reunía a los fieles, por orden de Trajano [Clemente] es conducido al exilio al otro lado del mar Negro, a un desierto escarpado; allí hizo un extraordinario milagro.
4. De las profundidades sacó arterias de agua y sació a sus sedientos habitantes que en las minas cortaban mármoles y se morían por la enfermedad y la falta de agua, soportando los castigos en nombre de Cristo.
5. Cuando el santo ve que ellos traen el agua desde seis millas, los exhorta a todos a alabar al señor, para que milagrosamente hiciera brotar una fuente de agua saludable para sus santos confesores.

6. Mientras el santo obispo, insigne por sus méritos, consagraba y presentaba las ofrendas de éstos, ve junto a sí al cordero del señor señalándole un lugar; cuando lo golpeó, hizo salir de él un manantial de abundante agua.

7. Esta noticia se extiende por todos los pueblos de alrededor y pronto lleva a creer a las gentes que confluyen allí, y después de recibir el bautismo, toman la fe católica y levantan setenta y cinco templos.

8. Crece por esto la émula envidia y Clemente es sumergido con un ancla en la profundidad del mar; allí está sepultado en la cámara sepulcral en la que fue recibido; ahora hay una iglesia adonde los fieles van por siempre.

9. Durante todo el año está cubierto por la masa de agua y sepultado bajo las ondas en la profundidad del mar; al llegar su festividad cada año, el mar se retira casi tres millas durante siete días ofreciendo caminos llenos de luz.

10. Su sepulcro brilla como el oro, el ancla atada a su cuello brilla como la plata, se producen los milagros que piden los fieles y de muchas formas ellos dan gracias a Dios que confía a sus santos tan grandes maravillas.

11. A ti pues, Clemente, santo mártir, al celebrar los gozos de tu pasión hoy, suplicantes te pedimos con lágrimas que ayudes a los reos, socorras a los débiles y que por ti nos veamos libres de nuestras innumerables culpas.

12. Que, alejados del mal, con tu ejemplo, sin descanso, tendamos a lo más bueno y aspiremos a lo mejor, observando dignamente los mandamientos de vida, para que después felizmente seamos unidos al grupo de tus santos.

13. Roguemos a Cristo, verbo único del padre, y pidamos al santo espíritu que aleje la vanidad de este mundo, que nos de abundantes virtudes por las que merezcamos la eterna gloria.

14. Gloria al padre, gloria al hijo, gloria al espíritu santo que procede, Dios único que gobierna la máquina del mundo, ordena todas las cosas, hace rodar los tiempos y posee el reino siempre por los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes:

En nuestra opinión, el himno, lo mismo que la misa que se le dedica en el *Liber Sacramentorum*, está inspirado todo él en las Actas de la pasión⁴⁶.

uu. 3-4

Pass. 2

<In> temporibus illis, <te>rtius romane <Eclesi>e prefuit episcopus <Cle>mens, qui, <dis>ciplinam <apos>tolí Petri se<qu>utus, ita morum ornamenta pollebat, ut a iudeis et gentibus et omnibus christianis populis amaretur.

*uu. 8-9**Pass. 7*

Orante autem Theodora et flente, ecce subito ad uesperum apparuit ei uir [clarissimus canitie] uenerandus, dixitque ei: Per te sanus erit Sisinnius, ut impleatur quod dixit frater meus apostolus Paulus: Sanctificabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem. Et quum hec dixisset, protinus ab aspectu eius abscessit. Vnde non est dubium illi beatum Petrum apostolum apparuisse. Denique statim clamauit ad se Sisinnius Theodoram, et dixit: Obsecro te, ut roges Dominum tuum, ne irascatur michi; zelo enim tui ductus, adi post te ecclesiam; et dum uolui uidere, que agebantur, et audire que dicebantur, amisi et auditum et uisum.

Pass. 9

Hec et his similia multa dicente Sisinnio, gaudium magnum factum est, crediditque cum omni domo sua; et dato nomine, proximo Pascha futurum baptizatus est.

*uu. 13-14**Pass. 11*

Cui imperator Traianus huiusmodi rescriptum transmisit: Traianus cesar Mamertino prefecto urbis Rome, debere Clementem episcopum, que Romane urbis populus ob criminis sacrilegii adcusandum conqueritur, persuadendum aut sacrificia deorum nostrorum libare, aut Transpontum mare in eremo, quod adiacet ciuitati Cersone, subire exilium.

*uu. 18-25**Pass. 13*

Quum peruenissent ad locum exilii, inuenerunt ibi in ergastulis ad secunda saxa duo milia christianos diuturna religatione damnatos, qui, uidentes sanctum ac nominatum Clementem urbis Rome episcopum, omnes una uoce cum gemitu proruperunt et fletu. Quos quum cognouisset sanctus Clemens pro Dei nomine religatos, dixit: Non inmerito me ad uos Dominus misit, sed huc ad uestram coronam adduxit, ut particeps factus passionis uestre, etiam consolationis efficiar. Et quum multa eis consolationis et patientie uerba intimasset, didicit ab eis, quod a sexto miliario aquam sibi humeris suis adportarent. Tunc Clemens sanctus dixit: Oremus Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut confessoribus suis forsitan fontis in isto loco uenas aperiat: et qui percussit petram in deserto Synay, et fluxerunt aque in satietatem, ipse laticem nobis affluentem impertiat, ut eius beneficiis gratulemur.

*uu. 26-30**Pass. 14*

Quumque, oratione completa, hinc inde conspiceret, uidit agnum stantem, qui, pede dextro erecto, quasi locum sancto Clementi ostenderet. Tunc sanctus Clemens intellegens Dominum Iesum Christum esse, quem solus ipse respiceret, et preter ipse alius non uideret, perrexit ad locum et dixit: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in isto loco percutite. Sed quum omnes per girum rastris effoderent, et non ipsum locum in quo agnus stabat contingerent, accepto breui sarculo, sanctus Clemens leui ictu locum

sub pede agni percutiens, fontem affluentibus uenis ornatum apparuit, quo suo impetu euomens, fluuium fecit. Tunc uniuersis gaudentibus beatus Clemens responsurum dedit: Fluminis impetus letificat ciuitatem Dei.

uu. 31-35

Pass. 15

Ad istam autem famam confluit omnis prouincia, et uenientes uniuersi ad doctrinam sancti Clementis, conuertebantur ad Dominum Iesum Christum. Ita ut in [una] die quingente anime seu amplius, babtizati in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et confirmati in fide, christiani abscedebant. Per totam autem prouinciam intra unum annum a credentibus septuaginta et quinque ecclesie fundate <sunt> et omnia templa dextructa sunt, omniaque idola confracta sunt. Omnis locus per trecenta milia in totum girum incisi, et euersi sunt.

uu. 36-45

Pass. 16

Post annos autem tres, paganis insistentibus, tam inuidiosa relatio cucurrit ad imperatorem Traianum, ut dicerent ibi per Clementem innumerabilem populum christianorum adcreuisse: et missus est dux, Orfidianus nomine, qui multos christianorum turmis diuersis penis afficeret. Et dum uideret Orfidianus omnes gentes ad passionem accedere gaudentes, cessit multitudini, et solum Clementem episcopum cogebat ad sacrificandum. Et quum uideret illum sic fixum in Domino, ut mutari penitus non posset, dixit ad suos: Perducatur ad mare et ligetur ei ad collum ancora, et precipitetur in medio mari, ut non possint isti populi christiani hunc pro Deo colere. Et quum factum fuisset, omnis multitudo christianorum ad litus cepit stare et flere, et, flentibus illis, dixerunt Cornelius et Fidius, discipuli eius: Audite, fratres, omnes unanimes oremus, ut ostendat nobis Dominus martyris sui excubias.

uu. 36-45

Pass. 17

Orantibus autem populis, recessit mare in sinu suo per fere tria milia. Et ingressi per siccum populi, inuenerunt in modum templum marmoreum habitaculum a Deo preparatum, et ibi in arca saxeae corpus sancti Clementis episcopi positus, Petri discipulus; ita et ancora cum qua missus est iuxta eum esse posita. Post hec reuelatum est autem discipulis illius, ut non inde tollerent corpus eius: quibus hoc etiam intimatum est, quod omni anno die passionis eius recedat mare, et per septem dies aduenientibus siccum iter preparet. Quod ad laudem nominis sui facit Dominus usque in hodiernum diem. Hoc autem facto, omnes gentes per girum crediderunt in Christo, ubi nullus gentilis, nullus iudeus, nullus prorsus inuenitur hereticus.

uu. 48-50

Pass. 18

Fiunt ibi omni anno, die natalis eius, multa beneficia orationibus sancti Clementi, Domino protegente: ceci inluminantur, demones effugantur, et omnes infirmi saluantur, qui illic potuerint peruenire. Et est ibi pax Dei, et laus Domini cum omni gaudio, et benedicitur illic Christus Filius Dei, qui cum Patre regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti in secula seculorum amen.

110. In sanctae Dorotheae.

Ad Vesperas.

Xriste, lux lucis, deus angelorum,
uita sanctorum, salus innocentum,
plebis conuentus celebrantis festum
accipe uotum.

- 5 En tua uirgo Dorotea sancta
te sequens semper puro corde amat,
et suum corpus tibi castum serbat
menteque casta.

- Duplicis* portat *meriti* choronam,
10 dum manet uirgo *fudit* et beatum
sanguinem pro te proprium, ad mortem
ultra *deuicta*.

- Iudicis iussu capitur cruenti
sicque flagellis cruciatur diris,
15 sed manet constans diridendo nigra
idola muta.

- Tum duas grabi deditas in lapsu,
unam Xristetem suam et sororem
parem Callistem, tibi conquisibit
20 igne piatas.

110. *codd.*: E (218), X (348)*edd.* PL (1096), Blume (155)

1 Xriste] X (Christe) PL Blume, [...] E lucis deus] lucis uera deus X PL 2
salus] X PL Blume, [...] alus E 3 plebis conuentus celebrantis festum] plebs pia
optat celebrare festum X PL 5 en tua] X PL Blume, [...] tua E p. en uirg. scr.
Blume Dorotea] Dorothea X PL Blume 6 puro] X PL Blume, [...] ro E 7
serbat] optat X, seruat PL Blume 8 menteque casta] menteque pura X PL 9
duplicis] *scripsi*, duplici EX PL Blume *meriti* choronam] merito coronam X PL
Blume 10 fudit] fundit Blume 11 sanguinem pro te proprium ad mortem]
sanguinem prompte proprium uolendo X PL 12 ultra deuicta] *Gil*, ultra deuicta E, uincere mortem X PL, ultra deducta Blume deuicta (= deuicta)⁴⁸ 13
iudicis] iudici E 15 diridendo] deridendo X PL Blume 16 idola] ydola X
17 tum duas grabi deditas in lapsu] E (tunc) Blume, tum duas lapsu grauiter
ruentes X PL 18 unam Xristetem suam et sororem] una Cristetes uocitata soror
X, una Crystetes uocitas soror PL 19 parem Callistem] siue Calistes X, siue
Callistes PL 20 piatas] pietas X PL

⁴⁸ Cf. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 200.

Tenditur posthinc in catasta martir,
sustinens penas diu uerberata;
sic deo dignam animam donabit
sanguine fuso.

- 25 Teufile mittit nibeum puerum
tribus cum rosis tothidemque *melis*;
uidit et stupet nimium sagacem
munus et *dignum*.

- Hic fide plenus uocitando Christum
30 *intimat credi*; patuit tyranno,
caput abscissum meruit choronam
etheris aula.

- Nunc fabe, uirgo, precibus tuorum,
seruulis dona ueniam malorum,
35 fac tuos nobis socios patronos
longum in euum.

- Simus *et* nostro placidi amore,
festa qui digno colimus honore,
paci fruamur pariter conexi
40 munere digno.

Pestis abscedat fugiatque languor,
premit, quod iugum populos, depelle,
sit quies functis, medicina egris,
uitaque abta.

22 p. penas uirg. scr. Blume 25 Teufile] Theophilo X PL, Theufile Blume mit-
tit] mitit X 26 tribus cum rosis tothidemque] cum rosis tribus totidemque
Blume melis] malis PL Blume p. melis duo punct. scr. Blume 27 sagacem]
sagace X PL 28 dignum] aptum X PL Blume 29 uocitando] uocinando PL
Christum] Xristum X 30 intimat credi] intima credit E Blume p. credi uirg.
scr. Blume patuit] potuit X PL tyranno] tiranno X 31 caput abscissum]
uertex abscissa X, uertex abscissus PL meruit] meruitque X, meruisse PL cho-
ronam] scripsi, chorona E, clarum X, claram PL, coronam Blume 32 aula]
aulam X PL 34 dona] prebe X, praebe PL 36 p. euum punct. et uirg. scr.
Blume 37 et] ut X PL Blume nostro] uestro X PL 38 festa qui] festoque
E 39 paci fruamur] paci utamur X conexi] connexi PL 41 languor] lan-
gor X 42 premit quod iugum] Thorsberg, prem[...] iugum E, quod iugum pre-
mit X PL, iugum quod premit Blume 43 quies functis] quies defunctis X PL
44 p. abta punct. et uirg. scr. Blume

- 45 Simul ut tecum, Dorothea sancta,
aulam celorum teneamus amplam,
nostra sic Xristo prebeant placentem
ora chanorem.

45 Dorothea] Dorotea *X* 46 aulam] aula *E* 47 nostra sic Xristo prebeant placentem] nostra sint Xristo reboantia *X*, nostraque Christo sint reboantia *PL* 48 chanorem] canora *X*, canorem *PL Blume*

110. En honor de santa Dorotea. A vísperas.

1. Cristo, luz de luz, Dios de los ángeles, vida de los santos, salud de los inocentes, recibe las súplicas de la asamblea de tu pueblo, que celebra esta festividad.
2. He aquí que tu santa virgen Dorotea, siguiéndote siempre, te ama con puro corazón y guarda para ti su cuerpo limpio y su alma casta.
3. Lleva una corona de doble mérito, ya que permanece virgen y derrama por ti su santa sangre, siendo arrastrada a una muerte voluntaria.
4. Es apresada por orden del cruel magistrado y castigada con crueles azotes, pero permanece firme burlándose de los negros y mudos ídolos.
5. Entonces, a sus dos hermanas, Cristeta y Calista, que habían caído en grave pecado, las conquistó para ti, tras ser purificadas por el fuego.
6. Después de esto la mártir es estirada en el potro de tortura, y, azotada largo tiempo, soporta los castigos; así, derramando su sangre, entregó a Dios su alma digna.
7. Hace llegar a Teófilo un niño vestido de blanco con tres rosas y tres manzanas; [aquél] contempló maravillado el muy sutil y apropiado regalo.
8. Entonces lleno de fe, pregonando a Cristo, proclama que cree; quedó claro al tirano, fue decapitado y mereció la corona en el alcázar del cielo.
9. Ahora, virgen, sé propicia a las súplicas de los tuyos, da a tus siervos el perdón de sus pecados y haz a tus compañeros patronos nuestros para siempre.
10. Que siempre por nuestro amor te seamos gratos quienes celebramos tu festividad con digno honor y que gocemos, igualmente unidos, del digno regalo de la paz.
11. Que se aparte la peste y huya la enfermedad, aleja el yugo que oprime a los pueblos, que haya descanso para los muertos y para los enfermos medicina y una vida apropiada.
12. Que junto contigo, Dorotea santa, poseamos el resplandeciente palacio de los cielos y que nuestros labios ofrezcan a Cristo un canto grato.

Fontes / Loci similes:

En cuanto a la datación de este himno, la vacilación de Fábrega⁴⁸, que lo sitúa en el siglo VIII o en el IX, es precisada por Pérez de Urbel⁴⁹, que lo sitúa en el siglo IX, mientras que Szövérfy, como vimos más arriba, opina que fue compuesto en el siglo VIII. En opinión de Fábrega el himno está calcado de un relato escrito del martirio de la santa.⁵⁰

*uu. 9-10**Pass. 2*

Que in tantum exitit in caritate Christi perfecta, ut ad eius thalamum perueniret, duplicauit sui sancti certaminis palmam; et unam uirginitatis coronam tenens, alteram martyrii, cum gaudio peruenit ad Christum.

*uu. 17-20**Pass. 8*

Tunc Sabricius iussit eam duci ad duas sorores Chris[te]tem et Callistem, que nuper apostatauerant, et comendauit eam illis Sabricius, dicens: Sicut uos, relicta uanitate et supprestitutione christiana, diis sacrificastis inuictis, et remunerari feci uos;

Pass. 10

Tunc miserunt se ad plantas eius, flentes ac deprecantes, ut oraret pro eis;

Pass. 11

Errauimus, et satis inique egimus, timentes penas et dolores transitorios, quia sacrificauimus idolis uanis: et ideo rogauimus eam, et dedit nobis penitentiam, ut possimus ad Christi indulgentiam uenire. Tunc Sabricius scidit uestimenta sua, et in furore nimio accensus, iussit ut dorsum ad dorsum ligate mitterentur in cupa, si statim sacrificare noluissent. At ille clamabant, dicentes: Domine Iesu Christe, accipe penitentiam nostram, et da nobis indulgentiam tuam.

Pass. 12

In his uerbis et in ista confessione durantes, in cupam misse sunt, et incense in conspectu sancte Dorothe.

*uu. 21-24**Pass. 13*

Tunc Sabricius iussit sanctam Dorotheam in catasta leuari. Quumque leuata esset, tanto gaudio exhilarata est, ut probaretur uirgo ad desideratum peruenisse sue deuotionis effectum.

Pass. 14

Item deposita de catasta, fecit eam diu in faciem palmis cedi, dicens: Ipsa facies cedatur, que mici insultat. Quumque diu multumque cesa iterum gauderet, et cedentes eam fatigati deficerent, hoc ordine Sabricius dictauit

⁴⁸ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. I, p. 206-7; v. II, p. 226-32.

⁴⁹ J. PÉREZ DE URBEL, *Origen*, cit. n. 23, p. 133-4.

⁵⁰ J. SZÖVÉRFY, *Iberian*, cit. n. 2, p. 44.

sententiam, dicens: Dorotheam superbissimam puellam, que sacrificare diis immortalibus noluit, ut uiueret, sed uoluit absolute mori propter nescio quem hominem, qui dicitur Christus, iussimus gladio percuti. Ad hec Dorothea cum clamore dixit: Gratias tibi ago, amator animarum, qui me ad paradisum tuum uocasti, et ad thalamum tuum inuitasti.

uu. 25-28

Pass. 16

Quum autem hec narraret, et inrideret promisioni, ecce puer ante eum cum orario, in quo ferens tria mela mirifica et tres rosas floridissimas, et ei dixit: Ecce sicut petenti tibi promisit uirgo sacratissima Dorothea, transmisit tibi de paradiso sponsi sui.

uu. 29-32

Pass. 17

Tunc Theufilus, accipiens, exclamauit uoce magna, dicens: Verus Deus Christus, et non est ulla simulatio in eo.

Pass. 24

Quumque et tortores, et ipsa tormenta deficerent, hanc preses impiissimus dictauit sententiam dicens; Theufilus, qui nunc usque diis immortalibus sacrificauit, et cultor ipsorum extitit, nunc uero preuaricator inuentus est, ita ut ab eis discederet, et secte se traderet christiane, iussimus capite plecti.

111. In sanctae Dorotheae.⁵¹

Te decet ymnus in Syon, omnipotens,
dum quisque reddit uotum in Iherusalem
fideque sumens in uoto constantiam
expellit sese cunctis ab inlecebris,
5 ut te sequatur crucem sibi baiulans.

Hoc documento priores apostoli
egerunt, actu fidei probabiles
hoc predicando fundabere ecclesiam,

111. cod.: M (36)

edd. PL (894), Blume (156)

1 ymnus] hymnus *Blume* Syon] Sion *Blume* 2 Iherusalem] Ierusalem *Blume*
3 fideque] fide *M PL*, fidei *Thorsberg* 4 inlecebris] illecebris *Blume* 6 p. probabiles *uirg. scr. Blume* 7 egerunt actu] egerumcactu *M* 8 fundabere] fundauere *Blume* ecclesiam] ecclesiam *Blume*

⁵¹ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 43 ss.

- mater que* uera persistens incolumis
 10 enixa sponso profert alma pignora.
 In infolatis agmina potissima,
 nectareosque fructus in martiribus,
 in confessore fert donum uberrimum,
 dum gloriatur in regnis celestibus
 15 se *perceptura* opes ineffabiles.
 Hinc odierno bis binis in testibus
 resultans uictrix transmittit regalia
 tibi, rex poli, *abta* uel *suabia*
 munera, uere ualde perobtissima,
 20 que tuo *idem* lucravit ex sanguine.
 In Dorotea *ligustrum* ambroseam
 liliorumque *hac* rosarum destinat
 uel in Calliste Xristeteque uiolas
 oppletas ualde odore gratissimo
 25 uel pretiosum ferculum in Teufilo.
 Quorum *certatris* Dorotea prior est
 duplici comta laurea prefulgida,
 uirginitatis nempe *hac* martirii,
 adepta fructum in lucro consortium
 30 sororum *duum* tertium uel Teufili.

9 mater que] *scripsi*, materque *M PL Blume* 10 sponso] sponsum *M PL p.*
 pignora *duo punct. scr. Blume* 11 infolatis] *scripsi*, infolatus *M PL*, infulatis
Blume, infolatos *Thorsberg* 13 confessore] confessores *M PL* 15 perceptura]
 percepturam *Blume* 16 odierno] hodierno *Blume* 18 abta uel suabia] apta
 uel suaui *PL Blume* 19 ualde perobtissima] balde probatissima *PL*, ualde per-
 optissima *Blume* 20 idem] pridem *Blume* 21 Dorotea] Dorothea *Blume*
ligustrum] *Thorsberg*, ligustra *M PL*, ligustri *Blume* ambroseam] *Thorsberg*,
 ambrosea *M PL*, ambrosiam *Blume* 22 hac] ac *Blume p.* destinat uirg. *scr.*
Blume 23 Calliste] Callistem *M PL* Xristeteque] *scripsi*, Xristetemque *M*,
 Christetemque *PL*, Christeteque *Blume* 24 p. gratissimo uirg. *scr. Blume* 25
 pretiosum] preciosum *PL* Teufilo] Theufilo *Blume* 26 certatris Dorotea] cer-
 tatrix Dorotea *PL*, certatrix Dorothea *Blume* certatris (*sc. certatrix*)⁵² 28 hac]
 ac *Blume* martirii] martyrii *Blume* 29 adepta] adeptam *M PL* 30 duum]
 duplum *Blume p.* duplum uirg. *scr. Blume* tertium] tertii *Thorsberg* Teufili]
scripsi, Teufilo *M PL*, Theufili *Blume*

⁵² Evolución del grupo -cs (= x) a -s en final de palabra en latín vulgar. Documentada ya en inscripciones. Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 62. M. BASSOLS DE CLIMENT, *Fonética Latina*, Madrid, 1962, p. 231.

Cappadocene Cesaree *auitans*
 hec ciuis orta summo in presidio
 specimen urbi prebet imitabile,
 fide prepollens, uita morum enitens,
 35 martiriale triumphum expediens.

Opinione huius sacre uirginis
 infandus preses comperta *Sabricius*
 discutiendam *sisti sibi* precipit,
 temptatur blandis ac suadellis decipi,
 40 idem *deterrit* minis *perasperrimis*.

Quam ut *prespexit* preses imperterritam,
 furens catasta trucidandam sublimat,
 set insons penam incunctanter perferens
 elata uoce nomen Xristi predicat
 45 unum cum patre fore *hac* paraclito.

Huius ad fidem eneruandam callidus
 Xristetem simul cum Calliste prouocat,
 sibimetipsis parilem ut faciant,
 set mox correcte *per ipsam credidere*,
 50 que facta esset celeps iam augustior.

Quis enarrare tua, Xriste, ualeat
 miraculorum opera insignia,
 que agis ipse, dum sanctos glorificas?
 nam stanti ades presul ad custodiam,
 55 cum corruentes corrigas clementius.

Afflata cuius uirgo sancta flamine
 fert iam elapsis salutem sororibus
 restaurans mentem ortamentis fidei;

31 *auitans*] *García*, ciuitas *M PL Gil*, inclita *Blume*, ciuibus *Thorsberg* 32 ciuis]
 ciues *M PL*, uirgo *Thorsberg* 33 *p.* imitabile *duo punct. scr. Blume* 35 marti-
 riale] *scripsi*, martiriale *M PL*, martyriale *Blume* triumphum] triumphum *Blume*
 36 opinione] opinionem *M PL* 37 *Sabricius*] *Sambricius M*, *Fabricius Blume*
 38 *sisti sibi*] *sibi sisti Blume p.* precipit *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 39 tempta-
 tur] tentatur *Blume* ac] hanc *Thorsberg* suadellis] suadelis *Blume* 40 deter-
 rit] deterret *Blume* perasperrimis] per asperrimis *Blume* 41 prespexit] pers-
 pexit *Blume* imperterritam] imperterrita *M PL* 43 set] sed *Blume* 44 *p.*
 predicat *uirg. scr. Blume* 45 *hac*] ac *Blume* 46 fidem] finem *M PL* 47
 Calliste] Callistem *M PL* 48 sibimetipsis] sibimetipsi *M PL p.* faciant *punct.*
et uirg. scr. Blume 49 set] sed *Blume* per ipsam credidere] credidere per ipsam
Blume 50 celeps] caelebs *Blume* augustior] angustior *M* 54 ades] ales *M*
PL 56 afflata] adflata *Blume* 58 ortamentis] hortamentis *Blume p.* fidei
uirg. scr. Blume

- in his ferborem recreat martirii,
 60 *quo* properarent *hinc* ad palmam alacres.
 Inlusum ita se dolens *Sabricius*
 ambarum censer artus cupa urere;
 quarum ex nece dum ulcisci nititur,
 uictrices fecit ethera conscendere
 65 ad obtinenda diadema regia.
 Gauisa celeps dum ex hoc *presisteret*,
 luenda penis sublimatur stipite;
 dilaniatur flagris adque ungulis,
 libenter perfert faces in lateribus
 70 ad palmas uultu properans ilarior.
 Atrocitatem supergressa presidis
 spiculatori perimenda traditur
 nubtura sponsum, iam quoheres martirum;
 sibi petenti Teufilo scolastico
 75 munere misso laureatur sanguine.
 E paradiso destinata munera
 Teufilus sumens admiratur stupidus
 trium *melorum* uel rosarum suabium,
 quorum afflatu renobatus uiuido
 80 credendo laudat Xristum, dei filium.
 Quum esset olim crucis Xristi derisor,
 confessor factus repente potissimus
 diffuso ore crucifixum predicans

59 martirii] martyrii *Blume* 60 quo] *Thorsberg*, quod *M PL Blume* hinc] *Thorsberg*, hic *M PL*, sic *Blume* 61 inlusum] illusum *Blume* Sabricius] Saprificus *PL*, Fabricius *Blume* 62 cupa] cupam *M PL* 65 obtinenda diadema regia] obtinendam diademam regiam *Thorsberg* 66 celeps] caelebs *Blume* presisteret] persisteret *Blume* presisteret⁵³ 67 p. stipite *uirg. scr. Blume* 68 flagris] fragil *M* adque] atque *PL Blume* p. ungulis *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 69 faces] facies *M PL* 70 uultu] uultum *PL* properans] properas *M PL* ilarior] illarum *PL* 72 p. traditur *uirg. scr. Blume* 73 nubtura] nuptura *Blume* p. sponsum *uirg. scripsi* quoheres] coheres *Blume* martirum] martyrum *Blume* p. martirum *uirg. scr. Blume* 74 Teufilo scolastico] Theufilo scholastico *Blume* 77 Teufilus] Theufilus *Blume* 78 melorum] malorum *Blume* 79 afflatu] scripsi, afflatus *M PL*, adflatu *Blume* renobatus] scripsi renobatur *M*, renouatur *PL*, renovatus *Blume* 81 quum] cum *Blume*

- simulacrorum imposturam *infamans*
 85 *funestam* coram preside prenuntiat.
 Tunc furens iudex hunc sistit eculeo
 afficiendum penis noxialibus,
 quem ut aduertit uultu imperterritum
hac pertinacem in fide persistere,
 90 perimit ense mox effectum martirem.
 Ob hoc, redemptor, supplices exposcimus,
 ut, quique horum congaudemus meritis
 et diem festum uotibe excolimus,
 ab his defensi careamus uitiiis
 95 expiemurque cunctis a deliquiis.
Hii quoque *nostri* fabendo *miseriam*
compatiendoque necessitatibus
 cunctis adsistant patroni assidui,
 ut nunc ereptos ab aduersitatibus
 100 uicturos secum *profeant* ad premium.
 Presta, *quesumus*, *trinitas*, potentia
 summa, *qui* regis seculorum secula,
 ut te fruamus sine fine *tempora*,
 lux angelorum et *dies* perennius
 105 sol ipse nobis uigeas perpetuus.

84 infamans] *Gil*, in flammas *M PL Blume* 85 funestam] *Gil*, funesta *M PL*, funesto *Blume*, funestum *Thorsberg* preside] presidem *Thorsberg* 89 hac] ac *Blume* 90 effectum] effecta *M PL* 91 supplices] supplice *PL* 92 quique] queque *M* 93 uotibe] botibe *PL*, uotiue *Blume* 96 hii] hi *Blume* nostri] *García*, nostris *M PL Blume*, nostram *Thorsberg* fabendo] fauendo *Blume* miseriam] miseriis *Blume* 97 compatiendoque] et compatiendo *Blume* 98 adsistant] assistant *Blume* 100 profeant] profean *PL*, prouehant *Blume* 101 quesumus] quae summa *Blume* trinitas] *Thorsberg*, unitas *M PL Blume* 102 qui] quae *Blume* 103 fruamus] fruamur *Blume* tempora] temporum *Blume* 104 dies] die *Blume* p. angelorum uirg. scr. *Blume*

111. En honor de santa Dorotea.

1. A ti, omnipotente, se debe alabanza en Sión, mientras todos dirigen su súplica en Jerusalén y, teniendo por la fe confianza en su súplica, se apartan de todas las tentaciones para seguirte a ti llevando su cruz.
2. Con esta enseñanza vivieron los primeros apóstoles, dignos de alabanza por su acto de fe, predicando esto fundaron la iglesia que, cual verdadera madre, manteniéndose incólume, da a luz y ofrece a su esposo santos presentes.

3. Ofrece en los sacerdotes un poderosísimo ejército, en los mártires frutos de néctar y en los confesores un riquísimo presente, mientras se gloria de que ella recibirá en el reino celestial incontables riquezas.
4. Por eso hoy, exultante por su victoria en los cuatro mártires, a ti, rey del cielo, te ofrece presentes regios, dulces y apropiados, verdaderamente muy deseables, que ganó también por tu sangre.
5. En Dorotea logra la ambrosía de ligustros, lirios y rosas, en Cristeta y Calista violetas de intensísimo y grátísimo olor y en Teófilo un precioso manjar.
6. Precediéndoles está la guerrera Dorotea, ceñida con luminosa y doble corona de laurel, la de la virginidad y la del martirio, ganando como recompensa la compañía de sus dos hermanas y, después, la de Teófilo.
7. Ésta, que vivía en la ciudad de Cesarea de Capadocia, nacida en la mayor riqueza, ofrece a su ciudad un ejemplo digno de imitación, destacada por su fe, distinguida por sus costumbres y dispuesta al triunfo del martirio.
8. Conocida la fama de esta sagrada virgen, el malvado magistrado Sabricio ordena que sea llevada a su presencia para interrogarla; intenta engañarla con halagos y promesas y al mismo tiempo la aterra con terribles amenazas.
9. Cuando el gobernador la vio impertérrita, fuera de sí manda que la suban en el potro de castigo para torturarla, mas ella, inocente, soportando sin vacilación el castigo, levantando su voz, proclama que la persona de Cristo es una con el padre y el paráclito.
10. Con el fin de debilitar su fe, el astuto [gobernador] llama a Cristeta y también a Calista para que la hagan igual a ellas, pero pronto creyeron, atraídas al recto camino por ella, ya convertida en santa digna de devoción.
11. ¿Quién, Cristo, podría cantar las insignes obras de los milagros que tú haces cuando glorificas a tus santos? Pues con tu cuidado proteges al que no cae y con gran clemencia pones en el camino recto a los que se pierden.
12. La santa virgen, inspirada por tu espíritu, lleva la salvación a sus hermanas ya caídas, fortaleciendo su espíritu con las exhortaciones de la fe; en ellas reaviva el deseo del martirio, para que de aquí corran alegres a la recompensa celeste.
13. Dolido Sabricio por haber sido burlado de este modo, piensa quemar los cuerpos de ambas en una cuba; cuando ponía todos los medios para vengarse de ellas con la muerte, consiguió que subieran a los cielos victoriosas y se apoderaran de la diadema real.
14. Mientras la santa resistía gozosa por esto, es levantada en el potro de castigo para ser torturada; es desgarrada por los azotes y los garfios y, soportando con gusto las teas en sus costados, corre con la alegría en el rostro a la recompensa celeste.

15. Sobreviviendo a la crueldad del magistrado, es entregada a un verdugo para que sufra la muerte, pronta a unirse a su esposo y coheredera ya con los mártires; es laureada con su sangre, enviándose al magistrado Teófilo el presente que pedía.

16. Teófilo, lleno de admiración y estupor, toma el presente de tres manzanas y tres rosas olorosas enviado desde el paraíso, y renovado por su fuerte aroma, cree y alaba a Cristo, hijo de Dios.

17. Aunque antes se había burlado de la cruz de Cristo, convertido de pronto en valiente confesor, predica a grandes voces al crucificado y en presencia del magistrado denuncia el fatal engaño de las estatuas, difamándolas.

18. Entonces el magistrado, fuera de sí, manda ponerlo sobre el potro, para que sea torturado con crueles castigos; cuando advierte que resiste con rostro impertérrito y fe inmutable, en seguida lo atraviesa con la espada, dándole el martirio.

19. Por esto, redentor, suplicantes pedimos que cuantos nos alegramos con sus méritos y les damos culto devotamente en su festividad, defendidos por ellos, estemos libres de pecados y seamos purificados de todas nuestras faltas.

20. Que también ellos, cuidando de nuestras miserias y compadeciéndose de todas nuestras necesidades, nos ayuden como patronos permanentemente, para que arrancándonos de las adversidades de ahora nos arrastren a la recompensa de la vida junto a ellos.

21. Ayúdanos te suplicamos, trinidad, poder sumo, que gobiernas los siglos de los siglos, para que gocemos de ti sin límite de tiempo y reines en nosotros eternamente, tú, luz de los ángeles, día y sol perpetuo.

Fontes / Loci similes:

Según Fábrega⁵⁴, el himno es del siglo VIII-IX, fecha precisada por Szövérfy⁵⁵, que lo sitúa en el siglo IX. En opinión de Fábrega, tanto éste como el himno *Xriste, lux lucis, Deus angelorum*, están inspirados en gran parte en un relato escrito de la pasión de la santa.

uu. 1-5

Ps. 64, 2

Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion, et tibi reddetur votum in Hierusalem.

Luc. 14, 27

et qui non baiulat crucem suam, et venit post me, non potest esse meus discipulus.

⁵⁴ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. I, p. 206-7; v. II, p. 226-32.

⁵⁵ J. SZÖVÉRFY, *Iberian*, cit. n. 2, p. 55.

uu. 26-35

Pass. 2

<I>n diebus illis, in prouincia Cappadocie, apud Cesaream ciuitatem, erat quedam Dei puella, nomine Dorothea. Hec quotidianis diebus in castitate et sobrietate, in humilitate et mansuetudine, in ieiuniis et orationibus insistebat. Erat autem ita prudentissima, ut uix eam imitari possent uiri pauci. Omnes autem qui eam nosse poterant, magnificabant nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui talem haberet famulam; cuius et aspectus gratus, uita sancta et sapientia incomparabilis erat, et immaculata uirginitas. Que in tantum extitit in caritate Christi perfecta, ut ad eius thalamum perueniret, duplicauit sui sancti certaminis palmam; et unam uirginitatis coronam tenens, alteram martyrii, cum gaudio peruenit ad Christum.

36-38

Pass. 3

Quumque fama <sanctita>tis eius per aures hominum curre<ret>, peruenit ad presidis persecutoris auditum. Qui ingressus ciui<tatem> Cappadociam, id est, Cesar<eam>, famosissimam christianorum <precepit> Dorotheam Dei famulam coa<rtari>.

uu. 41-43

Pass. 6

Quumque hoc diceret Sabricius, uehementer iratus est, et conuersus ad tortores suos dixit: Sistite eam in catasta, ut uidens se constitutam in penis, uel sic consentiat diis se exhiberi cultricem. Dei uero famula, quum se uidisset erectam in catasta, constanter, intrepida et non interrogata, ait ad iudicem: Quid me tricas, Sabrice? Fac quod facturus es, ut possim eum uidere, pro cuius amore mori non timeo, et torqueri non pauco. Sabricius dixit: Et quis est quem desideras? Dorothea respondit: Christum Filium Dei uiui. Sabricius dixit: Vbi est Christus? Dorothea respondit: Quantum ad omnipotentiam eius pertinet, ubique est; quantum autem ad humanam capacitatem, sensus humane fragilitatis uanum putat, quod non in loco aliquo esse didicerit, et ideo confitemur Filium Dei ascendisse in celum, et sedere ad dexteram Patris sui Dei omnipotentis: qui unitatem deitatis obtinens cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, inuitat nos ad paradysum deliciarum Dei.

uu. 46-50

Pass. 8

Tunc Sabricius iussit eam duci ad duas sorores Chris[te]tem et Callistem, que nuper apostatauerant, et comendauit eam illis Sabricius, dicens: Sicut uos, relicta uanitate et supprestitutione christiana, diis sacrificastis inuictis, et remunerari feci uos; adhuc melioribus donis honorari uos faciam, si istam potueritis ab hac stultitia reuocare.

Pass. 10

Tunc miserunt se ad plantas eius, flentes ac deprecantes, ut oraret pro eis: quatenus possent suam penitentiam per ipsam Deo offerre, ut indulgentiam diuinam acciperent.

*uu. 61-62**Pass. 11*

Tunc Sabricius scidit uestimenta sua, et in furore nimio accensus, iussit ut dorsum ad dorsum ligate mitterentur in cupa, si statim sacrificare noluis-
sent. At ille clamabant, dicentes: Domine Iesu Christe, accipe penitentiam
nostram, et da nobis indulgentiam tuam.

*uu. 66-70**Pass. 12*

In his uerbis et in ista confessione durantes, in cupam misse sunt, et incen-
se in conspectu sancte Dorothe. Gaudebat autem Dorothea in hora exitus
earum, et clamabat eis, dicens: Antecedite me secure de indulgentia crimi-
nis uestri, et scitote palmam martyrii, quam perdideratis, sine dubio inue-
nisse. Occurrit in amplexu uestro Pater, qui in filio perduto et recuperato
letatur.

Pass. 13

Tunc Sabricius iussit sanctam Dorotheam in catasta leuari. Quumque leua-
ta esset, tanto gaudio exhilarata est, ut probaretur uirgo ad desideratum per-
uenisse sue deuotionis effectum.

Pass. 13

At uero Dorothea magis ac magis faciem suam hilarem et insultantem
ostendens iudici, dicebat ei: <Miser,> ad nicilum redactus es cum idolis tuis.

*71-80**Pass. 14*

Item deposita de catasta, fecit eam diu in faciem palmis cedi, dicens: Ipsa
facies cedatur, que mici insultat. Quumque diu multumque cesa iterum
gauderet, et cedentes eam fatigati deficerent, hoc ordine Sabricius dictauit
sententiam, dicens: Dorotheam superbissimam puellam, que sacrificare diis
immortalibus noluit, ut uiueret, sed uoluit absolute mori propter nescio
quem hominem, qui dicitur Christus, iussimus gladio percuti. Ad hec
Dorothea cum clamore dixit: Gratias tibi ago, amator animarum, qui me ad
paradisum tuum uocasti, et ad thalamum tuum inuitasti.

Pass. 15

Et quum egrederetur pretorium iudicis, dicit ad eam quidam aduocatus,
nomine Theufilus: Eia, tu, sponsa Christi, mitte mici de paradiso sponsi tui
melas aut rosas. Et Dorothea respondit: Plane quia ita faciam. Quum ergo
uenisset in ictu percussoris, rogauit carnificem, ut modicum eam permitte-
retur orare. Que dum complisset orationem, ecce subito puer ante eam
apparuit, ferens in orario tria mela optima et tres rosas. Cui illa ait: Obsecro
te, ut feras eas Theufile scholastico, et dicas ei: Ecce quod me obtasti, ut tibi
de sponsi mei paradiso transmitterem. Ipsa autem percussa gladio, cum
triumpho martyrii perrexit ad Christum. Cui est honor et gloria in secula
seculorum.

uu. 81-85

Pass. 19

Quumque hec et his similia diceret, ingressi sunt quidam, et dixerunt ad presidem: Scholasticus tuus Theofilus, qui usque hodie postulabat contra christianos, et persequebatur eos usque ad mortem, hic pro foribus uociferatur, laudans et benedicens nomen illius nescio cuius Iesu Christi, et multi credunt predicationi eius. Tunc preses iussit eum introduci ad se. Quo intro-misso ait: Quid est, quod foris loquebaris? Theofilus dixit: Laudabam Christum feliciter, quem usque hodie infeliciter denegabam. Dicit ei preses: Miror te uirum prudentem, hoc nomine uel nominare uoluisse, quod nunc usque quicumque nominauit persecutus es. Dicit ei Theofilus: In hoc apparet uerum esse Deum, qui me conuertit ab errore ad uiam rectam, et fecit me cognoscere, quia ipse est uerus Deus.

uu. 86-90

Pass. 23

Infelix, parce carnibus tuis. Cui Theofilus respondens, ait: Tu infelix, parce anime tue. Ego enim carnibus meis temporaliter non parco, ut anime mee in eternum parcat. Tunc in furore ductus preses, ungulis latera [eius] adtrectari precepit, et lampadibus ardentibus exuri. At uero Theofilus nicil aliud in tormenta clamabat, nisi hoc: Christe, Filius Dei, te confiteor; adiunge me in numero seruorum tuorum.

113. In sanctae Euphemiae.⁵⁶

Ecce micantia ueluti sidera
nostre Eufimie *certatrix* trophea
se uoluens aduexit anni rotatile
cursu nobis iam celeri.

- 5 Vota cum gaudiis, crimina lacrimis
mixta *perpandere* nunc omnes *quoimus*,

113. *cod.: L (143v)*

ed. Blume (160)

1 p. ecce uirg. scr. Blume 2 certatrix trophea] certantis tropaea Blume certa-
trix⁵⁷ 6 perpandere] perpendere Blume quoimus] Thorsberg, quo imus L,
cogimur Blume

⁵⁶ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 7 ss.

⁵⁷ Forma de genitivo probablemente debida a una confusión del autor. Aunque también podría explicarse por razones fonéticas. Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 22-23. Para *certatrix* referido a Eufemia cf. *Liber Sacramentorum*, col. 427, 25 y 32.

causa piaculi uenite prepetes
Xristo regi persolbere

- Laudum excubia, donat *qui* copiam
10 uirtutis, *dimicent utque* uiriliter,
eum querentium ipsum ceu *propter*
animolas comperdere.

- Hoc talis exemplum* uirgo nam insequens
siue cum *socios* cui lauentia
15 teatra respuens, Xristi concremata
amoris *iam* igniculo,

- Gliscunt precordia oppido uirginis
celestem principis adire talamum;
reppulit *orridi* ab hoc edictio
20 Prisci nempe *proconsulis*,

In omnem qui iubet *iure* prouinciam
suum obseruantem preconem tonare,
talis cum iussio agnita fuerit
tube uoxque, ut ilico

7 causa] causam *Blume* p. persolbere *punct. scr. Blume* 9 qui] quae *Blume*
10 dimicent] *Thorsberg Gil*, dimicet *L. Blume* utque] usque *Blume* utque⁵⁸
p. uiriliter *uirg. scripsi* 11 propter] praepetes *Blume* 12 animolas] animabus
Blume comperdere] comprehendere *Blume* 13 hoc] oc *Blume Thorsberg* talis]
Gil, tali *L. Blume*, tale *Thorsberg* p. insequens *uirg. scr. Blume* 14 siue] libens
Blume socios cui] *Thorsberg*, socio sui *L.*, socio saeculi *Blume* lauentia] laben-
tia *Blume* 15 teatra] theatra *Blume* 16 iam] sancti *Blume* p. igniculo *uirg.*
scripsi 18 talamum] thalamum *Blume* 19 orridi] horrida *Blume* ab hoc]
obhoc *L.* edictio (*sc. edictum*)⁵⁹ 20 proconsulis] praeconsulis *Blume* p.
proconsulis *punct. scr. Blume* 21 iure] ire *Blume*, iura *Thorsberg* 22 suum]
sua *Thorsberg* p. tonare duo *punct. scr. Blume* 23 talis] tali *L.*

⁵⁸ -que expletivo. Para los versos 10-12 cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 25-6 y J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 187-8. Preferimos la interpretación del profesor Gil que supone dos anástrofes *cum...propter* y *ipsum...ceum* (= *ut*). Pensamos sin embargo que tal vez se pueda entender *querentium* como tal genitivo dependiendo de *uirtutis* ("...que da en abundancia el valor de quienes desean... = ... a quienes desean...).

⁵⁹ Cf. J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 193. Entiende *edictio* como un nominativo anquilosado (= *edictionem*) al tiempo que corrige la lectura de *L. obhoc* en *ob hoc*.

- 25 Vsque se inpronans humi confinia
dei *uestigiis* Martis sit *prostrata*,
conlaudans adoret, uenerans excolat
libamenque exhibeat.
- Sicque repperitur istius sanctio
30 legis uiolatrix *fore* Eufimia
inquiens licitum neue existere
fas *Marti turificare*.
- Hec* ubi factum est *pate* proconsuli,
suis mox adfore iubet obtutibus
35 coram Eufimiam inquiens: "quor *eui*
data neclegis fulgida?
- Cedens si placide meo intenderis
salubri *ortamine*, hoc a proposito
discedes tenaci, fungi eximiis
40 merebis nam honoribus."
- Rennuens tetrico damnatur carceris
seui ergastulo cum sibi conpares;
distincti numero septeni septies
Xristo pro mori nitentes.
- 45 Ita cruentior lupo ingrediens
sanctam ab agmine sanctorum eripiens,

25 confinia] confinium *Thorsberg* 26 dei] dii *L* uestigiis] uestigia *Blume*
Martis] martir *L* prostrata] *scripsi*, prostratus *L* *Blume*, prostratum *Thorsberg*
27 conlaudans] collaudans *Blume* excolat] excolans *L* 28 exhibeat] exhibeat
Blume 29 repperitur] reperitur *Blume* sanctio] sanctior *Gilson Thorsberg*
sanctio (sc. sanctionis)⁶⁰ p. sanctio uirg. scr. *Blume* 30 fore] fortis *Blume* 31
neue] neque *Thorsberg* existere] exsistere *Blume* 32 Marti] *Thorsberg*, martir
L, Martis *Blume* turificare] *Thorsberg*, turifica *L*, turificia *Blume Gil* 33 hec]
hoc *Blume* p. est uirg. scr. *Blume* pate] patet *Blume* 35 p. inquiens uirg.
scr. *Blume* quor] cur *Blume* 35-36 eui data] *Thorsberg Gil*, euitata *L*, leuis
temneret *Blume* 36 neclegis] *Thorsberg*, nec legis *L*, legis *Blume* 38 ortami-
ne] hortamini *Blume* 39 discedes] discedens *Gil* tenaci] *Blume*, tenui *L* 41
damnatur] damnatus *L* 42 seui] *Thorsberg*, serui *L*, saeui *Blume* p. ergastu-
lo uirg. scr. *Blume* p. conpares punct. et virg. *scripsi* 43 distincti] distenti
Thorsberg septeni] septem *L* 44 Xristo pro] pro Christo *Blume* nitentes]
scripsi, nitens *L*, niten[te]s *Blume* 45 p. ingrediens uirg. scr. *Blume* 46 eri-
piens] eripit *Thorsberg*

⁶⁰ Cf. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 193.

posset quod, opinans, hanc *forsam* fragili
sexu tandem inlicere.

- Vt quam obstinantem* prospexit militem
50 *proconsul mox Xristi*, rotarum fieri
ita compositum argumentum iubet,
per quod trita occuberet.

- Hec post *per alia* uirgo pertolerans
penarum genera *adscitur expirans*
55 celi agminibus, brabium perpetim
regnatura percipiens.

- Ob hoc te *cernua* coors fidelium
cuncta expostulat mente, piissima
patrona, diluas *errorum ut notas*
60 tuis omnium *meritis*.

Pax sit uel copia, sancta deifica,
orbem per terrarum omnem ecclesia
diffusa redundet, praba *sit* odiens
cuncta probaque amplectens.

- 65 Prestare *dignare*, pater ingenite,
prole cum genito regnansque perpetim
sancto cum spiritu, omne per seculum
sustentans pie condita.

47 forsam] *Gil*, fonsam *L*, sponsam *Blume Thorsberg* 48 inlicere] illicere *Blume*
49 ut quam] quam ut *Blume* obstinantem] *Thorsberg*, obtinantem *L*, obtinen-
tem *Blume* militem] militiam *L* 50 proconsul mox Xristi] Christi proconsul
mox *Blume* *p.* Christi uirg. scr. *Blume* 52 per] pro *Blume* quod] *Gilson*,
quo *L* *Blume* occuberet] occumberet *Blume Thorsberg* 53 per alia] pericula
Blume, parilia *Gil* 54 adscitur expirans] ascitis exspirat *Blume* 57 ob hoc]
obhoc *L* *Thorsberg* cernua coors] cernui cohors *Blume* 58 *p.* mente uirg. scrip-
si et *p.* piissima uirg. erasi 59 errorum ut notas] ut notis [reatus] *Blume* 60
meritis] miserans *Blume* 61 pax sit uel copia] *Gil*, passis uel copiam *L*, pacis
uel copia *Blume Thorsberg* *p.* sancta uirg. scr. *Blume* 62 omnem] omne *L*
63 sit] *Thorsberg*, sunt *L*, ut *Blume* 65 dignare] digneris *Blume* *p.* ingenite
uirg. scripsi 66 prole⁶¹ 67 *p.* seculum uirg. scr. *Blume*

113. En honor de santa Eufemia.

1. He aquí que la rueda del año girando en rápida carrera nos trajo ya,
como estrellas resplandecientes, los trofeos de nuestra guerrera Eufemia.

⁶¹ Cf. cit. n. 37.

2. Acudimos ahora todos a descubrir con alegría nuestras plegarias y con lágrimas nuestros pecados; para vuestra purificación venid presto a rendir el tributo de alabanza en honor de Cristo rey,
3. El cual da valor en abundancia, para que luchen virilmente, a quienes buscan dar su vida por él, como él [la dio por nosotros].
4. Siguiendo pues la santa virgen este ejemplo y rechazando junto con sus compañeros el engañoso teatro del mundo, abrasada ya por la llama del amor de Cristo,
5. Su corazón ansía profundamente partir a la morada del príncipe celestial; de esto pretende apartarla el edicto del terrible procónsul Prisco,
6. Que ordena mediante ley que un pregonero atruene toda la provincia que obedece sus órdenes, [diciendo] que cuando se haya oído el sonido de la trompeta y tal orden haya sido dada, que al punto
7. Sus habitantes se inclinen en tierra y se postren a los pies del dios Marte, lo adoren colmándole de alabanzas, lo honren venerándole y le presenten ofrendas.
8. Y así se descubre que Eufemia viola la sanción de esta ley, diciendo que no estaba permitido ni era lícito ofrecer incienso a Marte.
9. Cuando esto se descubrió al procónsul, ordena que Eufemia inmediatamente se presente ante él, preguntándole: “¿por qué no escoges los brillantes dones del mundo?”
10. Si accediendo de buen grado escuchas mi saludable consejo y te apartas de tu obstinado propósito, sin duda merecerás gozar de los más grandes honores.”
11. Por negarse a ello es condenada al sombrío castigo de una terrible cárcel junto con sus compañeros; están encarcelados cuarenta y nueve, los cuales ponen su empeño en morir por Cristo.
12. Así, más deseoso de sangre que un lobo, entra y arranca a la santa del grupo de los santos, creyendo que al fin tal vez podría seducirla por su débil sexo.
13. Cuando el procónsul vio a esta soldado de Cristo resuelta, ordena que se prepare el potro de tortura por el que ella extenuada muriera.
14. Después de esto, soportando la virgen hasta el final otros tipos de castigo, tras expirar, es acogida en el ejército del cielo, recibiendo el premio del reino eterno.
15. Por esto la corte de los fieles postrada te pide con todo su corazón, santísima patrona, que por tus méritos borres las manchas de todos sus pecados.
16. Que haya paz en abundancia, santa obra de Dios, que la iglesia crezca difundiéndose por todo el orbe de la tierra, que odie todos los males y abraza todos los bienes.
17. Dígnate ayudarnos, padre ingénito, reinando siempre con tu hijo y con el espíritu santo, conservando con bondad todo lo creado por todos los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes:

Aunque realmente es muy difícil saber con seguridad cuál fue la fuente utilizada por el poeta para la composición de este himno, creemos que puede ser de utilidad presentar los siguientes textos de la pasión⁶². El acróstico del comienzo de las ocho primeras estrofas nos da el nombre de Eulogio, que podría ser su autor.

*uu. 19-28**Pass. 2*

Placuit hic sermo proconsuli Prisco ad subuersionem animarum perditarum; unde et edicta scribens, terribilia in publicis locis et festiuis proposuit, ita designans: Viri amici Calcidonenses, omnibus notum sit, ut purificemus nos diebus octo, et decretum regis custodientes, imolemus magno deo Marti; si quis autem neglegens, aut alterius secte cultor inuentus fuerit, tormentis pessimis punietur. Est autem signum hoc sacrificii: ut quacumque hora tuba personauerit, omnes simul ad templum Marti conuenientes, alacriter sacrificemus, repropitantes nobis magnum deum Martem.

*uu. 29-30**Pass. 3*

Erant autem et qui deum habebant in animo in domo una in superiora inclusi, et instabant orationibus; assidue autem ad illos erat sancta Eufimia, filia Filofronis sen[a]toris, cuius mater Theodora [erat]. Ascendebat autem Dei cultrix, faciens elemosynam, expectans de celo mercedem superuenturam sibi. Appellianus autem, discipulus diaboli, dixit ad proconsulem: Sunt hic uiri aliqui, qui se in superiora domus incluserunt, qui nec imperatoris decreto, nec tue potestatis precepto, obedire uolunt.

*uu. 33-40**Pass. 4*

Hoc audito, proconsul iussit eos adduci ad se. Qui quum adducerentur in medio eorum, erat sancta Eufimia, gratissimum habens uultum et habitum, pudica super omnes, qui *erant* cum ea inluminans continentia et pudicitia sua facies uidentium. Quumque uenissent et stetissent ante tribunal, dicit ad eos proconsul: Obedite omnes pariter decreto imperatoris, et imolate magno deo Marti. Illi autem omnes simul cum sancta Eufimia sicut ab uno ore dixerunt: Notum tibi sit, proconsul, quod nos seruimus magno et perpetuo regi, qui sedet in celis,... Proconsul autem Priscus, hoc audito, dicit ad eos:... Propter quod obedite imperatori, et sacrificiis deorum fruimini, ex quibus magni potestis esse amici, et cogniti regis, necnon et ducatum uobis et principatum adquiritis.

*uu. 41-48**Pass. 7*

...et iussit eos mitti in carcerem, donec mitteret eos ad regem.

Pass. 8

Erant autem sancti numero quadraginta et nouem, cum quibus erat sancta Eufimia. Qui quum ducerentur in carcerem, uenit quasi lupo in gregem, et

⁶² A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. p. 212; v. II, p. 338 ss.

arripuit magnam et beatam Eufimiam, extimans hoc, quod sicut ipse infirmus et inutilis erat, infirmum uas inueniret.

49-52

Pass. 9

Tunc Priscus proconsul iratus quod a muliere uinceretur, iussit argumentum rotarum fieri, et in medio illam inponi, ut extensa et contrita, [cito] spiritum redderet.

115. In sanctae Eugeniae.⁶³

Astantes pariter sexus *omnigenus*,
eros cum senibus, uirgo et anula,
infantes, iubenēs, *ambitus* affluens
Xristi quos placidus sanguis emaculat,

- 5 Gaudete sobrie gaudia maxima,
reddentes domino uota salubria;
exstant Eugenie festa celebria,
quo celi meruit scandere patriam.

- Hec martyr nitidis orta parentibus
10 plene studuit dogmata artium,
Pauli sed subito normam dum attigit,
mundi mox arida gaudia orruit.

Nam patrem penitus matremue deserens,
fratres et propriam omnem familiam,

115. *codd.*: E (134), L (121v), B (86v, om. 22-79)
ed. Blume (164)

1 astantes] adstantes *LB* omnigenus] *Thorsberg*, unigenos *E* (uni- in ras.) *LB*, unigenae *Blume* 2 eros] heros *L Blume* 3 iubenēs] iuuenes *Blume* ambitus] ambitu *Blume* affluens] affluens *L* 6 p. salubria *uirg. scr. Blume* 7 exstant] extant *L* 8 quo] quae *Blume* 10 studuit] studuit *L*, et studuit *EB*, estudit *Blume*, studuit+ *Gilson* dogmata] docmata *B* 11 sed] set *L* normam] norma *B* attigit] adtigit *L* 12 orruit] horruit *Blume* 13 matremue] materue *E*, materque *B* 14 propriam] propria *B* omnem] omne *ELB*, omne+ *Gilson* familiam] familia *B*

⁶³ Para est himno cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 156-63. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 192, 200.

- 15 aurum et lapides, abitus serichos,
ad Xristum nam uiam querit ut *adeat*.

Cui mox, qui uia est, se uiam exhibet,
per quam Eugeniam adsociat suis
Xristus iam famulis atque monasticis

- 20 sponsam *clarificam* et sibi copulat.

Nam cum conspiceret predia *properat*,
audit xristicolas psallere celica:
"omnes demonia sunt dii gentium,
nam celos dominus fabricat opifex."

- 25 Eunuchis precipit Proto Iacintoque
tondant cesariem ei et ambulent,
uasternam uacuam *propere* deserunt,
ad sanctos domini ilico transeunt.

- 30 Nulli nam profitens se fore feminam,
soli magnifico pape *set* Eleno,
a quo post lauacro tincta renascitur,
adesit sociis uirgo monasticis.

- Et ita domini fulta presidio,
ut omnes superet infra biennium;
35 nam, quod canonici nunc libri continent,
adesit animo Xristi puellule.

- Abbas ad dominum post tria tempora
migrat, continuo preuiam eligunt
fratres Eugeniam, quos *ea* mox *reget*
40 affectu patrio recte cenobio.

15 abitus] abitu *B*, habitus *Blume* serichos] sericos *L Blume*, sericho *B* 16
adeat] audeat *EB*, aduehat *Blume* 17 uia] uita *Thorsberg* exhibet] exhibet
Blume 18 adsociat] adsociet *B*, associat *Blume* 20 clarificam] clarificat *EL*
Blume copulat] copulet *B* 21 cum] quum *L* conspiceret] *Gilson*, conspi-
ceret *ELB Blume* properat] prospera *Blume* 22 audit *hinc usque ad opes, uers.*
79, *om. B* xristicolas] xristicola *E* 25 eunuchis] eunucis *L* Iacintoque]
Iacinthoque *Blume p.* Iacintoque *uirg. scr. Blume* 26 cesariem ei] cesarie mei
E p. ambulent *uirg. scripsi* 27 uasternam] cisternam *Blume p.* uacuam
punct. et uirg. scr. Blume 28 propere] *Gilson Gil*, proprie *L*, propria *E Blume* 29
fore] fori *L*, fori+ *Gilson* 30 set] *Gil*, et *EL Blume* Eleno] Heleno *Blume*
31 lauacro] labacro *L* 32 adesit] adhaesit *Blume* 36 adesit] adhaesit *Blume*
37 post tria] postria *L*, postria+ *Gilson* 38 preuiam] praeuiam *Blume* 39 *p.*
Eugeniam *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* ea mox reget] eam mox reget *E*, cum mox
regeret *Blume* 40 *p.* cenobio *uirg. scr. Blume*

Tanta a deo est cessa carismata,
ut cecis oculos *curetue* languidos,
pellat demonia multa a corpora,
omnes inualidos sanitas adsequat.

- 45 Matrona uidua, dicta Melantia,
quartano ualido fuit tipo saucia,
quam dum Eugenia oleo linuit,
omnem nigredinem fellis euomuit.

- Sed mox decipitur per eligantiam,
50 sexum *ducit* uiri, non *fore* feminam;
quam Xristi famula uerbis ut increpat,
inmitis meretrix iudicem incitat.

- "Est seuus iubenis," ait, "in cenobio,
fallax opinio quem medicum uocat,
55 a quo, ut mederer, dum peto languida,
fedare uoluit membra liuidine."

- Sedem publiciter *presidis* *preparat*,
mandat perniciter sanctos egredere,
stant et carnifices, qui caput amputent
60 iactent et canibus sancta cadauera.

Ad hec, nigredinis dicta, *Melantia*
ancillam obicit testem fanaticam,
sed mox Eugenia ueste deposita
sexum femineum iudici comprobat.

41 carismata] charismata *Blume* 42 oculos] oculis *E* *curetue*] *Gil*, *curet* uel *EL Blume* languidos+ *Gilson*, *qui legit* languidis 43 corpora (= corporibus)⁶⁴ 44 adsequat] assequat *Blume* 45 Melantia] Melania *Blume* 46 fuit] fit *Gilson* tipo] typho *Blume* 48 omnem nigredinem] omne nigredine *E* 49 eligantiam] elegantiam *L Blume* 50 ducit] *Gil*, dicit *EL Blume* fore] esse *Blume* 51 famula] domini *L* 52 inmitis] immitis *Blume* 53 est seuus] ast seuus *EL* iubenis] iuuenis *Blume* ait] ayt *L* cenobio] coenobio *Blume* 54 medicum (-c- sup. *L*) *L* uocat] uocant *E* 56 fedare] foedare *Blume* liuidine] libidine *Blume* 57 publiciter] publicitus *E* presidis] presides *L*, praesidi *Blume*, presides+ *Gilson* preparat] *E* (-rat in ras.) *L*, praeparant *Blume*, preparat+ *Gilson* 61 Melantia] Melania *Blume* p. hec et p. dicta uirg. scripsi 64 sexum femineum] scripsi, sexu femineo *EL Blume* iudici] (sup. *L*) *E*, iudicem *L Blume* comprobat] conprobat *L*

⁶⁴ Cf. J. BASTARDAS PARERA, *Particularidades sintácticas del Latín Medieval*, Barcelona, 1953, p. 20-23, 86-87. J. GIL, *Apuntes sobre morfología*, cit. n. 35.

- 65 Agnoscit iam pater *materque* filiam,
fratres congratulant atque familia,
ornantes abitu *testile* aureo
adtolluntque trono eam in arduo.
- Tanta in populo gratia ingruit,
70 ut omnes colere iam deum indicent;
sancti ad propria redeunt atria,
plebs est catholica reddita liuera.
- Prefectus lauacro ilico tingitur
cum Xristo placida coniuge Claudia
75 et cum pigneribus atque *familia*,
papas continuo idem eligitur.
- Hic postquam populum ad fidem imbuit,
post offert domino pura libamina,
post dat pauperibus innumeras opes,
80 Xristi martyrium in pace perficit.
- Ad *sedes* remeat Claudia *proprias*
Abito pariter Sergio filiis,
et cum Eugenia, Proto *Iacintoque*;
manet xristicola omnis familia.
- 85 Quibus siderea gratia prestatit,
ut multe uidue Claudiam adsequant,
sic et Eugeniā nobiles *innube*,
et Protum iubenes simul Iacinthumue.
- Inter quos igitur uirgo egregia
90 Basilla *pepulit* sponsum et omnia,

65 materque] materue *L Blume* 67 abitu testile] habitu textili *Blume* 68
adtolluntque] attolluntque *Blume* trono] throno *Blume* 70 p. indicent uirg.
scr. *Blume* 72 liuera] libera *L Blume* 73 lauacro] labacro *L* tingitur] tin-
guitur *L* 75 pigneribus] pignoribus *Blume* familia] familiis *L Blume* 77
postquam] post quam *L* imbuit] inbuit *L* 79 p. opes rursus inc. *B* 80
Xristi] Xristo *L* martyrium] martirium *L* 81 ad sedes...proprias] ad
sedem...propriam *L Blume* 82 Abito] Auito *B Blume* Sergio] Serigio *EB* p.
pariter uirg. scr. *Blume* p. filiis uirg. scripsi 83 Iacintoque] Iacintoue *L*,
Iacinthoue *Blume* p. Iacintoque uirg. scr. *Blume* 84 manet] nam et *EB*
omnis] omne *EB* 85 gratia] gratiam *B* 86 Claudiam] Claudia *EB* adse-
quant] adsequi *EB*, assequant *Blume* 87 innube] *Thorsberg*, innupte *L Blume*,
innubte *EB* 88 et] sed *L Blume* iubenes] iuuenes *Blume* Iacinthumue]
Iacintumue *L*, Iacinthumue *Blume* 90 pepulit] reppulit *Blume*

mallens se gladio ferbido plectere
quam sponsi *rauideo copulo* tradere.

- Tempestas oritur seu a tyrannidis,
sanctos perneciter cedit et interit;
95 ad hec Eugenia uirgines ammonet,
ut summo studio se deo preparent.

- Basilla gladio plectitur ilico
necnon et socii Protus Iacintusue,
post quos Eugeniā ad aram imperant
100 cultu demonico ut tura offerat.

Sed mox ad Dominum palmas ut erigit,
templum continuo pulberi traditur;
innexo lapide Tiberi gurgite
in preceps flubio uirgo dimergitur.

- 105 Nec mergi patitur rupta funabula,
uadit per latices supra *natatibus*,
nam, Petro in pelago qui fuit obuius,
nouit iam *populus* esse cum *innuba*.

- Se nil proficere cernit ut inpius,
110 mandat fornacibus mittere celibem;
fornax frigidior mox nibe facta est,
nec ignis ibidem uisus est iterum.

- Post in carcereo lubrico truditur
nec deficit radians lux ibi martiri;
115 *morte* per gladium iam caro fungitur,
uadit siderea ad loca spiritus.

91 mallens] malens *Blume* ferbido] feruido *L Blume* 92 sponsi] sponso *EB*
rauideo] rabidi *Blume* copulo] copulae *Blume* 93 tyrannidis] tyrannidis *B*
Blume 95 ad hec] adhec *LB*, ad haec *Blume* ammonet] admonet *L Blume*
96 ut summo] summo ut *L Blume* 97 Basilla] Bassilla *B* 98 Iacintusue]
Iachinctusue *B*, Iacintusue *Blume* 99 post quos] post quam *B* imperant]
inperant *L*, inpetrant *B* 102 pulberi] pulbere *E*, pulueri *Blume* *p.* traditur
punct. scr. Blume 103 innexo] *scripsi*, in nexu *L*, innexu *EB*, innexa *Blume*, in
nexu+ *Gilson* lapide] lapidi *Blume* 104 precebs] praeceps *Blume* flubio]
fluuiio *Blume* dimergitur] demergitur *Blume* 105 nec] hec *EL*, hec+ *Gilson*
106 natatibus] *Thorsberg Gil*, natantibus *ELB Blume* 107 obuius] ouius *L*
108 populus] populi *Blume* innuba] innubis *Blume* 111 nibe] niue *Blume*
113 *p.* truditur uirg. *scr. Blume* 114 martiri] *scripsi*, martiris *EL*, martyri *B*
Blume 115 morte] *scripsi*, mortis *EL Blume*, morti *B* 116 uadit] uadet *B*

Ad cuius tumultum Claudia lacrimans
adest, Eugenia matri se obicit:

"mater, gaude," ayt, "te deus aspicit,

120 sanctorum gremio iungeris ocus;

Manda pigneribus nam tuis, ut colant,
sicut didicerunt, Xristum et ambiant;"
mater continuo uolat ad ethera
ac demum suboles post *plura* tempora.

125 Iam, Xristi famula, fabe lugentibus,
iam nunc, Eugenia, erige supplices,
Ihesus cunctipotens protegat exules,
uitam percipiant cuncta familia.

Ab egris perimens *se uis* aboleat,
130 sit functis requies ampla fidelibus,
iugum, quod est durum, auferat ocus,
bellum aufugiat, pacem et inferat.

Maternum gremium paruulos instruat,
pascat et populos lectio euidens,
135 purget et facinus omnibus ocus,
regnum conciliet secla in omnia.

Sit trino domino gloria unico,
patri cum genito atque paraclito,
qui solus dominus trinus et unus *es*,
140 seclorum ualide secula continens.

117 p. lacrimans *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 118 p. adest *uirg. scripsi* p. Eugenia
uirg. scr. Blume obicit] ouicit L 119 ayt] ait B *Blume* 120 ocus] occius
EB p. ocus *punct. scr. Blume* 121 pigneribus] pignoribus *Blume* 124 *plura*]
multa *Blume* 125 iam Xristi] nam Xristi B fabe] faue *Blume* 126 Eugenia]
sanctissima EB 127 Ihesus] Iesu E, Ihesu B, Iesus *Blume* cunctipotens] conti-
nuo L, cuncti potens E, cunctispotens B 129 se uis] *Gil*, sebus L, seuis EB, sce-
lus *Blume*, febris *Thorsberg* aboleat] E (-l- in ras.) LB *Blume*, aborreat *Gilson*
Thorsberg 130 sit] sint L 131 iugum q.e.durum] durum q.e.iugum B
ocus] occius B, ocus+ *Gilson* 132 bellum] uellum L bellum in ras. B 133
paruulos] parbulos LB 135 ocus] occius B 139 es] est B *Blume* 140 seclorum] sanctorum EB

115. En honor de santa Eugenia.

1. Fieles presentes de uno y otro sexo, adultos y ancianos, doncellas y ancianas, niños y jóvenes, acudiendo en masa los del contorno, a quienes purifica la dulce sangre de Cristo,

2. Participad con moderación de esta gran alegría, ofreciendo al señor saludables alabanzas; comienza a celebrarse la festividad de Eugenia el día en que mereció subir a la patria celestial.
3. Esta mártir, nacida de padres ilustres, estudió profundamente las enseñanzas de las ciencias, pero cuando conoció el ejemplo de Pablo, al punto rechazó los mezquinos goces de este mundo.
4. Pues dejando completamente a su padre y a su madre, a sus hermanos y a todos sus criados, el oro, las piedras preciosas y los vestidos de seda, busca un camino para marchar a Cristo.
5. El que es el camino enseguida se muestra a ella como el camino, por el cual Cristo reúne a Eugenia con sus siervos y monjes, y la une a sí como esposa resplandeciente.
6. Pues cuando se acerca a ver su hacienda, oye a los cristianos entonar cantos celestiales: "Todos los dioses de los gentiles son espíritus del mal, pues el señor es el autor de los cielos."
7. Ordena a sus eunucos Proto y Jacinto que le corten el pelo y caminen, rápidamente abandonan la litera dejándola vacía y al punto se unen a los santos del señor.
8. Sin confesar a nadie que es una mujer salvo al ilustre prelado Eleno, de cuya mano renace bañada por el bautismo, la doncella se unió a sus compañeros de cenobio,
9. Y se apoyó en la ayuda del señor de tal manera que en menos de dos años aventaja a todos, pues quedó grabado en el corazón de la joven de Cristo lo que contienen los libros sagrados.
10. Tres años después el abad marcha junto al señor, sin demora los hermanos eligen a Eugenia como guía, y ella pronto, con afecto paternal, los conduce por el camino recto en el cenobio.
11. Tan grandes dones le han sido concedidos por Dios, que a los ciegos cura sus ojos sin vida, del cuerpo arroja muchos demonios y la salud llega a todos los enfermos.
12. Una matrona viuda, llamada Melantia, estaba afectada por una grave hinchazón de cuatro días, y cuando Eugenia la ungió con óleo vomitó toda la negrura de su hiel.
13. Mas después es seducida por la belleza de Eugenia, cree que es hombre y no mujer; cuando la sierva de Cristo la reprende, la orgullosa mujerzuela la acusa ante el magistrado.
14. "Hay", dice, "en el cenobio un malvado joven, al que una falsa fama llama médico; cuando yo, enferma, le pedí que me curara, quiso manchar mi cuerpo con su pasión".
15. Se prepara públicamente el tribunal del gobernador, que ordena a los santos salir inmediatamente del convento; también están presentes los verdugos, para que les corten la cabeza y arrojen a los perros sus sagrados cadáveres.

16. Melantia, nombre de lo negro, presenta como testigo fanática de su acusación a una criada, pero inmediatamente Eugenia, despojándose de su vestido, muestra ante el magistrado su condición de mujer.

17. Padre y madre reconocen entonces a su hija, sus hermanos y sus servidores se alegran y, vistiéndola con un vestido de oro, la colocan en un alto sitio.

18. Tan grande fue la gracia que descendió sobre el pueblo que todos proclaman que ya dan culto a Dios; los santos vuelven a sus templos y el pueblo católico recobra la libertad.

19. Al punto el prefecto es bañado por el agua bautismal junto con su esposa Claudia, grata a Cristo, y sus hijos y sus servidores; sin demora es elegido obispo.

20. Después de instruir al pueblo en la fe, ofrece al señor limpias ofrendas, da a los pobres sus abundantes riquezas y padece el martirio en la paz de Cristo.

21. Vuelve Claudia a su casa junto con sus hijos Avito y Sergio y con Eugenia y con Proto y Jacinto; toda la familia permanece cristiana.

22. La gracia divina les concedió que muchas viudas sigan a Claudia, nobles doncellas a Eugenia y jóvenes a Proto y Jacinto.

23. Así pues, entre ellos la ilustre doncella Basila rechazó a su prometido y todos sus bienes, prefiriendo morir por la ardiente espada antes que entregarse a la desenfrenada unión de su prometido.

24. Inicia el tirano una cruel persecución; rápidamente extermina y mata a los santos; ante esto Eugenia aconseja a las doncellas que se preparen para Dios con el mayor celo.

25. Al punto Basila es herida de muerte por la espada y también sus amigos Proto y Jacinto; mandan a Eugenia que, después de éstos, ante el ara ofrezca incienso al culto demoníaco.

26. Mas después de levantar sus brazos al señor, inmediatamente el templo queda convertido en polvo; atada a una piedra, la doncella es sumergida de cabeza en la corriente del río Tiber.

27. La cuerda se rompe y no permite que se sumerja, va por las aguas flotando y el pueblo sabe entonces que está con la joven aquél que salió al encuentro de Pedro en el mar.

28. Cuando el impío ve que nada consigue, ordena meter a la santa en un horno; enseguida el horno quedó más helado que la nieve y allí no se volvió a ver fuego.

29. Después es encerrada en una lóbrega prisión y no le falta allí a la mártir la radiante luz; entonces su cuerpo muere por la espada y su espíritu marcha a los parajes celestes.

30. Ante su tumba está llorando Claudia; Eugenia se aparece a su madre y le dice: "Madre, alégrate, Dios te mira, pronto te unirás al coro de los santos;

31. Manda, pues, a tus hijos que, como aprendieron, honren y sigan a Cristo en sus súplicas"; inmediatamente la madre vuela al cielo y finalmente, después de mucho tiempo, sus hijos.

32. Ayuda ya, sierva de Cristo, a los que lloran; levanta ya, Eugenia, a los que suplican; que Jesús todopoderoso nos proteja en nuestro destierro, que toda esta familia sea partícipe de la vida.

33. Que de los enfermos desaparezca el poder de la muerte, que los fieles difuntos tengan eterno descanso, que [Jesús] aparte pronto el duro yugo, que aleje la guerra y traiga la paz.

34. Que el regazo materno instruya a los pequeños, que a los pueblos los alimente la lectura digna de fe, que pronto limpie de todos el pecado, que nos traiga el reino para siempre.

35. Sea la gloria al señor uno y trino, al padre con el hijo y el paráclito, que eres el solo señor uno y trino, abrazando estrechamente los siglos de los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similares:

El himno debe ser contemporáneo de la entrada en España de la pasión de la santa, lo que, en opinión tanto de Fábrega como de Szövérfy⁶⁵, tiene lugar en el siglo IX. Parece que el autor del himno debió conocer la pasión, si bien es muy difícil determinar qué versión. No obstante hemos creído de alguna utilidad recoger los siguientes textos de la pasión.

uu. 1-4

Prud. Per. 6, 148

Circumstet chorus ex utroque sexu,/heros uirgo puer senex anulla,/uestrum psallite rite Fructuosum!/laudans Augurium resultet hymnus/mixtis Eulogium modis coaequans,/reddamus paribus pares camenas.

Ps. 60, 9

sic canam nomini tuo iugiter reddens uota mea per singulos dies.

Nab. 1, 15

ecce super montes pedes euangelizantis et adnuntiantis pacem. Celebra, Iuda, festiuitates tuas et redde uota tua quia non adiciet ultra ut pertranseat in te Belial: uniuersus interiit.

u. 8

Prud. Cath. 5, 109

Fessos ille uocat per freta saeculi /discissis populum turbinibus regens / iacatasque animas mille laboribus / iustorum in patriam scandere praecipit.

⁶⁵ FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. I, p. 176; v. II, 83 ss.

*uu. 9-12**Pass. 2*

Hic [praefectus] itaque cum uxore Claudia, et cum duobus filiis Abito et Sergio, et cum filia Eugenia, ab urbe Roma ad urbem Alexandriam dum uenisset,...

Pass. 3

Eugeniam igitur filiam suam, dum litteris liberalibus perfectissime docuisset, et tam latino eam quam greco eloquio instruxisset, etiam philosophiam docere permisit... Igitur quum aliis atque aliis poscentibus animo castitatis obsisteret, peruenit ad manus eius beatissimi Pauli apostoli doctrina; et licet sub paganissimis parentibus ageret, cepit tamen esse animo christiana.

*uu. 21-24**Pass. 3*

Quumque statim ut poposcerat impetrasset, et ab urbe properaret ad uillam, audiuit christianos psallentes atque dicentes: Omnes dii gentium demonia, Dominus autem celos fecit.

*uu. 25-28**Pass. 4*

Hec autem audiens Eugenia, suspirauit et fleuit, et dicit ad eunuchos pueros suos Protum et Iachintum:...Pergamus pariter ad christianos, et ne aliquo casu ab alterutro separemur, crinibus meis tonsuram adhibeam; et tunc demum ad christianos, sicut ordinauero, properemus.

*uu. 25-28**Pass. 5*

...Hoc ego considerans, tonderi me extimo, ut crastina nocturna profectio ordinata per ipsos nobis transitum prebeat. Vobis itaque duobus iuxta basternam ambulanti, et ceteris precedentibus ad locum deponar a uobis; et uacua pertranseunte basterna, nos tres uirili habitu simul ad Dei homines properemus.

*uu. 29-32**Pass. 11*

...Scias tamen te mihi a Deo Eugeniam demonstratam, et unde ueneris, et cuius sis filia, et quid isti tui sint famuli non me passus est Dominus pretereire...Hec beatus Elenus, nullo alio teste nisi Deo, loquutus est medio, et iussit eam sic in uirili habitu permanere; et non eos deseruit, quousque simul baptismatis sanctificatione instructos, monasterio ad quod festinauerant sociaret.

*uu. 33-36**Pass. 13*

Illa uero uirili habitu et animo, in predicto uirum monasterio permanebat: quae ita in diuinis eruditionibus profecit, ut intra secundum annum omnes pene scripturas dominicas memoriae retineret.

*uu. 37-40**Pass. 14*

Tertio igitur anno conuersionis eius, abbas qui preerat fratribus in monasterio, migrauit ad Dominum. Post cuius abscessum omnibus uisum est ut beatam Eugeniā eligerent abbatem.

*uu. 41-48**Pass. 15*

Sic itaque in hoc opere Deo esse carior cepit, ut et cecorum oculos aperiret, et demones pelleret, et saluaret per eam Dominus quosquumque uisitasset infirmos.

Pass. 16

Matrona quedam Alexandrina, ceteris matronis prestantior, nomine Melantia, quartano typo multo tempore fatigata, opinionem eius audiens, uenit ad eam. Quam quum beata Eugenia oleo perunxisset, et crucis signum in eius fronte depinxisset, omnem continuo uirulentiam fellis euomuit, et sanissima reddita, ad uicinum monasterii, quod possidebat, predium properabat.

*uu. 49-52**Pass. 17*

Audiens hec Melantia, contristata est, et ueniens, cepit eam rogare ut acciperet et ampliora promitteret. Interea fit assidua circa beatam Eugeniā, et in nullo deprehendens quod esset femina, eligantia decipitur iuuentutis. Videns autem iuuenem, puerum putabat esse terrenum;...

Pass. 19

Tunc beata Eugenia armans frontem crucis trophæo clarissimo, sue uocis strepitu cum gemitu ait: Recte Melantia nomen habere cognosceris;...

Pass. 20

Illa uero, his sermonibus auditis, maiori crudelitate accenditur, et deceptionis sue pudorem non ferens, sperans etiam se prius detegi ad aures infamie, nisi prius ipsa detegeret, Alexandriam rediit, et publica interpellationis uoce talia quedam prefecti cepit auribus intimare:

*uu. 53-56**Pass. 20*

Iuuenem perfidum, qui se dicit christianum, incurri; ad me autem illum, dum medendi gratia, quia dicebatur posse infirmantibus prodesse, uenire permitterem unam ex illis, extimans, quarum pudore bacchatur, ausus est inprudenter alloqui, et uerbis procacioribus ad crimen hortari. Quid multa? Ad ultimum ut captiuam barbarus inire congressus est, que nisi dedissem uocem, atque ad unius, que intra cubiculum erat; fuissem ancillule liberata, suffragio sue me libidinis subiugasset.

*uu. 57-60**Pass. 22*

Tunc iubentur adduci propinquo sancta Eugenia, ut non per internuntios eam prefectus audiret, sed ex ore eius addisceret ueritatem. Abtantur eculei,

uerbera, fere, flamme, tortores; et cetera, que solent abscondita cordis exculpere, preparantur.

uu. 61-64

Pass. 23

...dixit Eugenia: O Melantia, nigredinis nomen, et tenebrosa malitia, adplicare fecisti eculos, suspendi precipis christianos, damnas, percutis, incendis, uenenos accipis...

Pass. 24

Quumque adducta fuisset ante conspectum iudicis ancilla, cepit dicere: Istum iuuenem in pudicissimum frequenter quidem circa uiles personas detectum in adulteriis nouimus...

Pass. 25

Et hoc iure laudandum, si pro amore uirtutum sexus infirmior uirilem gloriam imitetur. Idcirco nunc ego, amore diuino religionis accensa, uirilem habitum sumsi, et uirum gessi perfectum, uirginitatem Christo fortiter conseruando.

Pass. 26

Et hec dicens, scidit a capite tunica qua erat induta, et apparuit femina.

uu. 65-68

Pass. 26

... Agnoscit itaque pater filiam, sororem fratres, seruos dominam. Currunt ad eam statim, et fundentes lacrimas in conspectu populi, amplexibus eius incumbunt. Nuntiatum factum Claudia matri. At illa statim cursu rapidissimo cum omni familia ad spectaculum properat. Deferuntur uestimenta auro texta, et licet inuita, induitur, atque in excelso tribunali inposita, in sublime adtollitur, et ab omni populo conclamatur: Vnus Deus, Christus unus et uerus Deus christianorum.

uu. 69-76

Pass. 27

Fit gaudium populi cum timore Dei; Ecclesia uero Dei, que iam quasi uidua octauo anno clausa fuerat, reseratur. Reuocatur christianorum populus; baptizatur prefectus in fascibus constitutus; baptizantur filii eius, baptizatur Claudia mater eius, et plurima multitudo paganorum conuertitur, ac restituntur preuilegia christianorum, et mittit prefectus relationes ad Seuerum imperatorem de christianis;...

Pass. 29

Interea omnis Alexandria conspirat in episcopatum eius, et cepit eum respublica habere prefectum, quia successor ei nondum uenerat, et ecclesia habere prefectum, quia merito fidei eum sibi elegerat sacerdotem.

uu. 77-80

Pass. 29

Vnde his beneficiis eius superaddere cupientes, statuimus ut aut diis omnipotentibus solitam culturam exhibeas, aut deposita dignitate, etiam propriis facultatibus cedas. Accepta hac auctoritate simulat egritudinem quousque

uniuersa distraheret, que poterat ipse habere, et per omnem prouinciam ecclesiis et pauperibus erogaret. Ipse autem prefectus in timore Dei, et in cultura Christi, etiam alios confortabat in Christo...

Pass. 30

Durauit autem in episcopatum anno uno et mensibus tribus, et cum trophæo confessionis et martyrii perrexit ad Christum.

uu. 81-84

Pass. 30

Ipsa autem [Claudia] cum Abito et Sergio, fillis suis, et cum beata Eugenia, remeant Romam.

uu. 85-88

Pass. 32

Omnibus itaque uid[ui]s christianis conuentus erat ad beatam Claudiam: omnibus autem uirginibus ad beatam Eugeniā. O quantas per Eugeniā uirgines Saluator inuenit; quantas per Basillam Christus sponsas obtinuit! Quante per Claudiam uiduitatis bonum promta uoluntate seruauerunt; quanti iuuenes per Protum et Iachintum Christo Domino crediderunt!

uu. 89-92

Pass. 38

Hec et his similia multa prosequente Pompeio, decreuit Gallienus augustus, ut aut sponsum suum Basilla reciperet, aut gladii anima aduerteretur

uu. 93-96

Pass. 33

Valeriano itaque et Gallieno imperatoribus, orta est seditio de christianis, eo quod Ciprianus Cartaginem uerteret, Cornelius Romam.

Pass. 34

Ideoque, carissime uirgines, que mecum in agone uirginitatis fortiter cucurristis, permanete in amore Domini melius quam cepistis: tempus flendi pro tempore absque errore aliquo sustinete, ut gaudia eterna cum omni possitis delectatione suscipere: ego enim commendaui uos Spiritui Sancto, cui credo quod uos in regno suo integras inlibatasque constituet. Nolite itaque ex hoc faciem meam corporaliter querere, sed exemplum meum, ante oculos habentes monita mea, quotidie mente complectite.

uu. 97-112

Pass. 39

Quid multa? Omnibus obstitit fortiter, et sue constantie ostendit immutabilitatem. Verum quoniam ex genere regio erat, et publice audiri non poterat intra domum suam pro amore uirginitatis et Christi gladio transueruerata est. Quia interfecta tenentur Protus et Iachintus, et iubentur lobi aut ipsis sacrificare, aut de ipsis sacrificium exhibere.

Pass. 40

Audiens Nicetius hec obstipuit, et ne ad imperatorem pertingeret quod eam libenter audiret, iussit eam duci ad templum Diane, et ita spiculator inminens dixit ei: Redime uitam tuam et patrimonium tuum, Eugenia, et sacri-

fica dee Diane. Tunc beata Eugenia, expandens manus suas, cepit orare et dicere:...Et dum hec oraret fit terremotus in eodem loco, et ita templi ipsius fundamenta mersa sunt cum idolo, ut nihil aliquid remaneret nisi sola ara, que erat ante ianuam templi, ad quam stabat sancta Eugenia.

Pass. 41

Tunc imperator iubet eam, ligato saxo, precipitari in Tiberim. Statimque saxum disruptum est. Beata uero Eugenia ita super sedens fluuiali aqua, ferebatur ut omnibus credentibus Christo appareret illum fuisse cum Eugenia, ne obsorberetur, qui fuerat cum Petro in mari, ne mergeretur. Inde sublata, in fornacibus termarum Seuerianarum mittitur, que sic statim extincte sunt, ut etiam ipse terme ulterius calefieri omnino non possent. Mittitur post hec in custodia tenebrosa, ubi per uigintim dies clausa deficeret, et negato cibo uel potu, et lumen penitus non uideret. Sed ibi tantus quotidie fulgebat splendor, ut dum apertus fuisset locus post uigintim dies, beata illic Eugenia quasi lumen aliquod radiaret.

uu. 113-124

Pass. 41

Ipsa autem die Natalis Domini missus est spiculator, qui illam in custodia positam percuteret. Tunc sublatum est corpus eius a christianis, et positum est non longe ab urbe, in uia, que appellatur Latina. Claudia uero mater eius dum ad eius sepulcrum fleret, apparuit ei Eugenia uigilanti, et dixit ei: Gaude et letare, mater Claudia, quia et me introduxit Christus in exultatione sanctorum, et patrem meum in patriarcharum gaudio conlocauit. Teipsam quoque, dominica die adueniente, in refrigerio sempiterno suscipiet. Comenda ergo filiis tuis, fratribus meis, ut custodiant crucis signaculum per quod effici mereantur nostri participes.

Pass. 42

Factum est autem ut, ueniens ad domum Claudia, instrueret filios suos iuxta quod monita fuerat. Die autem dominica, mysteriis celebratis, in oratione posita, emisit spiritum...et quotidiana damna inferentes diabolo, atque quotidiana lucra Ecclesie conferentes, per multos annos Christo uiuerunt, et cum bono uite profectu de hac luce ad siderea regna migrauerunt. Patrem et Filium cum Spiritu Sancto in unitate glorie confitentes.

u. 124

Hier. lou. 1, 49, 293

nam cum fruendi cupiditate insatiabilis flagrat, plura tempora suspicionibus, lacrymis, conquestionibus perdit; odium sui facit, et ipse nouissime sibi odio est.

119. In ss. Facundi et Primitivi.

Fons, deus, eterne pacis, lux, origo luminis,
dilectionis amorem tue infundens nobis,
mira presta ut queamus tua promere ymnis.

- 5 Almorum ecce tuorum pangimus insignia
Facundi et Primitibi martirum in canticis,
tibi regi offerentes sacrificium laudis.

Cuncti enixe precantes poscimus te serbuli,
rex, nobis horum *rogatu* nostri des ut delicti
ueniam, pro te qui multis sunt tormentis adfecti.

- 10 Venit Adticus *dum* preses in fines Gallecie,
xristiani *hii* Xristum fatentes prouincie
ipsius sistuntur suis conspectibus incole.

- Nomen xristianitatis impius extinguere
nitens, hos uinctos catenis iussit is trai ad se
15 ac frangi digitos horum crura et contorqueri.

Direxit epulas illis, quibus edebat ipse,
oblatum sibi tunc sancti temnunt cium *carpere*,
iratus camino iussit eos iudex ardere.

- Isti ambo consultori ueracia presidi
20 uerba respondentes; missi quum fuissent, inlesi
manserunt, qui post tres dies intacti sunt inuenti.

Post infectum dari iussit illis cium ueneno,
oratione acceptum quem et crucis uexillo
armati sancti ederunt, nicil mali senserunt.

119. cod.: L (114)

ed. Blume (169)

3 a. et p. praesta uirg. scr. Blume ymnis] hymnis Blume 4 a. et p. ecce uirg.
scr. Blume 5 martirum] martyrum Blume p. canticis uirg. scripsi 7 serbu-
li] seruuli Blume 8 rogatu] Gilson Gil, rigata L, precatu Blume des] dies L
9 adfecti] affecti Blume 10 Adticus] Atticus Blume dum] cum Blume 11
hii] huius Blume 14 p. nitens uirg. scripsi trai] trahi Blume 16 p. ipse punct.
et uirg. scr. Blume 17 cium] cibum Blume carpere] Gil, carcere L Blume
p. carcere punct. et uirg. scr. Blume 20 p. respondentes punct. et uirg. scripsi
quum] cum Blume inlesi] illaesi Blume 22 cium] cibum Blume

- 25 Rector tunc uncinis trai nerbos *e* corporibus
eorum iussit illosque oleo perfundere
candente atque *subponi* lampades lateribus.
Iussit *uibam* calcem *mixtam* cum aceto et felle
eorum mitti in guttur violenter iudexque,
30 nam sancti biberunt potum fidenter in domino.
Martirum et effodiri iussit oculos preses;
que quum, sancti agunt Xristo grates Deo, *fierent*,
suspendique tunc deorsum iubet eos capite.
Ynlustrati post triduum et sani inuenti sunt;
35 quos uibos discoriari iudex iussit iniquus,
capita sanctorum mandat horum atque precipidi.
Tunc milites absciderunt capita beatorum,
cerbibus statim quorum lac et sanguis exiit;
multi uidentes gauisi in Xristo crediderunt.
40 Ihesu, redemptor excelse, dei patris filius,
interuentu horum nobis martirum imploramus
te de celis ut iubamen des angelicum, deus.
Vigeat iam ecclesia tuis adiutoriis
tua per orbem diffusa terrarum atque pacis
45 ornetur uirginitatis dono et karitatis.
Inclito sit laus patri atque tibi, filio,
una cum spiritu sancto, honor, benedictio,
gloria, salus, potestas per omnia secula.

24 nicil] nihil *Blume* 25 rector] rator *L* trai] trahi *Blume* nerbos] neruos
Blume e] ex *Blume* 27 subponi] *Gilson*, subueni *L*, subuehi *Blume* 28
uibam] uiuum *Blume* mixtam] mixtum *Blume* 31 martirum] martyrum
Blume p. preses *uirg. scr. Blume* 32 p. quum et p. deo *uirg. scripsi* quum]
cum *Blume* fierent] fieri *Blume* 34 ynlustrati] illustrati *Blume* p. sunt *uirg.*
scr. Blume 35 uibos] uiuos *Blume* iniquus] iniquis *L* 36 mandat] mundat
L 38 cerbibus] ceruicibus *Blume* 41 martirum] martyrum *Blume* 42 p.
te *uirg. scr. Blume* 43 ecclesia] ecclesia *Blume* 45 karitatis] caritatis *Blume* 46
inclito] inclita *Blume*

119. En honor de los santos Facundo y Primitivo.

1. Oh Dios, fuente de eterna paz, luz, origen de la luz, infúndenos el deseo de tu amor y concédenos que podamos cantar con himnos tus maravillas.

2. He aquí que ensalzamos en nuestros cánticos las glorias de tus santos mártires Facundo y Primitivo, ofreciéndote a ti, rey, un sacrificio de alabanza.
3. Todos tus siervos, rey, insistentemente te pedimos y suplicamos que por la intercesión de quienes por ti padecieron sufrimientos sin cuento nos des el perdón de nuestros pecados.
4. Cuando el gobernador Ático llega a las tierras de Galicia, estos cristianos, habitantes de la provincia, son llevados a su presencia porque confiesan a Cristo.
5. Deseando vivamente el impío destruir al pueblo cristiano, ordenó que éstos, atados con cadenas, fueran llevados ante él y que sus piernas y sus dedos fueran quebrados.
6. Mandó darles la comida que él mismo comía, pero los santos rehusan tomar el alimento que se les había puesto delante; el magistrado, airado, ordenó que ardieran en el horno.
7. Mientras ambos respondían palabras veraces al gobernador que los interrogaba, aun cuando habían sido metidos en el [horno], permanecieron ilesos y después de tres días fueron encontrados intactos.
8. Después ordenó que les dieran comida envenenada, la recibieron con una oración y, armados los santos con la señal de la cruz, la comieron sin experimentar ningún mal.
9. Ordenó entonces el gobernador que con garfios se le arrancaran los nervios de su cuerpo y los ungieran con aceite ardiendo y acercaran teas a sus costados.
10. Ordenó también el magistrado que con violencia metieran en su boca cal viva mezclada con hiel y vinagre, pero los santos bebieron la pócima confiando en el señor.
11. Ordenó el gobernador que les sacaran los ojos a los mártires; y cuando se les hacía esto, ellos dan gracias a Cristo Dios, y entonces ordena que se les cuelgue con la cabeza hacia abajo.
12. Después de tres días se les encontró con vista y sanos y salvos; el malvado magistrado ordenó que los santos, todavía vivos, fueran despellejados, y manda que les corten la cabeza.
13. Entonces los soldados cortaron la cabeza a los santos y de su cuello salió al punto leche y sangre; y muchos, al verlo, llenos de gozo creyeron en Cristo.
14. Jesús, redentor excelso, hijo de Dios padre, por la intercesión de estos mártires te pedimos, Dios, que desde el cielo nos des el consuelo angelical.
15. Que tu iglesia, extendida ya por el orbe de la tierra, se fortalezca con tu ayuda y sea adornada con los dones de la paz, la castidad y la caridad.
16. Al Padre glorioso y a ti, su hijo, junto con el Espíritu Santo sea la alabanza, el honor, la bendición, la gloria, la salvación y el poder por todos los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes.

El himno está en una inmediata y total dependencia de la Pasión de los santos Facundo y Primitivo, empleándose incluso en más de una ocasión el léxico de la misma⁶⁶.

uu. 7-8

Aug. Parm. 2, 18, 37

quis enim nostrum dicit peccatorem adiuuandum ad hoc utique in quo peccare uult, sicut ipse Achab, quem adiuuit Iosaphat eundo cum illo in proelium, cum ille Michae prophetae ueracia uerba contemneret?

Cass. Psal. 87, 47

Magna uirtus hic sincerissimae orationis ostenditur; ut uerba ueracia non in auras tenues dissipentur, sed quasi quaedam persona ad conspectum domini introire uideatur et mandatum opus agere, quo caro nostra non ualet peruenire.

Cass. Psal. 118, 93

Cum Ioannis apostoli ueracia uerba sint: si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus et ueritas in nobis non est, uidentur nec sancti in uis eius ambulare, quos cognoscimus habere peccata.

uu. 10-12

Pass. 3

Tunc omnes gentes audientes tam inmane preceptum, congregati sunt super ripam fluminis, cui nomen est Ceia secus stratam, in locum ubi erat positum demonis simulacrum, expectantes presidem, ut in conspectu eius parent imperialibus iussis.

Pass. 4

Erant autem non longe ab eo loco duo uiri timentes Deum, prouincie ipsius incole christianissimi, Christum fatentes, quorum nomina hec erant: Facundus et Primitius.

Pass. 5

Quumque ei nuntiatum fuisset, reos illos adesse, iussit eos suis conspectibus sisti; quibus et dixit: Vnde estis? Facundus et Primitius dixerunt: Huius sumus patrie habitatores.

uu. 13-15

Pass. 4

Oportet quippe iussa imperatorum per omnia obseruare, presertim in locum hunc, ubi tantus ac tam preclarus uir aduenerit iudex. Tunc preses ira prouocitus iussit militibus suis, qui eos uinctos catenis ad se usque pertraherent. Quo dicto, citius impleuerunt.

⁶⁶ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. II, 46-56.

Pass. 11

Tunc iratus iudex iussit eos cruciari, et digitos eorum confringi, et crura eorum ad plectoriam contorqueri, dicens: Quousque exterminentur hii seductores de plebe mea, his tormentis eos cruciate.

*uu. 16-18**Pass. 12*

Quum uero essent in custodia, direxit eis de epulis, quas ipse comedebat, dicens: Forsitan uel blandimentis adquiescunt, si terroribus non pauescunt. Tunc oblatum sibi cibum sancti insufflantes despiciunt, ac manducare contemnunt.

Pass. 13

Iudex uero uehementius iratus, iussit eos in camino ignis ardere.

*uu. 19-21**Pass. 13*

Quum uero missi fuissent, permanserunt, angelo seruante, inlesi; ita ut post triduum intactos eos et integros inuenirent.

*uu. 23-24**Pass. 13*

Et iussit maleficum dare illis cibum infectum ueneno. Sancti ambo pariter dixerunt: Licet non debemus de hoc manducare, sed ut ostendamus tibi, quoniam possumus omnia maleficia tua in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi dissoluere, accipimus et manducamus. Accipientes autem, et orationem facientes armantesque frontes suas uexillo crucis, comederunt, et nil mali senserunt.

*uu. 25-27**Pass. 17*

Tunc iudex uesano furore arreptus, iussit uncinis trahi neruos e corporibus eorum, ut celerius consumerentur. Quumque factum fuisset, sancti martyres dixerunt: Ex his omnibus tormentis dolor nos non contingit, sed uelut spina a pede euulsa effugatur dolor, et resumptio datur; ita nobis leuissima sunt tormenta, qua in nos exerceris. Multum enim animati sumus propter fidem Christi Dei omnipotentis. Tunc iudex iussit eos oleo candente perfundere. Quod quum fuisset impletum, beati martyres dixerunt: Sic factum est nobis oleum candens, quomodo si sitiendi in ardore frigida aqua potetur, et omnis febris eius refrigescit; ita et nos a Domino resumimur. Iussitque iterum impius iudex lampades ardentes subponi sanctorum lateribus. Quod dum fieret, beatissimi Dei martyres ardentes in penis, atque suspensi, nec incendio cremabantur, nec suspensi lassabantur, sed potius leti confortabantur se ab inuicem in Domino Deo.

*uu. 28-33**Pass. 19*

Iratusque acrius, iudex iussit calcem uiuam permixtam cum aceto et fel uiolenter mitti in guttur eorum. Beati autem martyres confidentes in Domino, accipientes biberunt, et dixerunt: Acetum et calcem, sic nobis est tamquam fauum mellis propter Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Eratque uultus

sanctorum hilaris et decorus. Qui dixerunt iterum iudici: Vides, miser, quia nihil proficit malitia tua? Tunc impiissimus iudex, uidens eos constanter insultare sibi, iussit oculos eorum effodiri, dicens: Ipsi oculi euellantur, in quorum aspectu confundor. Quumque fieret, sancti martyres dixerunt: Licet oculos carnis nostre euellere iussisti, sed de interioribus oculis plus uidemus per oculos anime nostre, sicut apostolus dicit: Quia si homo exterior corrumpitur, interior renouatur, et ideo ubi cordis oculi inluminantur, corporei non queruntur: quoniam anima munda uidet lumen uerum.

Pass. 20

Iudex dixit: Cogitate pro salute uestra, infelices, ne peiora in uobis tormenta deseuiant. Sancti autem Facundus et Primitius dixerunt: Gratias agimus Domino Iesu Christo, qui nos confortat. Tu autem quomodo uis, damna. Noli nobis parcere. Parati enim sumus pro Domino Deo nostro omnes tuas percurrere penas.

uu. 34-39

Pass. 20

Tunc preses iussit eos capite deorsum suspendi, dicens: Vel sic eorum pertinationem superabo. Statim uero ut suspensi sunt, stillare cepit de naribus eorum sanguis in terra. Tunc milites dimiserunt eos, et euntes renuntiauerunt presidi quasi de morte eorum. Preses uero iussit, ut per triduum sic penderent. Post diem autem tertium putantes eos mortuos ut deponerentur, inuenerunt illos uiuentes, et meditantes uerbum Domini, et ita eos inluminatos, atque eorum membra restituta saluti, ut quasi nihil mali passi fuissent.

Pass. 21

Tunc milites reuersi, nuntiauerunt presidi quid de his contigerit. Iterum iussit eos iudex nequissimus, ut sanctos Dei Facundum et Primitium uiuos decoriarent.

Pass. 22

...Et dicebat: Vere beatus, qui expectat regnum Christi, ut habeat partem cum his sanctis martyribus. Hec audiens iudex, iussit capita sanctorum abscidi, dicens: Ipsa capita precidantur, quibus corone inponi dicuntur. Tunc sancti martyres dixerunt: Gratias agimus Domino Deo nostro, qui nobis donauit libertatem constantie ingenuitatis, ut temporalia respuamus, et ea, que sunt sempiterna, accipiamus. Tunc illis orantibus milites absciderunt capita eorum, et continuo exiit de colla eorum lac et sanguis. Omnes uero qui aderant, intuentes, mirati sunt. Multi autem ex eis uidentes que facta sunt, gauisi sunt, et conuersi crediderunt in Domino Iesu Christo: qui martyres suos per talem ac tantum coronauit triumphum.

121. In ss. Fausti, Ianuarii et Martialis.

Ad Vesperas.

Gaudet caterba nobilis
 dei repleta gratia,
 trium sacrorum martirum
 preclara est sollemnitas.

- 5 Templum beata trinitas
 perenne condidit sibi,
 ex *co* nobum depromitur
 dulcissimumque canticum.

- Hii* tres uiri concorditer
 10 ad passionem ueniunt,
 in trinitatis nomine
 ostem uicerunt pessimum.

- Faustus benignus primus est
 effatus: "huius temporis
 15 condigna non est passio,
 fratres, futuram ad gloriam."

- Beatus Ianuarius:
 "aperta," *inquid*, "ianua
 est iam nobis, ut gaudia
 20 celi fruamur optima."

Et Martialis prebuit
 adsensum alium, omnibus
 sanctis et deo ut gloria
 in cuncta dicant secula.

121. *codd.*: D (128v), X (403v)

edd. PL (1225), Blume (174)

1 caterba] caterua X PL Blume 3 sacrorum] sanctorum PL martirum] marty-
 rum X PL Blume 4 sollemnitas] solemnitas X PL 7 co] quo X PL Blume
 nobum] nouum X PL Blume depromitur] deprimitur D 9 hii] hi PL Blume
 12 uicerunt] uincerunt X PL 14 effatus] effectus D, affatim X, affatur PL 16
 ad *om.* D 18 *inquid*] *inquit* X PL Blume 19 iam nobis ut gaudia] nobis iam
 gaudio X PL 20 celi...optima] coelo...optimo X PL 21 et] en X PL
 Martialis] Marcialis X prebuit] peruehit X PL 22 adsensum alium] ascen-
 sus almis X PL, assensum alium Blume 23 sanctis et deo ut gloria] sanctis te
 deo ut gloria D, sanctis dei ad gloriam X PL 24 in cuncta dicant secula] *scripsi*,
 in cuncta dicunt secula D, gaudet letus consortio X PL, in cuncta dicant saecula
 Blume *p.* secula *punct. scripsi* en (tunc PL) Marcialis (Martialis PL) orsus est/
 propter eternam gloriam/ debemus temnere ydola (idola PL)/ et iudicis seuicium
 (seuitiam PL) *add.* X PL

- 25 Mox preses cepit fremere;
dentes, nares, auriculas,
labra et supercilia
sanctis iussit abscindere.
- “Iudex inique et pessime,
30 serbos dei quur afficis?
quur uana profanus colis
deosque falsos suscipis?”
- Furore tunc tirannus est
accensus, inquit: “mitite
35 in igne istos, monita
qui nostra audent temnere.”
- Intrant beati martires
leti caminum, concinunt
imnum deo et canticum
40 nobum piis concentibus.
- Abiecta carnis sarcina
mittunt in astris spiritum,
Xristum uident, quem diligunt,
sancti dei cum angelis.
- 45 Orate ad deum, *uiri*,
ut pellat a nobis mala
et conferat nobis bona
pacemque donet omnibus.

25-28 *om. D* p. fremere *punct. et uirg. escripsi* 26 p. dentes *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* auriculas] auricule *X*, auriculæ *PL* 27 et] sed *PL* supercilia] supercilicio *X* 28 abscindere] abscedere *X* inquunt (inquiunt *PL*) almi martyres/ iudex inique et pessime/ seruos dei cur afficis/ cur falsos deos suscipis *add. X PL* 29 inique] iniquus *D uu. 29-32 post 33-36 X PL* 30 serbos] serbus *D* quur] cur *X PL Blume* 31 uana profanus] banis profanis *D* 32 -que *om. D* 34 inquit] inquit *X PL Blume* mitite] mittite *X PL Blume* 35 istos monita] isto mitite *D* 36 audent] audet *D inuertuntur uersus 35,36 in D* 37 martires] martyres *X PL Blume* 39 imnum] hymnum *X PL Blume* 40 nobum] nouum *X PL Blume* piis] pius *D* 43 Xristum] Christum *PL Blume* 44 sancti dei cum angelis] uenientem cum sanctis angelis *D* 45 ad deum uiri] *scripsi*, ad deum sancti *Blume*, ad deum uiri sancti *D*, sancti ad deum *X PL* 46 ut pellat a nobis mala] ut repellat a nobis mala *D*, repellat celerer ut mala *X*, repellat cito ut mala *PL* 48 pacemque donet] donetque pacem *PL* omnibus] omnibus congruam

Precamur, almi martires,
 50 per unum et trinum deum,
 ut iugum iam uelociter,
 quod sustinemus, auferat.

Clemens deus propitius
 solacium uiuentibus
 55 et mortuis fidelibus
 amenitatem conferat.

49 martires] martiris *D* 51 ut iugum iam uelociter] dirum ut iugum otius *X*
 (ocius) *PL* 53 propitius] propicius *X* 54 solacium] solatium *X* uiuenti-
 bus] uiuentibus *X PL Blume* 56 amenitatem] *scripsi*, paradisi amenitate *D*, loca
 amena *X PL*, amoenitatem *Blume* conferat] confobeat *D* 57 deo patri sit. *D*,
 presta pater piissime/patrique compar unice/cum spiritu paraclito/regnans per
 omne seculum *X* (saeculum) *PL*

121. En honor de los santos Fausto, Jenaro y Marcial. A vísperas.

1. Se alegra el noble pueblo, lleno de la gracia de Dios; es la solemnidad gloriosa de los tres santos mártires.
2. La divina trinidad levantó para sí un templo eterno, del que sale un nuevo y dulcísimo cántico.
3. Estos tres jóvenes marchan unánimes al martirio; en nombre de la trinidad vencieron al malvado enemigo.
4. El bondadoso Fausto fue el primero en hablar: "hermanos, el sufrimiento del tiempo presente no es comparable con la gloria futura"
5. El santo Jenaro dijo: "abierta está la puerta para nosotros, para que gocemos las supremas alegrías del cielo"
6. También Marcial asintió amablemente, de manera que cantan en la gloria a Dios con todos los santos por todos los siglos.
7. Enseguida el magistrado empezó a gritar, mandó arrancar a los santos los dientes, la nariz, las orejas, los labios y las cejas.
8. "Magistrado inicuo y malvado ¿por qué martirizas a los siervos de Dios? ¿por qué, impío, das culto a la vanidad y tomas falsos dioses?"
9. Entonces el tirano encendido de furor dijo: "arrojad al fuego a esos que se atreven a menospreciar nuestros consejos".
10. Contentos entran los santos mártires en el horno, cantan un himno a Dios y un cántico nuevo de piadosos sonos.
11. Abandonado el fardo de su cuerpo, entregan su alma a los cielos; los santos de Dios junto con los ángeles ven a Cristo, a quien aman.
12. Pedid a Dios, varones, que aleje de nosotros el mal y nos dé el bien y a todos nos conceda la paz.
13. Suplicamos, santos mártires, por el uno y trino Dios, que aparte pronto el yugo que soportamos.

14. Que Dios clemente y propicio dé consuelo a los vivos y a los fieles difuntos la bienaventuranza.

Fontes / Loci similes:

En opinión de Fábrega⁶⁷, la lectura de este himno evidencia el conocimiento de la pasión de los santos por parte de su autor. También se perciben en él reminiscencias de la misa⁶⁸, del Antiguo y del Nuevo Testamento.

uu. 9-12

Pass. 2

...subito hii tres, Faustus, Ianuarius et Martialis, spiritu uehementi, protinus in sua laude non tacentes, sic ceperunt: Quid tibi, Eugeni impie, Dei seruis magis inuidere, quam credere?

Lib. Sacram. 443

Sic tres Trinitatis fide repleti, tyrannicam superbiam calcauerunt

uu. 13-16

Rom. 8, 18

Existimo enim quod non sunt condignae passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam, quae reuelabitur in nobis.

uu. 21-24

Lib. Sacram. 443

...ut nullus eorum dissonaret a fide, sed Martialis faceret quod Ianuarius uidisset, Ianuarius sequeretur Faustum celestia inuadentem.

uu. 25-28

Pass. 4

Eugenius dixit: Nunc te tormentis afficiam; et adiecit: Abscidantur ei auricule et nares, supercilia radantur, et dentes superiores extrahantur.

uu. 33-36

Pass. 7

Tunc Eugenius, ingenti furore accensus, iussit eos legitimo igne comburi

Dan. 3, 21

et confestim viri illi vincti cum braciis suis et tiaris et calciamentis et vestibus missi sunt in medium fornacis ignis ardentis.

uu. 37-40

Pas. 7

Quumque ducti fuissent ad legitimum ignem, sic uno spiritu plebem adloqui ceperunt, dicentes: Vos, carissimi, nolite credere huic inimico diabolo,

⁶⁷ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. I, 156-61; v. II, 346-349.

⁶⁸ F. CABROL, H. LECLERCQ, M. FÉROTIN, *Le liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum*, París 1912, col. 442.

cuius tempus nunc est, sed agnoscite uos ad Dei imaginem et similitudinem eius esse factos.

Dan. 3, 51

tunc hii tres quasi ex uno ore laudabant et glorificabant et benedicebant Deum in fornace dicentes: benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in saecula ...

24. In s. Genesii Arelatensis.

O rerum, domine, conditor omnium,
plectrum continuo gutturis admove
certamen tribuens pandere nauiter
adlete tui incliti.

- 5 Gliscit nam nimium pectoris intimum
mallens belligeri promere militis
actus conspicuos gestaque fortia
et dona tua optima.

- Genesisius igitur ille iubenculus,
10 ciues eximius Arlatis oppidi,
etatis peragens floscula primule
iniuncto paret ordini.

- Exceptor itaque dumque nitesceret
hac iussa tabulis publica scriberet,
15 *afflatus* subito munere celico,
quo uota cumulet pia,

124. *codd.*: M (79), L (142), D (98), X (396v)

edd. PL (1194), Blume (178)

2 plectrum *glos.* L percussorium cithara et lire continuo *glos.* L statim gut-
turus] guturis X admove] ammove L, amone X, admoue PL Blume 3 nau-
iter] nabiter (*in ras.*) L, gnauiter X 4 adlete] adleta (*in ras.*) L, atlete X, athletae
Blume incliti] inclyti PL 5 gliscit *glos.* L crescit uel ardescit siue cupit inti-
mum *glos.* L interior 6 mallens] mallen M, malens PL Blume belligeri *glos.*
L bellatoris 7 actus] auctos D 8 optima] optima DX PL Blume 10 ciues]
cibes D, ciuis X PL Blume eximius *glos.* L magnificus Arlatis] Arelatis X PL
11 floscula *glos.* L flores 12 paret *glos.* L obedit 13 exceptor *glos.* L suscep-
tor -que *om.* X nitesceret *glos.* L floreret uel claresceret 14 hac] ac DX PL
Blume 15 *afflatus*] afflatur M, affilatus PL, adflatur Blume *glos.* L inlumina-
tus 16 cumulet] cumulat MLX PL pia] pie D p. pia *punct. scr.* Blume

- Extemplo officium abnuít impium
et ceris rennuít inprimere manum
celestis cupiens effici accola
20 uita uotisq̃ue moribus.
- Post, euangelicus sermo ut intonat,
diuersas latebras per loca appetens
sese occultere cepit in abditis
horrore nimis territus.
- 25 Quem querens ualide turba satellitum
nec hunc, ut cuperat, repperit uspiam;
uastis tum reboans rictibus arbiter,
“ferrum sumite”, clamat;
- “Festinis propere pergite gressibus,
30 inuentum refugam plectite percite,
qui nostra monita temnere ausus est
nec sacros deos incolit.”
- Quod fama referens martyris auribus,
ablutum neque se nosceret equore,
35 feruenti Rodanum spiritu appetit,
quo sorde queat ablui.

17 extemplo] extimplo *L glos.* mox subito impium] inpium *L* 18 rennuít] renuít *DX PL Blume glos.* *L* negauit uel respuit inprimere] imprimere *LDX PL Blume* 19 cupiens] capiens *M* effici] reffici *M* accola] acola *L glos.* abitator 20 uotisq̃ue] bonisque *Bannister*, uoceque? *Gilson* uotisq̃ue (*sc.* deuotisq̃ue)⁶⁹ 21 intonat *glos.* *L* predicat 22 diuersas] diuersa *D Blume* latebras *glos.* *L* absconsa uel occulta appetens] apertens *D* 23 occultere cepit] occurrere cepit *M*, oculere cepit *D*, occulte recepit *X*, sese occulte recipit *PL* occultere *glos.* *L* abscondere 24 horrore] orrore *L* nimis territus] nimis territus *D*, ministerii *X* 26 hunc] *om.* *M PL*, unc *D* cuperat] cupat *X* repperit] peperit *X*, reperit *PL Blume glos.* *L* inuenit uspiam *glos.* *L* alicubi uel nusquam *p.* uspiam *uirg. scr. Blume* 27 uastis tum] uastitum *M*, uastis *X glos.* *L* magnis reboans] reuocans *MD glos.* *L* reuertens uel reclamans rictibus] ritibus *M glos.* *L* furiis arbiter *glos.* *L* iudex *p.* arbiter *duo punct. scr. Blume* 28 sumite] simite *PL p.* clamat *punct. scr. Blume* 29 propere *glos.* *L* uelociter pergite] percite *M PL* 30 percite] percutite *X* percite *glos.* *L* festinanter 31 monita *glos.* *L* precepta 33 referens] referent *L* martyris] martiris *LD* 34 equore *glos.* unda uel maria seu aqua 35 feruenti] ferbentem *D* Rodanum] Rhodanum *PL Blume* 36 sorde] sordes *X* queat] quead *D*, queant *PL*

⁶⁹ Cf. J. Gil, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 192.

- Auro lucidior inde regrediens,
 reppertus iuguli sternitur impetu
 celi agminibus ilico iungitur
 40 comptus uertice laurea.
- Ob hoc, cunctipotens, quesumus affatim
 testis quoque tui ipse precatibus
 acceptes placide uota fidelium
 dimittasque piaculum,
- 45 *Hac* culpe cumulus funditus subruat,
 subcrescat iugiter gratia auctior,
 ut sancti meritis celibes redditi
 abscedat procul ultio.
- Sit trino domino gloria sedula,
 50 regnum perpetuum adque potentia,
 uirtute solita qui regit omnia
 sustentans pie condita.

37 regrediens] regredians *X* 38 reppertus] repertus *X PL Blume* iuguli] iugulis *M*, iugulus *X* iuguli *glos.* *L* occisoris uel gladium sternitur *glos.* *L* occiditur impetu] inpetu *D* *p.* impetu *uirg. scr. Blume* 39 ilico] illico *X PL* 40 comptus *glos.* *L* compositus 41 affatim *glos.* *L* abunde satis 42 quoque] quoque *X PL* quoque *glos.* *L* quoque precatibus] precatibus *MD PL*, precantum *X* precatibus (*sc.* precationibus)⁷⁰ 43 acceptes] acceptis *L* 44 piaculum] piacula *L* *p.* piaculum *punct. scr. Blume* 45 *hac*] ut *L PL Blume*, huc *D*, ac *X* culpe] quippe *M* 46 auctior] aptior *X PL* 47 sancti...redditi] sanctis...reddita *L* 48 ultio] ulcio *X* 49 sedula *glos.* *L* sempiterna 50 adque] atque *LX PL Blume*

124. En honor de san Ginés de Arlés.

1. Señor, creador de todas las cosas, mueve sin cesar el plectro de nuestra lengua y concédenos divulgar con celo el martirio de tu ilustre atleta.
2. Pues lo íntimo de nuestro corazón se llena de alegría y quiere dar a conocer los hechos notables del belicoso soldado, sus valientes hazañas y tus inapreciables dones.
3. Así pues, el joven Ginés, ciudadano distinguido de la ciudad de Arlés, cuando estaba en la flor de su edad, se somete al rango a él impuesto.
4. Y así, cuando empezaba a brillar como secretario y escribía las órdenes oficiales en las tablillas, inspirado súbitamente por un don celestial, para colmar sus piadosos deseos,
5. Al punto se niega a su impío deber y rehusa poner su mano sobre la cera, anhelando llegar a ser ciudadano del cielo por su vida y sus costumbres sagradas.

6. Después buscando escondite en distintos lugares, como dicen las palabras del evangelio, se escondió en sitios apartados, lleno de temor.
7. Aunque lo buscan sin descanso un grupo de soldados, en ninguna parte lo encuentran, como habían deseado; entonces el magistrado, bramando, grita: "tomad la espada,
8. Seguidle con paso rápido sin deteneros y, cuando encontréis al fugitivo que se atrevió a menospreciar nuestras órdenes y que no da culto a los dioses santos, matadlo al punto".
9. Llevando el rumor estas noticias a los oídos del mártir y sabiéndose no purificado por el agua, con ardiente espíritu se dirige al Ródano para poder lavar su pecado.
10. Es encontrado cuando salía de él más resplandeciente que el oro, es derribado por el golpe de la espada y al punto se une a las milicias del cielo, ciñendo su cabeza con una corona de laurel.
11. Por esto, todopoderoso, te pedimos insistentemente que por los ruegos de tu mártir, recibas benévolo las súplicas de tus fieles y perdones sus pecados,
12. Que nuestras muchas culpas desaparezcan completamente, que tu gracia crezca en nosotros haciéndose más grande sin cesar, que purificados por los méritos del santo se aleje la venganza.
13. Sea la gloria sempiterna, el reino eterno y el dominio al señor trino, que gobierna todas las cosas con su acostumbrado poder, sosteniendo solícitamente lo creado.

Fontes / Loci similes:

En opinión de Fábrega y Pérez de Urbel⁷¹, pueden verse aquí reminiscencias del himno *de Commune martyrum, Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia*, del siglo IX. La misa correspondiente del *Liber Sacramentorum*, col. 408, es, según Fábrega, hermana gemela del himno y ambos, parecen depender en una gran medida de la Pasión del santo.

uu. 1-2

Ambr. Hymn. 1, 1, 1

Aeterne rerum conditor, /noctem diemque qui regis /et temporum das tempora...

Prud. Per. 10, 6

Plectrum palati et faucium saeuus tibi / tortor reuulsit nec tamen silentium /indixit ori quo fatebaris deum.

A FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. URBE *Origen*, cit. n. 23, p. 224.

p. 188; v. II, p. 334-36. PÉREZ DE

Prud. Per. 10, 931

"Qui fecit ut uis uocis expressa intimo / pulmone et oris torta sub testudine / nunc ex palato det percussos sonos, / nunc temperetur dentium de pectine / sitque his agendis lingua plectrum mobile,

uu. 5-8

SS. Martyres

Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia/pangamus, socii, gestaque fortia,/nam gliscit animus promere cantibus/uictum genus inclitum

uu. 9-12

Pass. 3

Sanctus itaque Genesius in iuuentutis flore primeuo prouincialis militie tirocinia suscepit.

uu. 13-20

Pass. 3

Quumque exceptoris fungeretur officio, eam officii partem studio et arte complexus, que patronorum uerba uel iudicum signorum breuium adnotata conpendiis mansura periberet, et memorie uelocitate uel dextere sonum uocis equaret, spiritualem future glorie imaginem prefigurans, ut precepta diuina celeriter audiret, et fidelibus notus pia mente sacramenta salutis exciperet. Accidit itaque ut, eodem hoc munus implente, impia atque sacrilega persecutionis iussa legerentur, que quum deuotus Deo repudiaret auditus, et inprimere ceris manus sancta respueret,...

21-24

Pass. 3

...abiectionis ante pedes iudicis tabulis, tristem ministerium sacrata iam Domino mens, refugit. Et, ut in nullo a preceptis euangelicis actus martyrii deuiaret, per quem declinaret persecutionis impetum, ut permittimur uel iubemur, alia atque alia non solum latebram, uerum etiam ciuitate mutata, quum et alio loco scriptum sit: Spiritus quidem promptus, caro autem infirma, ab ira se furentis iudicis paulisper occultuit.

uu. 25-28

Pass. 3

Qui quum corripere protinus offerrique iussisset, neque facilis inuestigatio ad procuratam latebram perueniret, crudelissimis pene ministris, ut ubi eum repperit [inuenirent], gladio interimerent, imperauit.

uu. 33-36

Pass. 3

Quod ubi a beato Genesio uel occultis nuntiis uel rumore conpertum est, diuersa latendi loca, ut rerum exitus docet, non infirmitate spiritus, sed carnis trepidatione mutauit.

Pass. 5

Atque ubi se prespicit deprehensum, instinctu Dei Rhodanum petit, et sancta fluuii membra committit,...

uu. 37-40

Pass. 5

...Transgressum in alteriora fluminis et subeunde premissae passionis Christo sponsore securum in eo loco, quem effusionis sanguinis gloriosi Dominus elegerat, quique nunc oratione assidua, et uotis numquam irritis frequentatur, percussor adsequitur, exortatoque gladii ictu festinantem ad Deum animam uinculis corporis, quibus tenebatur, absoluit,...

130. In sancti Iacobi.

O dei uerbum, patris ore proditum,
rerum creator et uerum principium,
auctor perennis, lux, origo luminis,
enixus aluo gloriose uirginis,

5 Xriste, tu noster reuera Emanuel.

Rex et sacerdos, cui sacri lapides
en ter quaterni, onicinus, agates
gnitent, berillus, zafirus, carbunculus
uel ametistus, sardius, topazius,

10 zmaracodus, iaspis, *ligurius*, crisolitus.

Riteque gemmis sol dies duodecim
enitens horis, margaritis optimis,
gliscitque mundo iam fugatis tepebris
et *candelabra* tibi *superpositis*

15 micant lucernis bis senis, *apostolis*.

130. codd.: M (18), L (124), X (385)

edd. PL (1306), Blume (186)

1 ore] hore M 5 Xriste] Christe PL Blume reuera] reuela X Emanuel] Emmanuel M PL Díaz 7 onicinus] onocinus M, onichinus X, onychinus Blume agates] achates PL Blume 8 gnitent] Díaz, nitens MX PL, nitent L, gliscunt Blume berillus] uerillus M, berilius X, beryllus PL Blume zafirus] saffirus M, safirus X, saphirus PL Blume 9 ametistus] amitistus X, amethystus PL Blume topazius] topatius M, topidicus X, topasius Blume 10 zmaracodus] izmaragdus M, smaragdus X PL Blume iaspis] yaspis L ligurius] et nitens X, iacinthus Blume crisolitus] chrysolitus PL, chrysolithus Blume 11 riteque] nitetque L gemmis] gemis L duodecim] duodenis MX 12 enitens glos. L lucens optimis] optimis X PL Blume 13 gliscitque] inluxit M PL, gliscensque X gliscit glos. L ardens uel clarens mundo] mundi L Díaz fugatis glos. L pulsus 14 candelabra] candelabro X PL Blume superpositis] scripsi, superposito MX PL Blume, superposita L Díaz 15 micant] micans MX PL p. senis uirg. scripsi apostolis] apostoli Blume

- Petrusque *Rome*, frater eius *Acaie*,
Indie Tomas, Leui *Macedonie*,
 Iacobus Iebus et *Egipto* Zelotes,
 Vartholomeus *Licaon*, *Iudas Edisse*,
 20 Mathias *Iudee* et Filippus *Gallie*.

- Magni deinde filii tonitruui
 adepti fulgent prece matris inclite
 utrique *uite* culminis insignia,
 regens Ioannes dextra solus *Asiam*,
 25 eiusque frater potitus *Spania*.

- Clari magistri *crateris in noxia*
 adsciti, *dextra* pacis unus *federa*
 tractus, *sinistra* alter in *sedentia*;
 utrique, regno bis electa pignera,
 30 mitrati poli properant ad gloriam.

Aduectus *in quam* gloriosus premio
 electus istinc *habitus* martirio

16 Rome] Romam *MX PL Blume* Acaie] Acaiam *M PL*, Acayam *X*, Achaia *Blume*, Achaie *Díaz* 17 Indie] Indiam *MX PL Blume* Tomas] Thomas *X PL Blume* Macedonie] Macedoniam *MX PL Blume* 18 Egipto] Egiptum *M*, Egyptum *X*, Aegyptum *PL Blume* 19 Vartholomeus] Bartolomeus *ML*, Bartholomeus *X PL* Licaon Iudas Edisse] *L Díaz* (Edessam) *X*, tenens Licaoniam *M PL Blume* 20 Mathias] Mathias *M* Iudee] Ponto *M*, Iudeam *X*, Pontum *PL Blume* Filippus] Philippus *X PL Blume* Gallie] Gallias *X PL Blume* 23 utrique] utriusque *L* uite] uita *L*, rite *Blume Díaz* 24 Ioannes] Iohannes *X Blume* dextra] dextram *M PL*, dextera *LX* Asiam] Asia *Díaz* 25 eiusque frater] et leua frater *X* *Spania*] Spaniam *M*, Ispania *L*, Hispaniam *X PL*, Ispania *Díaz* 26 magistri] magistro *M PL* crateris] *Gil*, clateris *M PL*, carceris *L*, creatoris *X*, lateri *Blume Díaz* crateris (sc. calicis)⁷² in noxia] *scripsi*, *dubitat Gil*, innoxia *M PL Gil*, in noxio *L*, innoxii *X Blume*, innoxio *Díaz* 27 adsciti] adsisti *X*, asciti *Blume* dextra] *Díaz*, dextram *M PL Blume*, dexteram *LX* federa] foedere *Blume* 28 sinistra] sinixtra *M*, sinistram *X PL Blume* in sedentia] *Gil*, in sententia *MLX PL Blume Díaz* sedentia (sc. sedem) 29 utrique] uarieque *LX* *p.* utrique *uirg. scripsi* regno bis] regnabis *M*, regna bis *PL* pignera] pignora *PL Blume* *p.* pignera *uirg. scripsi* 30 mitrati poli] metridepoli *M*, mitriti poli *L*, mitridepoli *X PL* 31 aduectus] aductus *X* aduectus *glos. L* portatus in quam] *scripsi*, inquam *MLX PL Blume Díaz* *a.* et *p.* inquam *uirg. scr. Blume* inquam *glos. L* dicam 32 istinc habitus] insti abitur *M*, instigabitur *L*, isthinc abitur *PL*, isthinc est absque *Blume*, iste habitus *Díaz* martirio] martyrio *X PL Blume* *p.* martyrio *uirg. scr. Blume*

- Xristi, uocatus Zebedei, Iacobus
apostolatus iure implens *deuito*
35 uictorque rapit passionis stigmata.
- Diuino quippe *obsidens* suffragio
idem magorum sontes iras, demonum
coercens uirus punit *emulantiam*,
uiuaxque demum stolido oraculum
40 insigne datur, penitens cor credulum.
- Perplexus enim uoti compos commoda
rimat petenti egro adminicula,
obtanti pandit fidei carismata,
bexillo pacis ad salutis copiam
45 ensequer functus se communit gloria.
- O uere digne sanctior apostole,
caput refulgens aureum 'Spanie
tutorque nobis et patronus uernulus,
uitando pestem esto salus celitus,
50 omnino pelle morbum, ulcus, facinus.
- Adesto fabens gregi *pious* credito
mitisque pastor, regi, clero, populo
ope superna, ut fruamur gaudia,

33 p. Xristi et p. Zebedei uirg. scripsi 34 apostolatus] apostolatum L Díaz
iure] uitam X, iuris Gil iure glos. L fedus deuito] deuita M, debite X, debita
PL Blume 35 passionis] passionum X 36 obsidens] obsitus X PL Blume 37
sontes glos. L nocentes 38 coercens] quoercens M coercens glos. L arquens
uirus] uisus M, uirum L emulantiam] Gil, emulantia M PL, emulantium LX
Blume Díaz 39 uiuaxque demum] uibaxque demum L, minasque demonum
X uiuax glos. L prudens stolido oraculum] instolis oraculis M, istolis oracu-
lis X, in stolis oraculis PL 40 insigne datur] in signo detur M PL, enodatur X
41 perplexus glos. L acceptus enim] olim MX PL uoti compos] uoto conpos
L compos glos. L socius atque pastor commoda] commodat PL comoda
glos. L dona prospera 42 rimat] scripsi, rima ML PL Díaz, ruina X, rite Blume
rima glos. L dubia petenti] petendi ML adminicula] amminicula M, amini-
cula X 43 obtanti] Díaz, obtandi ML, optando X, optanti PL Blume caris-
mata] charismata L PL Blume p. charismata uirg. scripsi 44 bexillo] uexilla
M PL, uexillo X Díaz salutis] salutem M Díaz 45 functus] functis M func-
tus glos. L occissus se communit] seque munit L munit glos. L ornabit glo-
ria] gloriam M 47 aureum om. X 'Spanie] Spanie ML, Hispanie X PL, Ispanie
Díaz 48 tutor glos. L custoditor uel gubernator uernulus glos. L serbulus 49
uitando glos. L proibendo salus sup. lin. L p. celitus uirg. scripsi 50 pelle
glos. L tolle morbum] morbus M facinus] facinusque X 51 fabens] fauens
X PL Blume pius] pio L Blume credito] creditor M PL, creitur X 52 regi]
gregi MX PL 53 ope glos. L dono gaudia] gaudio X

regna potiti uestiamur gloria,
55 eterna per te euadamus tartara.

Presta, quesumus, unica potentia
replensque globi cunctam solus macinam,
eterna *cuius* laus et clementia,
uirtus perennis, ingens adest gloria
60 et honor iugis affatim *in* secula.

54 regna] regni *M*, regno *X PL* potiti] polorum *L* uestiamur] sublimati *L*
gloria] gloriam *M* 55 tartara] tartarum *X PL* 56 unica] unita *M*, trinitas *Díaz*
p. potentia *uirg. scr. Blume* 57 replensque] replisque *M* globi] gloria *X PL*
cunctam] cuncta *LX Díaz* solus] solis *L PL Díaz* macinam] macina *L Díaz*,
machinam *X PL Blume* 58-59 *inuertuntur in MX* 58 cuius] cui *Blume p.*
laus *PL* est *add.* 59 uirtus perennis] *ML PL* (birtus) *Blume Díaz*, uirtute firma
X ingens *cet. om. L* adest] adesto *X PL* gloria] gloriam *M* 60 *in*] per
X PL Blume

130. En honor de Santiago.

1. Oh verbo de Dios, salido de la boca del padre, creador y verdadero principio de las cosas, causa permanente, luz, origen de la luz, nacido del vientre de una virgen gloriosa, Cristo, tú en verdad nuestro Emanuel.
2. Rey y sacerdote, en cuyo honor brillan las doce piedras sagradas: ónice, ágata, berilo, zafiro, carbúnculo, amatista, sardónice, topacio, esmeralda, jaspe, ligurio y crisólito.
3. Alejadas ya las tinieblas de este mundo, el sol, el día, avanza y las doce horas, cual preciosas perlas, brillan debidamente en sus gemas, y en tu honor los candelabros relucen con doce lucernas, los apóstoles.
4. Pedro en Roma, su hermano en Acaya, Tomás en India, Leví en Macedonia, Jacobo en Jerusalén, Zelotes en Egipto, Bartolomé en Licaonia, Judas en Edesa, Matías en Judea y Filipo en Galia.
5. Después brillan los grandes Hijos del Trueno, habiendo alcanzado ambos para su vida, gracias a las súplicas de su ilustre madre, el honor más grande, gobernando Juan, solo, con su diestra Asia y dueño su hermano de España.
6. Llamados a la amargura del cáliz del santo maestro, destinados por un pacto de paz uno a la derecha y el otro a la izquierda, ambos mitrados, doble presente elegido para el reino, corren a la gloria del cielo,
7. A la que en recompensa fue conducido glorioso Jacobo, llamado el de Zebedeo, considerado por el martirio elegido de Cristo, y cumpliendo las obligaciones debidas de su apostolado, arrebató victorioso los estigmas de la pasión.
8. Pues asistido de la ayuda divina, reprimiendo él la perniciosa ira de los magos y el veneno de los demonios, castiga su envidia, y al fin se da al necio una palabra vivificante y gloriosa, un corazón crédulo y arrepentido.

9. En efecto, habiéndosele otorgado lo que había pedido, confundido da ayuda apropiada al enfermo que pide, al que la desea, con el signo de la paz, descubre la gracia de la fe para lograr la salvación, y atravesado por la espada se reconforta con la gloria.

10. Oh tú, verdaderamente digno, apóstol santo, resplandeciente y espléndida cabeza de España, protector y abogado nuestro, evitando la destrucción sé la salvación que viene del cielo, aleja completamente la enfermedad, las plagas y el crimen.

11. Con la ayuda de lo alto, piadoso pastor humilde, protege a la grey a ti confiada, al rey, al clero, al pueblo, para que gocemos de la felicidad y, dueños del reino, nos revistamos de la gloria y por ti escapemos del tártaro para siempre.

12. Ayúdanos, te rogamos, poder único, que solo perfeccionas toda la máquina del universo, cuya eterna alabanza y clemencia, virtud perenne, gloria inmensa y honor perpetuo están presentes ampliamente por los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes.

Con el fin de facilitar la lectura del himno reproducimos aquí las fuentes literarias, otros himnos y la *Passio Iacobi*, que, en opinión del profesor Díaz y Díaz⁷³, han podido influir en la composición del mismo. Además añadimos algunas otras no recogidas en el estudio de Díaz y Díaz. El acróstico del himno nos da el nombre del rey Mauregato, que reinó del 783 al 788.

uu. 1-3

Hymn. 146, 1

o dei perenne uerbum, patris ore proditum,...

Fulg. Fab. 24

Vbi etiam pater se suumque filium unum dicit esse principium, quoniam hoc est uerum principium, quod sine initio naturaliter inuenitur aeternum.

Hymn. 119, 1

fons, deus, aeterne pacis, lux, origo luminis,...

Hymn. 123, 1

fons, deus, uitae perennis, lux, origo luminis,...

uu. 4-5

Hier. Eccl. 4, 13

... qui de matris aluo natus est, ...

Hymn. 82, 5

enixa est puerpera,/ quem Gabriel praedixerat,/ quem matris aluo gestiens/
clausus Iohannes senserat

Hymn. 85, 3

haec ante saecula electa genetrix,/ Maria, nobilis uirginum floscula,
gerens uirgineo lumen altissimi/ aluo sanctissimo, deumque hominem

Hymn. 194, 2

quo matris aluo proditus/ diem petiuit saeculi/ lucisque huius prodigae/
intrauit ortum nesciens

Hymn. 28, 1

fauens redemptis uoto abstinentiae/ occurre fessis, dux uerus emanuel,...

uu. 14-15

Bed. Loc. sc. 7

Ad aquilonem Bethlehem in ualle contigua sepulchrum Dauid in medio
ecclesiae humili lapide tegitur lampade superposita, ad austrum uero in
ualle contigua in ecclesia sepulchrum sancti Hieronymi

Hymn. 141, 15, 3-4

due lucernae candelabro impositae/ lucent sereno claritatis lumine

u. 21

Marc. 3, 17

et Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem Iacobi et inposuit eis nomina
Boanerges, quod est Filii tonitruui.

uu. 26-30

Mat. 20, 20-23

Tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum Zebedaei cum filiis suis, adorans et
petens aliquid ab eo. Qui dixit ei; Quid uis? Ait illi: Dic ut sedeant hi duo
filii mei unus ad dexteram tuam, et unus ad sinistram in regno tuo.
Respondens autem Iesus dixit: Nescitis quid petatis. Potestis bibere calicem
quem ego bibiturus sum? Dicunt ei: Possumus. Ait illis: Calicem quidem
meum bibetis...

Marc. 10, 35-39

Et accedunt ad illum Iacobus et Iohannes filii Zebedaei dicentes: Magister,
volumus ut quodcumque petierimus, facias nobis: At ille dixit eis: Quid vul-
tis ut faciam vobis? Et dixerunt: Da nobis ut unus ad dexteram tuam et alius
ad sinistram tuam sedeamus in gloria tua. Iesus autem ait eis: Nescitis quid
petatis: potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibo aut baptismo quo ego bapti-
zor baptizari? At illi dixerunt ei: Possumus. Iesus autem ait eis: Calicem qui-
dem quem ego bibo bibetis et baptismo quo ego baptizor, baptizabimini

uu. 37-40

Pass. 2, 3

Hermogenes autem magnus dolens quod ei insultaret, arte sua excitauit
demonas et misit eos ad Iacobum dicens: Ite ad ipsum Iacobum, mihi huc
adducite, simul etiam et Filetum discipulum meum ut uindicer in eo ne
mihi ceteri discipuli mei taliter incipiant insultare. Venientes autem
demonas ubi Iacobus orabat...dicentes: Iacobe, apostole dei, miserere nos-
tri... Dicit eis Iacobus: Vt quid uenistis ad me? Dicunt ei demonas: Misit
nos Hermogenes...Clamabant quoque ipsi demonas dicentes: Da nobis eum

in potestate ut possimus et tuas iniurias uindicare et nostra incendia. Dicit eis Iacobus:...cur Filetum non tenetis? Dicunt ei demones: nos non possumus nec fornicam contingere que in loculo tuo est...Dicit eis Hermogenes: Ego noui iras demonum; nisi dederis mihi aliquid quod mecum habeas tenebunt me et diuersis penis interficient.

Pass. 4

Respondens Iacobus dixit: Si ueram domino penitentiam attuleris, ueram eius indulgentiam consequeris. Dicit ei Hermogenes: In tantum domino ueram penitentiam offero ut omnes codices meos in quibus erat illicita presumptio abiecerim...Dicit ei apostolus: Nunc uade per domos forum quos euertisti ut per te reuoces suo domino...Doce hoc esse uerum quod dicebas falsum et hoc esse falsum quod dicebas uerum. Idolum quoque quod adorabas et diuinationes quas tibi putabas ab eo responderi confringe... Hec et his similia dicente Iacobo, in omnibus obtemperauit Hermogenes et ita cepit esse in dei timore perfectus ut etiam uirtutes per eum plurime fierent a domino.

Pass. 1, 1

Cumque duceretur ad decollationem uidit paraliticum iacentem et dicentem sibi: Sancte Iacobe, apostole Iesu Christi, libera me a doloribus quibus omnia membra mea cruciantur. Et ait ad eum: In nomine crucifixi nostri Iesu Christi pro cuius fide ducor ad decollationem, exurge sanus et benedic saluatorem tuum. Et protinus surrexit et cepit gaudens currere et benedicere nomen domini Iesu Christi.

Pass. 13

Ventum est autem ad locum ubi decollandi erant, et dixit Iacobus spiculatori: Priusquam nos decolles, facito nobis aquam dari. Et adlata est ei lagena plena cum aqua. Tunc dicit ad Iosiam: Credis in patre et filio et spiritu sancto? At ubi dixit Iosias: Credo, perfudit eum Iacobus et dixit ei: Da mihi pacis osculum. Cumque osculatus esset eum, posuit manum super caput eius et benedixit eum et fecit signaculum crucis in fronte eius.

u. 48

Hymn. 87, 7, 2-3

libet dicatum praedicare seruulum,/ tuum ministrum, Christe Iesu, uernulum,

Hymn. 142, 34

dies ut illa cum tremenda uenerit,/ mundumque terror iudicantis presserit,/ sponsore sacro te patrono uernulo/ dextram tenentes euadamus tartara

Hymn. 148, 8, 1-2

tu nostra ciuis inclita,/ tu es patrona uernula

Hymn. 166, 4, 1-2

Sebastiane, sancte noster uernule,/ nos doce, foue, gubernare et protegere

Hymn. 175, 22

te martyr lacrimis uernule poscimus,/ per te omnipotens conditor ocus/ durum. quo premimur. hoc iugum auferat/ et laetos faciat saecula in omnia

*uu. 49-50**Apoc. 21, 19-20*

Et fundamenta muri civitatis omni lapide pretioso ornata. Fundamentum primum iaspis: secundus, sapphyrus: tertius, carcedonius: quartus, zmaragdus: quintus, sardonix: sextus, sardinus: septimus, chrysolithus: octavus, berillus: nonus, topazius: decimus, chrysoprassus: undecimus, hyacinthus: duodecimus, amethystus

Hymn. 190, 5

distincta gemmis pulchritudo pectoris/ adfigebatur sub figuris optimis,/ smaragdus illic, sardius, topazius,/ onychinus, carbunculus, ligurius/ saffirus, iaspis et nitens crisolithus.

*uu. 49-50**Hymn. 28, 7*

qui contritorum usus sacrificio/ ades latroni in crucis patibulo,/ nobis adesto caelitus tu, domine,...

Hymn. 139, 7

te rogamus, te precamur, sancte Christi apostole,/ tolle pestem, aufer ulcus et foueto languidos,/ pelle morbum, caede hostem et remoue scandalum

Hymn. 146, 14

hinc te, deus, postulamus, ut precantes audias,/ pelle morbos, solue uincla et relaxa crimina/ utque illaesi futuram appetamus patriam

Hymn. 158, 12

tu remoue tela lapsa, soutes iras daemonum,/ pelle ulcus, arce morbum, aufer omne scandalum,/ pax, salus fidesque feruens omnem tegat animum

*uu. 54-55**Hymn. 142, 34*

dies ut illa cum tremenda uenerit,/ mundumque terror iudicantis presserit,/ sponsore sacro te patrono uernulo/ dextram tenentes euadamus tartara

155. In sancti Matthaei.⁷⁴

Xriste, tu rerum opifexque operum.
Olimpum regis aridaque sustines,
polum decoras lumine sidereo,

155. *codd.*: M (82), L (144)

edd. PL (905), Blume (219)

2 Olimpum] Olympum Blume sustines] sustinens L

⁷⁴ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Érudes*, cit. n. 4, p. 168-9.

arbaque reples hominis ex traduce,
5 iubes ne salum effluat ex limite;

Tu protoplausto eiusque prosapie
legisque sensum naturalem inseris,
ut ea fratri, que uult sibi, inroget;
demum Moyses bis a te in tabulis
10 denis accepit preceptis almificis.

Exhinc prophete bis octoni ueniunt,
populi corda ad salutem instruunt,
errorem uanum idolorum dextruunt,
credere deum te celestem predicunt
15 et prestolare incarnatum proferunt.

Milibus quinque ducentis in serie
habens hic mundus annos ab origine
tunc uerus agnus natus es ex uirgine,
ter denis *item* annis *tuo* tempore
20 sic a Iohanne tinctus es baptismate.

Dehinc prescitos elegis apostolos:
Petrum, Andream, Iohannem et Iacobum,
Bartolomeum Iudamque et Simonem,
Tomam, Filippum et Alfei Iacobum,
25 Matheum uero uocans a toloneo.

Hic post ascensum, Xriste, tuum ad celos
propere *pergitque* ad Eziopios,

4 arbaque] aruaque *Blume* 5 iubes] iube *M PL* p. iubes *uirg. scr. Blume* 7
naturalem inseris] naturale inserit *M PL* 8 que] quem *PL* inroget] irroget
Blume 11 exhinc] ex hinc *L* octoni] octuni *L* 12 corda] corde *L* 13
idolorum] ydolorum *L* dextruunt] destruunt *L Blume* 17 habens hic mun-
dus annos] labens hic mundus annis *fortasse legendum cogitat Blume* 18 natus
es ex] natusque ex *M PL* p. uirgine *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 19 ter denis]
terdenis *L* item] in te *M PL*, uitae *Blume* annis] annos *M PL* tuo] *Gil*,
tue *ML PL Blume* 20 Iohanne] Iohannis *M PL* es] est *M PL* baptisma-
te] pabtismate *PL*, baptismate *Blume* 21 prescitos] presitos *L* 23
Bartolomeum] Bartholomaeum *PL Blume* 24 Tomam] Thomam *Blume*
Filippum] Philippum *Blume* Alfei] Alphaei *Blume* 25 Matheum] Matthaeum
Blume toloneo] toloneum (*in ras.*) *L*, telonio *Lorenzana*, teloneo *Blume* 26
hic] hinc *M PL Blume* 27 pergitque] pergit qui *Blume* Eziopios] Aethiopios
Blume

mox a Candacis *eunuco susceptus est*,
 prestigiatos liberabit a magos,
 30 in somno uertit dracones seuissimos.

Exortat cetum uanos deos temnere
 et deum uerum Ihesum Xristum credere,
 ut paradisi fruantur delicie,
 mox ab Eglippo est accitus principe
 35 et prolem eius suscitatur a funere.

Rex uidens credit et plebs templum construit,
 in quo rex lotus coniunxque babtismate,
 cum Eufranone plebs et Effigenie,
 aliam ducentes uitam in progenie,
 40 usque dum cepit Irtacus regimine.

Conuocat namque rex rudis apostolum
 eique regnum spocondit dimidium,
 ut celeps illi detur Effigenia,
 cui bis centum alme in cenobia
 45 uirgines erant sacra cum uelamina.

Ad hec Matheus Irtaco exorsus est:
 "fas non est regis sponsam seruo ducere
 nec Xristi sponsam fas est tue copule
 iungi." *Irtacus ob hoc mox apostolum*
 50 percuti iussit *punctum* hictu gladii.

28 eunuco susceptus est] susceptus est eunucho *Blume* *p.* est *punct.* et *uirg. scr.*
Blume 29 prestigiatos] prestigiator *L* liberabit] liberauit *PL Blume* magos]
 magis *Lorenzana* (magos = magis)⁷⁵ 31 exortat] exhortat *Blume* 32 Ihesum]
 Iesum *PL Blume* 34 accitus] arcitus *M PL* 36 uidens] uidit *M PL p.* cre-
 dit *uirg. scr. Blume* 37 coniunxque] coniuxque *L* babtismate] baptismate
Blume 38 cum] quum *M PL* Effigenie] Eugenia *M PL p.* Effigenie *uirg.*
scripsi 40 regimine (*sc. regimen*)⁷⁶ 42 spocondit] spondit *L* 43 celeps]
 celebs *L Blume* Effigenia] Eugenia *M PL* 45 sacra cum uelamina (= sacris
 cum uelaminis)⁷⁷ 46 Matheus] Matthaues *Blume* exorsus] exortus *M PL*
Blume 47 regis sponsam seruo] seruus regis sponsam *M PL* 48 fas est] fast
M ras. inter co- et -pule L 49 Irtacus] Yrtacus *L* I.o.h.m.] o.h.m.I. *Blume*
 apostolum] apostoli *Blume* 50 punctum] pectus *Blume* hictu] hictum *L*, ictu
Blume

⁷⁵ Cf. J. GIL, *Apuntes sobre morfología*, cit. n. 35, p. 201.

⁷⁶ Para la fosilización de sustantivos de la tercera ver J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, 193-4 y ID., *Apuntes sobre morfología*, cit. n. 35, p. 200-201.

⁷⁷ Cf. J. GIL, *Apuntes sobre morfología*, cit. n. 35, p. 201.

Orans confossus, migrat celis anima;
 aurum mox prebet uirgo Effigenia
 et Xristo dignam construunt baselicam,
 in qua Matheus requiescit in urna;
 55 uigent uirtutes per eterna tempora.

Virgines uri rex precepit, set flamma
 uentus inuergens cremat regis atria,
 mox est percussus totus elephantia
prolis arreptus demonis seuitia,
 60 *set* pater cesus ense efflat animam.

Regnum *mox* cepit frater Effigienie,
 Beor gestabat nomen ex babtismate,
 quem sanctus martir unxeratque crismate:
 prouincie sunt plene mox baselice,
 65 *que* canunt deo dulci modulamine.

Vota, rex, pleuis, Xriste, *rata* effice
 languidis fabe elisosque erige,
 mestis solamen, functis dona requiem,
 arce et pestem, bellum, litem remobe,
 70 fraterno pacem solida in pectore.

Supplices, Xriste, uernuli exposcimus,
 adsistat fautor nobis hic apostolus,
 impetret nostris ueniam sceleribus,
 euulsis cunctis uitiiisque funditus
 75 uita, dum instat, polleat uirtutibus.

51 confossus] confossum *M PL* celis] celi *M PL* 52 Effigenia] Eugenia *M PL* p. Effigenia *uirg. scr. Blume* 53 dignam] dignum *L* construunt] construit *L* baselicam] uasilicam *L*, basilicam *Blume* 54 Matheus] Mattheus *Blume* urna] urnam *M p.* urna *uirg. scr. Blume* 56 set] sed *PL Blume* 57 p. atria *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 58 elephantia] elebantia *M PL*, elephantia *Blume p.* elephantia *uirg. scr. Blume* 59 prolis arreptus] proles abreptus *Blume* prolis⁷⁸ seuitia] seuissima *L* 60 set] se *PL*, et *Blume* cesus] cesu *L* animam] anima *L* 61 regnum] rexnum *M PL* mox] hoc *L Blume* Effigienie] Eugenie *M PL* 62 babtismate] baptismate *Blume* 63 quem] que *M PL* martir] martyr *Blume* crismate] chrismate *Blume* 64 plene mox] idemque *M* baselice] basilicae *Blume* 65 que] quo *L Blume* 66 uota] uotum *Blume p.* uota *uirg. scripsi* pleuis] plebis *L PL Blume a. et p.* pleuis *uirg. scripsi* rata] Lorenzana Gilson, ratam *ML PL*, ratum *Blume* 68 mestis] mentis *M PL* 72 adsistat] assistat *Blume* fautor] fauctor *ML PL*

⁷⁸ Cf. cit. n. 37.

Gloria patri personet ingenito,
 gloria Xristo semper unigenito,
 gloria sancto spiritu paraclito,
 cuius eterna laus et potentia
 80 per infinita seculorum secula.

155. En honor de san Mateo.

1. Tú, Cristo, autor del universo, gobiernas el olimpo, sostienes la tierra, adornas el cielo con la luz de las estrellas, llenas los campos de la descendencia del hombre y ordenas que el mar no se salga de sus límites.
2. Tú pones en el primer hombre y en su descendencia el sentimiento natural de la ley, para que dé a su hermano lo que quiere para sí. De nuevo Moisés la recibió de ti [la ley] por dos veces en unas tablas con diez preceptos purificadores.
3. Después de esto vienen dieciséis profetas, preparan el corazón del pueblo para la salvación, destruyen la falsa y vana creencia en los ídolos, predicán la fe en ti, Dios celestial, y proclaman la esperanza en el encarnado.
4. Cuando este mundo contaba cinco mil doscientos años desde su origen, entonces tú, verdadero cordero, naciste de una virgen y a los treinta años de tu vida fuiste bautizado por Juan.
5. Después eliges a los apóstoles conocidos de antemano: Pedro, Andrés, Juan y Jacobo, Bartolomé, Judas y Simón, Tomás, Felipe y Jacobo el de Alfeo, y a Mateo lo llamas de su puesto de recaudador.
6. Éste, Cristo, después de tu subida a los cielos, sin demora marcha a los Etríopes, enseguida fue acogido por el eunuco de Cándace; liberó a los hechizados por los magos e hizo adormecer a los dragones enfurecidos.
7. Exhorta a la asamblea a menospreciar a los vanos dioses y a creer en Jesucristo, Dios verdadero, para que gocen de las delicias del paraíso; fue llamado después por el príncipe Eglipo y resucita a su hijo.
8. El rey, al verlo, creyó y el pueblo construye un templo en el que el rey y su esposa fueron lavados por el bautismo y el pueblo lleva por generaciones una vida santa con Eufranón y Efigenia, hasta que Írtaco comenzó su reinado.
9. Llama pues el fiero rey al apóstol y le promete la mitad de su reino, para que le sea entregada la santa Efigenia, a la que estaban confiadas doscientas vírgenes puras en el cenobio con el sagrado velo.
10. Mateo le respondió a Írtaco: "no está permitido al siervo tomar la esposa de su rey, ni está permitido que la esposa de Cristo se una a ti con lazo conyugal"; por esto Írtaco inmediatamente ordenó que el pecho del apóstol fuera traspasado por el golpe de la espada.
11. Atravesado mientras oraba, su alma sube a los cielos; al punto la virgen Efigenia da dinero y construyen una basílica digna para Cristo, en la que Mateo descansa en un sarcófago; los milagros florecen por siempre.
12. El rey mandó quemar a las vírgenes, pero las llamas, empujadas por el

viento, queman el palacio del rey; después toda su descendencia fue afectada de elefantiasis y poseída por la maldad del demonio, mas el padre exhala su espíritu atravesado por la espada.

13. Luego recibió el reino el hermano de Efigenia, que desde su bautismo llevaba el nombre de Beor y al que el santo mártir había ungido con el crisma; enseguida se llenan las basílicas de la provincia, que a Dios entonan cánticos de dulce armonía.

14. Cristo rey, acepta las ofrendas de tu pueblo, ayuda a los enfermos, levanta a los abatidos, da consuelo a los tristes y a los difuntos el descanso, aleja la peste, aparta la guerra y la discordia, consolida la paz en el corazón de los hermanos.

15. Nosotros tus siervos, Cristo, te pedimos suplicantes que nos asista benefactor nuestro apóstol y alcance el perdón para nuestros pecados, que, arrancados de raíz los vicios todos, nuestra vida, mientras aliente, se fortalezca por las virtudes.

16. Resuene la gloria al padre ingénito, gloria siempre a Cristo unigénito, gloria al espíritu santo paráclito, cuya eterna alabanza y poder por todos los siglos de los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes

u. 27

A.S. Sep. XXI 221

Beatus Matheus apostolus et euangelista primo Hebreis Christum Dominum prædicauerat. Verum cum pararet transire ad Ethiopiam, quæ in sorte predicationis aduenerat,...

A.S. Sep. XXI 221

Hunc cum uidisset Ethiops eunuchus Candacis regine, qui fuerat a Philippo baptizatus, projecit se ad pedes ejus, adorans et dicens: Respexit Deus ciuitatem istam, ut liberet eam de manu horum duorum magorum, quos putant stulti homines deos esse: et suscepit in domum suam.

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Zaroes autem et Arfaxat, illi duo magi, ab hora, qua suscitauit Matheus in nomine Jesu Christi filium regis, fugientes ab Ethyopia in Persidem sunt deuoluti, ibi nihilominus pejora facientes.

uu. 29-30

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Aperiens autem Apostolus hostium, mox egressus est. Et ecce illi duo magi, singulos dracones ante se habentes, ueniebant: mox autem, ut uenerunt, ambo dracones ante pedes Apostoli obdormierunt. Tunc dicit illis Apostolus: Vbi est ars uestra? si potestis excitare eos? Ego autem si non rogassem Dominum meum Jesum Christum, omnem furorem, quem nunc exacuistis, in uos retorsissent. Sed quousque omnis populus conueniat, quia

nullus accedere ausus erit huc, ego excitabo eos, et jubebo illos redire ad locum suum cum omni mansuetudine. Conabantur arte sua magica excitare eos, penitus non poterant neque oculos aperire, neque excitare se.

uu. 31-33

A.S. Sep. XXI 221

Veniebant ad eum omnes amici eunuchi Candacis regine, et audientes uerbum uitæ, credebant Christo Jesu Domino nostro, et baptizabantur pluri-
mi, uidentes, quod omnia, quæ magi faciebant male hominibus, hic Dei
Apostolus euacuaret.

u. 34

A.S. Sep. XXI 221

Eo itaque tempore erant duo magi Zaroës et Arphaxat apud Ethiopas in
ciuitate eorum magna, quæ dicitur Natdaber, in qua erat rex nomine
Egyppus...

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Tunc missi sunt cum eunucho honorati uiri a latere regis, qui rogarent
Apostolum, et cum honore introduxerunt eum ad regem.

u. 35

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Vt cognoscant ergo gentes, quia præter te non est alius, et uera est assertio
oris mei, excitetur puer iste: et apprehendens manum defuncti, ait: In
nomine Domini mei Jesu Christi crucifixi surge, Eufranan, et confestim
surrexit puer.

uu. 36-38

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Sedit autem in hac ecclesia Matheus annis XXIII, et constituit presbyteros
et diacones, et multas fabricauit ecclesias, et per ciuitates et castella ordi-
nauit episcopos. Baptizatus est autem rex Egyppus, et regina Eufenissa cum
filiis ejus Eufranan, qui suscitatus est; et filia ejus Ephigenia, uirgo perma-
nens:...

uu. 40-45

A.S. Sep. XXI 223

Rex Egyppus, senectute expleta, perrexit ad Dominum, et accepit Hyrtacus
exadelphus ejus imperium. Hic cum uellet accipere Effigeniam, filiam
defuncti regis, uxorem, jam Christo dedicatam, quæ sacrum uelamen acce-
perat de manu Apostoli, quæ etiam erat præposita uirginum amplius quam
ducentarum: sperabat rex Hyrtacus, quod per Apostolum posset ejus ani-
mum promouere. Cæpit ergo cum sancto Matheo agere, dicens: Dimidium
regni mei accipe, tamen suade, ut Effigeniam possim matrimonio copula-
re:...

uu. 46-49

A.S. Sep. XXI 223

Factoque silentio, Apostolus dixit: Et matrimonia dum copulantur, boni
operis honestate ornantur, si sancte, et juste, et integre, et irreprehensibili-

ter copulantur. Nam si desponsatam regis seruus regis usurpare audeat, non solum offensam, sed etiam crimen tam graue incurrisse dignoscitur, ut merito uiuens tradatur flammarum incendiis. Ita etiam tu, fili karissime rex Hyrtace, sciens Effigeniam, filiam regis prædecessoris tui, sponsam Regis celestis effectam, et sacro uelamine consecratam, quomodo poteris sponsam potentioris te tollere, et tuo eam matrimonio copulare?

uu. 49-51

A.S. Sep. XXI 224

Cumque omnes respondissent: Amen, et mysteria Domini essent celebrata, et missas accepisset omnis ecclesia, et unusquisque ad domum propriam remeasset; Matheum apostolum suum Christus in ecclesia retinuit iuxta altare, ubi Corpus ab eo Christi fuerat confectum, ut illic martyrium apostolicum exaltaret. Nam expansis manibus orantem spiculator missus ab Hyrtaco, a tergo punctum, ictu gladii feriens Apostolum Dei, Christi martyrem effecit:...

52-54

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Effigenia autem sacratissima uirgo Christi, quicquid in auro, et argento, et gemmis habere potuit, omnia contulit sacerdotibus, et omni clero, dicens: Obsecro uos, postea quam dignam Apostoli Christi fabricaueritis ecclesiam, quicquid superfuert, pauperibus erogetis: me autem oportet habere certamen cum Hyrtaco.

uu. 56-57

A.S. Sep. XXI 224

Quod cum nulla penitus potuisset ratione efficere, conuocauit magos, ut demonum illam ministerio caperent. Quod cum minime hoc facere ualerent, fecit circumdari igne pretorium, quo cum uirginibus Christi commanens, Deo suo die noctuque famulabatur. Sed cum per circuitum ignis arderet, apparuit angelus Domini cum Matheo apostolo, et dixit ei: Effigenia, firma esto, et noli expauescere hos ignes: ad illum enim, a quo tibi sunt suppositi, reuertentur. Igitur cum per girum pretorii sanctæ Effigeniæ flammæ perstreperent, excitauit Dominus uentum ualidissimum, et emundauit omne illud incendium a domo uirginis suæ; et ita consumpsit palatium Hyrtaci, ut non inde potuerit aliquid ex facultatibus regis liberari.

58-60

A.S. Sep. XXI 222

Ipse autem Hyrtacus cum filio suo unico uix euasit: sed melius fuerat incendio interisse. Nam filium ejus uehementissimus demon impleuit, qui illum cursu rapidissimo ad apostoli Mathei sepulcrum adducens, a tergo manibus ab ipso diabolo colligatis, confiteri eum patris crimina compellebat. Ipsum autem Hyrtacum elephantis uulnera a capite usque ad ultima pedum uestigia repleuit. Quem medici cum curare non possent; ipse in se gladium imponens, occubuit; ut qui a tergo Apostolum Domini percuti iusserat, ipse se ipsum stomacho perforaret.

uu. 61-63

A.S. Sep. XXI 224

Vniuersus autem populus insultans morti ejus, comprehendit cum omni exercitu fratrem Effigeniæ, nomine Vgor, qui per Effigeniam germanam suam in manu Mathei fuerat gratiam Domini consecutus, ut super se, Domino opitulante, regnaret.

uu. 64-65

A.S. Sep. XXI 224

Omnes autem provincie Ethyopum, ecclesiis repletæ Catholicis, usque in hodiernum diem per Effigeniam benedicunt Deum, et fiunt mirabilia magna ad confessionem beati apostoli Mathei in uirtute et potentia Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

158. In sancti Michaelis.

Ad Vesperas.

O celorum alme princeps, Micael potissime,
summi regis Xristi summus portitorque rutilus,
agie bis, nuncupatus Micael, quis ut *dominus*?

5 Tu polorum aule uasis, tu tronorum ciuis es,
dominationum arce tu uirtutum *preminens*
principatum potestatum lux *coruscus* enites.

Cerubin deinde sacro tu cluis ignicoro,
serafin deinde pollens cetu nixus agusto,
arce ueens legionum primus rite senio.

158. codd.: L (146v) X (367)

edd. PL (1213), Blume (223)

1 Micael] Michael PL Blume 3 agie bis] *scripsi*, ayebis L, ageus X, agius PL, hacie quis Gilson, hacie bis Blume nuncupatus] nunc nuncupatus L nunc+ Gilson Micael] Michael X PL Blume quis ut dominus] ut dominus L, quis ut deus Blume 4 polorum] pollorum X uasis] uases (u- in ras.) L, basis PL Blume tronorum] pollorum X ciuis] ciues L 5 uirtutum] uirtutemque PL preminens] praemines Blume 6 principatum] principatuum PL coruscus] coruscans X PL Blume enites] euites X 7 cerubin] cherubim PL Blume tu cluis] tunc luis L luis+ Gilson ignicoro] ignichoro X PL Blume 8 serafin] seraphin X, seraphim PL Blume pollens] polles? Gilson cetu] cento L, ceto X cento+ Gilson agusto] agusto X PL Blume 9 arce] arcem X arce+ Gilson ueens] uehens X PL Blume senio] senior X PL

- 10 Tu quaterno seniorum ordine cursu uiges,
tu bis bino senatorum globo *quartum* fulmen es,
conditoris trono situs rite missus adsistens.
- Tu ter terno sacro fultus angelorum ordine,
mille centies *urbanum* legionum conpage,
- 15 iuge carmen *trinitati concrepas* "ter agie."
- Tu perennis dei summi uultum pedesque tegis
inuicem tribusque illis innuens aspectibus,
Vrielo, Gabrielo, Rafaelo socius,
- Hincque flantes flabis flammis bis ternis uolatibus,
- 20 scilicet tegentes summa ante mundi exordia
imaue perhacto fine queque sunt nobissima.
- Tu creatus creatoris obsequens officio
humilem prelatus axem non linquis fastigio,
ille celi dum refuga plectitur in tartaro.
- 25 Inde tibi summa uirtus pollet, uigor inclite,
tenebrosis *dominare turbibus demonicis*,
iudicare, censor, suis zabulum cum angelis.
- Tu pleuis Iudee salus celo missus ultor es,
almo uati iubar ferens Danieli oraculo;
- 30 fortem inquit te bellare pro fideli populo.

11 bis bino] bis duo *X PL* quartum] *Gilson*, quartus *LX*, quaterno *PL*, quarto *Blume* quartus+ *Gilson* fulmen] flumen *X* 12 trono] throno *X PL Blume* adsistens] *scripsi*, adsistans (-is- *sup. L*) *L*, adastans *X*, adstans *PL*, assistens *Blume* 13 terno] teno *L* teno+ *Gilson* fultus] uultus *X PL* 14 centies] centiens *X* urbanum] *scripsi*, urbano *LX*, urbana *PL Blume* urbano+ *Gilson* conpage] compage *X PL Blume* 15 trinitati] trinitatis *X PL Blume* concrepas] *scripsi*, concrepans *LX PL Blume* agie] hacie *Blume* 16 perennis] perhennis *X* 17 inuicem] in uicem *X PL Blume* aspectibus] adspectibus *PL* 18 Vrielo Gabrielo] Vrieli Gabrieli *PL* Rafaelo] Raphaelo *X Blume*, Raphaeli *PL* p. socius *punct. scr. Blume* 19 flabis] *scripsi*, flabos *L*, flauos *X PL*, flauis *Blume* uolatibus] uolantibus *X* 20 p. exordia *uirg. scr. Blume* 21 imaue] inmane *X PL* perhacto] peracto *X PL Blume* p. fine *uirg. scr. Blume* queque] cuique *PL* nobissima] nouissima *X PL Blume* 24 celi *om. X PL* in tartaro] inso- lens *PL* 26 dominare] dominari *PL Blume* turbibus demonicis] turbisque dominicis *L Blume*, turbisque daemonicis *PL* 27 a. et p. censor *uirg. scripsi* 28 pleuis] plebis *X PL Blume* salus in ras. *L* celo] e celo *L* e+ *Gilson* ultor] altor *L*, lator *X PL* 29 p. oraculo *uir. scr. Blume*

Inde nos quesumus, alme miles, uictor inclite,
exibe cunctis renatis nunc demum babtismate,
que prestabas olim pie ueteri enigmatē.

- 35 Tu remobe tela lapsa, sontes iras demonum,
pelle ulcus, arce morbum, aufer omne scandalum,
pax, salus fidesque ferbens omnem tegat animum.

Ecce cuncti conglobati reuoluti temporis
annuale aule tue dedicatum soluimus;
sit ratum ut regi Xristo, tu fabe, dum uibimus.

- 40 Prebe nobis mente decos, esse mundos corpore,
ne cadamus ceno mole saucii liuidinis,
quo surgamus ad salutem, tu clementer subleua.

- Tempora fabe tranquilla, auge pacis federa,
ensis urbis nostre fines hostilis non dissicet,
45 labes mundum plage ullum te duce non trucidet.

Discat sexus omnis etas cassa mundi linquere,
uerum Xristi callem clines discamus concurrere,
quo queamus celi portam transitum post petere.

- Vltimus dies cum ille resurgendi fulserit,
50 non reorum sorte uincti mancipemur tartaro,
sed urbano lucis loco deputemur libero.

Duplex tunc honor dum sanctis digne dignus redditur,
non indignis mala nobis obuient, que gessimus,
sed mutandi transferamur ex fide sideribus,

32 exhibe] exhibe *PL Blume* babtismate] baptismate *X PL Blume* 33 enigmatē] aenigmati *X PL* 36 ferbens] feruens *X PL Blume* omnem] omne *X*
37 p. ecce *uirg. scr. Blume* reuoluti] reuoluto *X PL* 38 annuale] annualet *L*,
anno alleluya *X*, anno alleluia *PL* dedicatum (*sc. dedicationem*) *p.* soluimus
uirg. scr. Blume 39 uibimus] uiuimus *X PL Blume* 40 decos] cecos *X*, cecis
PL, decus *Blume* decos+ *Gilson* decos (*sc. decus*) 41 mole] molli *X PL*
liuidinis] *scripsi*, liuidine *L*, libidine *X PL*, libidinis *Blume* 44 fines] finis *L*
dissicet] dissecet *X PL Blume* 45 mundum] (*in ras.*) *L Blume*, ullum *X PL* tru-
cidet] trucidet *LX PL* 46 cassa] cussa *L* cussa+ *Gilson* 47 clines] cliues
X PL 49 ultimus] ultimo *LX PL* dies] die *PL* resurgendi] resurgenti *L*,
resurgendo *PL* 52 digne dignus] digna dignis *X*, digna merces *PL* 53 obuient]
obligent *X PL* 54 mutandi] nutandi *X* sideribus] syderibus *X* *p.* sideribus
punct. scr. Blume

- 55 Quo tibi percomti, alme Micahel fortissime,
Iherusalem gloriose *sic enixi* carmine,
ut immenso perfruamur rite lucis lumine.

Laudem soli trino fantes numini multimodam,
spiritus, patris et agni mox adepti dexteram

- 60 gaudeamus, exultemus affatim per secula.

55 percomti] precacti *X*, precanti *PL*, percompti *Blume* Micahel] Michael *X*
PL *Blume* 56 Iherusalem] Hierusalem *X* *PL* *Blume* sic enixi] sint enixi *X* *PL*,
simus mixti *Blume* 60 exultemus] exsultemus *PL* *Blume*

158. En honor de san Miguel. A vísperas.

1. Oh santo príncipe de los cielos, Miguel poderosísimo, sumo y rutilante mensajero del sumo rey Cristo, dos veces santo, llamado Miguel ¿Quién como el señor?

2. Tú eres base del palacio celestial, tú eres ciudadano de los tronos, tú sobresales en el alcázar de dominaciones, virtudes, principados, potestades, brillando cual resplandeciente luz.

3. Tú gozas de renombre en el sagrado coro de fuego de los querubines, poderoso apoyándote en el augusto coro de los serafines, marchando el primero por antigüedad, según el rito, a la cabeza de las legiones.

4. Tú destacas por tu rapidez en los cuatro órdenes de ancianos, tú eres el cuarto rayo en los cuatro grupos de senadores, estando, según el rito, junto al trono del creador como su mensajero.

5. Tú, apoyado en los nueve coros sagrados de ángeles, en compañía de cien mil legiones celestiales, cantas sin cesar a la trinidad el canto "tres veces santo".

6. Tú eternamente cubres el rostro y los pies del Dios sumo, saludándolo alternativamente en unión de las tres figuras: Uriel, Gabriel y Rafael,

7. Soplando después con vuestras seis alas las encendidas llamas, ocultando lo más alto antes del comienzo del mundo y lo más bajo y lo último, llegado su fin.

8. Entregándote tú creado al servicio del creador, aún elevado a lo alto, no abandonas este mundo de aquí abajo, mientras aquél tránsito del cielo es castigado en el tártaro.

9. Por eso resplandece tu poder sumo, ínclito vigor, para dominar sobre las tenebrosas turbas de demonios, para juzgar, cual censor, al diablo con sus ángeles.

10. Tú, salvación del pueblo judío, fuiste enviado desde el cielo, cual vengador, iluminando al santo profeta Daniel con un oráculo; dice que tú peleabas con valor por el pueblo fiel.

11. Por eso nosotros te pedimos, santo soldado, vencedor ínclito, desvela ya por fin a todos los que han renacido por el bautismo lo que antes mostrabas piadosamente bajo el viejo enigma.

12. Desvía tú los peligrosos dardos y las culpables iras de los demonios, aleja las plagas, aparta la enfermedad, quita todo escándalo, que la paz, la salud y la fe ferviente protejan todos los espíritus.

13. He aquí que todos, reunidos, transcurrido el año, cumplimos el anual rito de consagración de tu templo; que sea grato a Cristo rey y tú ayúdanos mientras vivimos.

14. Concédenos dignidad de espíritu y que seamos puros de cuerpo, para que no caigamos en el cieno heridos por el peso de la pasión; ayúdanos con clemencia para que nos levantemos a la salvación.

15. Danos tiempos tranquilos, provee tratados de paz, que la espada enemiga no diezme a los habitantes de nuestra ciudad, que bajo tu guía la destrucción de las plagas no perjudique a ninguno de los puros,

16. Que todos, de cualquier sexo y edad, aprendan a abandonar las vanidades del mundo, que aprendamos a recorrer, obedientes, la verdadera senda de Cristo, para que podamos encaminarnos a la puerta del cielo después de la muerte.

17. Que cuando brille aquel último día de la resurrección, no seamos entregados al tártaro, atados por la suerte de los condenados, sino que seamos asignados al libre y sagrado lugar de la luz.

18. Que entonces, cuando a los santos se les devuelve un digno honor dignamente duplicado, no sea un impedimento, en nuestra indignidad, el mal que hicimos, sino que, pudiendo cambiar por la fe, seamos llevados a los cielos.

19. Donde adornados en tu honor, santo Miguel fortísimo, nos esforcemos en el canto de la Jerusalén gloriosa, de manera que gocemos justamente de la inmensa luz de la luz.

20. Que, alabando de mil formas a la trinidad sola, y alcanzando la derecha del espíritu, del padre y del cordero, nos alegremos y llenemos de gozo por siempre.

Fontes / Loci similes:

Las fuentes de inspiración del himno hay que buscarlas, en nuestra opinión, más en una devoción popular al santo ángel que en unos textos determinados. Las alusiones a san Miguel encontradas en la Sagradas Escrituras son realmente escasas; en el Antiguo Testamento, Daniel 12, y en el Nuevo, en el Apocalipsis.

uu. 1-3

Dan. 10, 21

Verumtamen annuntiabo tibi quod expressum est in scriptura ueritatis; et nemo est adiutor meus in omnibus his, nisi Michael princeps uester.

Hier. Dan. 2, 8

...porro ubi populo prospera promittuntur, et *hilasmos*, quod nos uel "propitiationem" uel "expiationem possumus dicere, necessaria est, Michael dirigitur qui interpretatur "quis ut deus?"

Greg.-M., Hom. 2, 34, 9

Michael namque, quis ut deus; Gabriel autem, fortitudo dei; Raphael uero dicitur medicina dei.

Greg.-M. Hom. Eu. 2, 34, 8

Hi autem qui minima nuntiant, angeli, qui uero summa annuntiant, archangeli, uocantur.

Greg.-M. Hom. Eu. 2, 34, 8

Graeca etenim lingua angeli nuntii, archangeli uero summi nuntii, uocantur.

uu. 4-9

Ex. 25, 18

duos quoque cherubin aureos, et productiles facies, ex utraque parte oraculi.

Is. 6, 2

seraphin stabant super illud sex alae uni et sex alae alteri; duabus velabant faciem eius et duabus velabant pedes eius et duabus volabant.

Col. 1, 16

quia in ipso condita sunt uniuersa in caelis et in terra uisibilia et inuisibilia siue throni siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates: omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt.

Eph. 1, 21

supra omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo sed et in futuro.

Verec. Cant. 18

Velim tamen inuestigare de secretis caelestium arcanorum, indicio scripturarum hominibus demonstrato, quae sint istae uirtutes diuinis laudibus famulantes: cherubin, seraphin, throni, dominationes, archangeli, sedes, uirtutes, angeli, ministri.

10

Apoc. 4, 4

Et in circuitu sedis sedilia uiginti quatuor, et super thronos uiginti quatuor seniores sedentes, circumamicti uestimentis albis, et in capitibus eorum coronæ aureæ.

uu. 13-20

Caes.-Arel, Serm. 212, 3

Esaias quoque spiritum sanctum unum in gloria trinitatis adnumerat, quando dicit: uidi dominum sedentem super solium excelsum, et seraphin stabant, et clamabant alter ad alterum: sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.

Ambr. Spir. 3, 21, 160

Et plena erat domus maiestatis eius, et seraphin stabant in circuitu eius, sex alae uni et sex alae alteri, et duabus uelabant faciem eius et duabus uelabant pedes eius et duabus uolabant.

u. 19

Is. 6, 2

seraphin stabant super illud: sex alae uni et sex alae alteri; duabus velabant faciem eius et duabus velabant pedes eius et duabus volabant.

uu. 22-24

Apoc. 12, 7

et factum est proelium in caelo Michahel et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone et draco pugnabat et angeli eius et non valuerunt neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo et proiectus est draco ille magnus serpens antiquus, qui vocatur Diabolus et Satanus qui seducit universum orbem proiectus est in terram et angeli eius cum illo missi sunt.

Eus.-Gall. Hom. 60, 20

ad hoc se autem, diuinitas, inclinavit: non solum ut uel de proximo uulnera humana sanaret et statum iacentis erigeret, sed etiam angeli rebelli superbiam caelesti humilitate damnaret.

uu. 25-28

Et factum est praelium magnum in caelo: Michael et Angeli ejus praeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat, et angeli ejus: et non ualuerunt, neque locus inuentus est eorum amplius in caelo. Et projectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui uocatur diabolus, et satanas, qui seducit uniuersum orbem; et projectus est in terram, et angeli ejus cum illo missi sunt.

uu. 28-30

Daniel, 12, 1 ss.

In tempore autem illo consurget Michahel, princeps magnus, qui stat pro filiis populi tui; et ueniet tempus quale non fuit ab eo quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad tempus illud. Et in tempore illo saluabitur populus tuus omnis qui inuentus fuerit scriptus in libro. Et multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae puluere euigilabunt, alii in uitam aeternam, et alii in obprobrium ut uideant semper. Qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti; et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.

Tu autem, Danihel, clude sermones, et signa librum usque ad tempus statutum; pertransibunt plurimi, et multiplex erit scientia. Et uidi ego Danihel et ecce quasi duo alii stabant; unus hinc super ripam fluminis, et alius inde ex altera ripa fluminis. Et dixi uiro qui indutus erat lineis, qui stabat super aquas fluminis: Vsquequo finis horum mirabilium? Et audiui uirum qui indutus erat lineis, qui stabat super aquas fluminis, cum leuasset dexteram et sinistram suam in caelum, et iurasset per uiuentem in aeternum, quia in tempus, et tempora, et dimidium temporis; et cum completa fuerit dispersio manus populi sancti, conplebuntur uniuersa haec. Et ego audiui et non intellexi. Et dixi: Domine mi, quid erit post haec? Et ait: Vade, Danihel, quia clausi sunt signatique sermones, usque ad tempus praefinitum. Eligentur, et dealbabuntur, et quasi ignis probabuntur multi; et impie agent impii neque intellegent omnes impii; porro docti intellegent. Et a tempore cum ablatum fuerit iuge sacrificium, et posita fuerit abominatio in desola-

tionem, dies mille ducenti nonaginta. Beatus qui expectat, et peruenit ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque! Tu autem uade ad praefinitum: et requiesce et stabis in sorte tua in fine dierum.

uu. 31-33

Hier. Dan. 4, 12

in tempore autem illo consurget Michael, princeps magnus qui stat pro filiis populi tui, et ueniet tempus quale non fuit ex eo quo gentes esse coeperunt usque ad tempus illud.

uu. 49-51

Thes. I, 4, 15 ss.

quoniam ipse Dominus in iussu et in uoce archangeli et in tuba Dei descendet de caelo: et mortui qui in Christo sunt resurgent primi. Deinde nos qui uiuimus qui relinquimur simul rapiemur cum illis in nubibus obuiam Domino in aera et sic semper cum Domino erimus. Itaque consolamini inuicem in uerbis istis.

Mat. 25, 41

tunc dicet et his qui a sinistris erunt: discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius

uu. 55-56

Apoc. 21, 2

et civitatem sanctam Hierusalem novam vidi descendentem de caelo a Deo paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo.

164. In sancti Sebastiani.⁷⁹

Ad Vesperas.

Solemne festum, plebs benigna, promite
Sebastiani, martyris sanctissimi,
quo mundum linquens regna celi possidet;
omnes sonoro iubilo concinite

5 Christoque uota corde puro redite.

164. *codd.*: E (187v) [*uu. 36-98*], X (334v)

edd. PL (1044), Blume (231)

1 solemne] sollemne PL Blume promite] prompte X 4 omnes] omnis X 5
redite] reddite PL Blume

⁷⁹ Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 170-2. J. GIL, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 210-11.

- Hic litterarum clarus et christicola
 et Mediolani incolis indigena
 carus tyrano erat, nam principibus
 sub ueste ad hoc mundiali militans,
 10 *fidei* ut digna mulceret aloquia.
- Duo gemelli ac fideles milites,
 Marcelianus frater et Marcus pius,
 Christi dum prona nomen mente colerent,
 multantur diro carcerali uinculo
 15 mox audiendi Cromatio presidi.
- Ad hec parentes uel modeste coniuges
 mugitum dantes ac petentes carcerem
 cum blandimentis amicorum noxiis
 natos demonstrant, eiulando flagitant,
 20 non ut obire appetant sed degere.
- Inter parentum lachrymas uel coniugum
 Christi ceperunt milites mollescere
 mentesque pene ad dolores flectere;
 sed tunc eorum coram erat cetibus
 25 Sebastianus, belliger fortissimus.
- Mox quibus sese obiciens in medio
consulto cunctos instruens alloquio
 mundique falsa esse lucra indicat,
 celestis regni predicans insignia
 30 uitam finiri propter Xristum imperat.
- Hec *dum* beatus aptius *dissereret*,
 coruscum lumen radians ab ethere
 Sebastianum afficit mox lucidum
 et palliatius iuuenis sub lumine
 35 *copertus* eum *imbuit* plenissime.

6 litterarum] literarum *PL Blume* 7 incolis] indolis *X PL* 8 tyrano] tyranno
PL Blume 10 fidei ut] fidei et *PL*, fide ut *Blume* aloquia] alloquia *PL Blume*
 12 Marcelianus] Marcellianus *PL Blume* 15 audiendi] audiendos *X* Cromatio
 presidi] *scripsi*, optimo presidi *X PL*, Chromatio praeside *Blume* 19 demos-
 trant] demonstrant *PL Blume* 21 lachrymas] lacrimas *Blume* 26 obiciens]
 obiiciens *PL* 27 consulto] dignius *Blume* 29 celestis] celesti *X* 31 hec] his
X PL dum] cum *Blume* dissereret] *Gil*, discerneret *X PL Blume* 32 corus-
 cum] chorus cum *X PL* 34 p. lumine *uirg. scr. Blume* 35 copertus] *Gil*, imbui *X PL Blume*
fertur X PL Blume copertus (*sc. compertus*) imbuit] *Gil*, imbui *X PL Blume*

- Hec intra *sedes* acta sunt Nicostrati,
iam prima cuius Zoe uxor credidit;
bis ternos annos que elinguis duxerat,
effecta iussu eloquens tunc martyris
40 eiusque dicta rite prorsus *insequid*.
- Nam se boabat intueri angelum
sacrum tenere ante ipsum codicem,
per quem digesta auriebat singula.
Confestim omnes credi ad hoc clamitant,
45 ablutionem ocus expostulant.
- Sed semper ardens atque *dignus* prouidus
Sabastianus imperat Nicostratum,
ut uincla tenti, traditi in carceres
forent *quohacti* cum iam illis credulis,
50 baptisma cuncti consequantur abtius.
- Quod rite factum credidit et Claudius
cum prole caro cara et cum coniuge;
tum iam beatus aduocatus presbiter,
qui persequentum metu erat in abditis,
55 hic baptizandis imperat nomen dari.

36 *incipit E* hec intra sedes acta sunt] edes sunt intra acta hec *X*, aedes sunt intra acta haec *PL*, haec intra aedes acta sunt *Blume* 37 iam prima cuius] cuiusque prior *X PL* 38 bis ternos annos que elinguis] annos elinguis que bis ternos *X PL* 40 *insequid*] *insequi X PL Blume* 41 boabat] notabat *X PL* intueri angelum] angelum prospicere *X PL* 43 auriebat] hauriebat *X PL Blume* 44 ad hoc credi *X* 45 ablutionem] ablutionemque *X* ocus] occius *X* 46 ardens atque dignus prouidus] cautus atque dignus presagus *X PL*, ardens atque digne prouidus *Blume* 47 Sabastianus] Sebastianus *X PL Blume* 48 uincla] uinculis *X*, uinclis *PL* in carceres] carceribus *X PL* 49 quohacti] coacti *X PL Blume* cum iam illis credulis] cum iam tunc credentibus *X PL* 50 consequantur] consequuntur *E* abtius] aptius *X PL Blume* 52 cum prole caro] natis cum caris *X*, natis cum charis *PL*, cum prole cara *Blume* prole⁸⁰ cara et cum coniuge] et cum coniuge cum *X*, et cum cara coniuge *PL* *p. coniuge uirg. scr. Blume* 53 tum iam beatus] Policarpus *X PL*, cum iam beatus *Blume* presbiter] presbyter *X PL Blume* 54 metu erat in abditis] erat metu latitans *X PL* 55 baptizandis] baptizandis *X PL Blume* imperat nomen dari] nomen dare imperat *X PL*

- Tunc uniuersi *prodeunt* uocabula
 sexdena et octo utrorumque sexuum,
 tincti per *idem* sunt pio in gurgite
 et iam renati sub diuina gratia
 60 decem diebus leta psallunt cantica.
- Prefectus urbis tunc erat Cromatius;
 ad hoc requirit ipse Tranquillinum sic,
 quid liuerorum diceret arbitrio,
 fidemque Xristi *ille* plene intimans
 65 ipsum colendo se *curatum* indicat.
- Cuius edoctus sospitate arbiter
 uenire sanctos illico clam precipit,
 pensat uenalem esse christi gratiam,
 dispondet auri *infinita pondera*,
 70 *artos* mederi languidos *expostulat*.
- “Non hoc potiri distraendo opines,
 ni Xristum credas prius,” sancti inquit,
 “tuo medella erit nulla corpori;”
 adst ipse uobet statim ad hec credere
 75 ademta omni pectoris formidine.
- Sed mox beati ortant eum commode
 prius deorum fincta monstra frangere,
 culturam nempe *noxam* omnem pellere,

56 uniuersi prodeunt uocabula] nomen dantes uniuersi proprium *X PL*, uniuer-
 si prodentes uocabula *Blume* 57 sexuum] sexum *X p.* sexuum *uirg. scripsi*
 58 tincti per *idem*] per *idem* tincti *X*, per eum tincti *PL*, tincti per eum *Blume*
 60 decem diebus] dies per decem *X PL* 61 prefectus urbis tunc erat] Rome pre-
 fectus urbis sed *X PL* Cromatius] Chromatius *Blume p.* Cromatius *uirg. scr.*
Blume 62 ad hoc requirit ipse Tranquillinum sic] ad sciscitandum uocat sic
 Tranquillinus *X PL* 63 quid liuerorum] qui de natorum *X PL*, quid liberorum
Blume 64 Xristi] Xriste *E* ille] illi *PL Blume* 65 colendo[...] *cet. non pot.*
legi E se *curatum*] *scripsi*, sese natum *X PL*, se protectum *Blume* 66 edoc-
 tus sos[...] *cet. non pot. legi E* 67 illico] ilico *Blume* precipit] precepit *X* 68
 pensat uenalem] uenalem pensans *X PL* Christi] Xristi *X* 69 dispondet] des-
 pondet *X PL Blume* infinita pondera] infinitam copiam *Blume p.* pondera
uirg. scripsi 70 artos] artus *X PL Blume* expostulat] expostulant *E*, expostu-
 lans *Blume* 71 distraendo] distrahendo *X Blume*, distragendo *PL* 72 ni] nisi
EX PL 73 medella] medela *X PL Blume* nulla] ulla *E* 74 adst] adest *X PL*,
 ast *Blume* uobet] uouet *X Blume*, uocet *PL* ad hec credere] preses credere *X*
PL 75 ademta] adempta *PL Blume* 76 beati] beatior *X* ortant] cernit *X*,
 hortant *PL Blume* 77 fincta] ficta *X PL Blume* prius d.f.] d. prius f. *X PL*
 78 culturam nempe noxam omnem] *scripsi* cultura nempe noxa omni *E*, cultu-
 ram nempe noxiam omnem *Blume*

- cunctis delictis abnuere protinus;
 80 quod ut agatur, obtat ille promptior.
- At ut ceperunt martyres confringere
 delubra uana operis mecanici,
 decorus adstat angelus Cromatio,
 qui cuncta curat, solbit et podagricos
 85 nodos superno protinus *chalastico*.
- Sabastiani prouido consilio
 tunc egrotari simulat Cromatius,
 prefectus alter rei adit publice,
 abiecta mundi iste ut dispendia
 90 future uite rudimenta adpetat.
- Cum patre credit dulcis et Tiburtius,
 omnisque credit propria familia,
 centum quaterni mille et promiscui,
 sacro abluta lauacro discrimina
 95 carismatumque consecuntur gratiam.
- Antistes erat tunc Gaius episcopus;
 sanctos tuendos *colligit* Cromatius
 sacris *preceptis* propriis in edibus,
 quos ille omnes sic fouet et commonet
 100 ut pompa nullum secularis occupet.

80 obtat] optat *X PL Blume* promptior] promptior *X PL Blume* 81 at tu] at *X*, at tunc *PL* confringere] conterere *X PL* 82 mecanici] mecanice *E*, mechanici *PL Blume* 83 adstat] astat *Blume* angelus] iuuenis *X PL* Cromatio] Chromatio *PL Blume* 84 solbit] soluat *X*, soluit *PL Blume* 85 superno] supernum *E* chalastico] *Gil*, scolastico *E*, calatico *X*, calathico *PL*, solacio *Blume* chalastico⁸¹ 86 Sabastiani] Sebastiani *X PL Blume* 87 simulat] emulat *E PL*, emulat *X* Cromatius] Chromatius *Blume* 88 alter rei adit] rei alter ait *X PL* 89 iste] istius *X PL* 90 future] futura *X* adpetat] capiant *X PL*, appetat *Blume* 91 cum patre credit] cuum p. c. *E*, credit c. p. *X PL* Tiburtius] Tiburcius *X* 93 centum quaterni mille et promiscui] quaternos mille et promiscuos *E*, quater et dena centies promiscua *X PL* 94 sacro abluta lauacro] sacri abluta lauacri *E* 95 carismatumque] charismatumque *PL Blume* consecuntur] consequuntur *PL Blume* 96 antistes erat tunc Gaius episcopus] *Blume*, [...]aius episcopus *E*, antestari magnum galustum potissimum *X PL* p. episcopus uirg. scr. *Blume* 97 tuendos] tuendoque *X*, tuendo qui *PL* cet. non pot. legi *E* colligit] colligat *Blume* Cromatius] scripsi, Chromaticos *X PL*, Chromatius *Blume* 98 preceptis] precepit *X PL* hinc non potest legi *E* 99 cett. uersus om. *E* commonet] commouet *X PL*

⁸¹ Cf. *GIL*, *El himnario*, cit. n. 4, p. 210.

- Furor sed quia ingruit tyrannidis,
 hoc nulla potest ratione contegi,
 ex sacro scripto iussus est Cromatius,
 causa ut medendi longius ab oppido
 105 suo abiret cum suis commercio.
- Sanctos utrosque tunc *mouet* intentio,
 Sebastianum Policarpum sanctumque,
 ut quis de illis iret cum euntibus,
 sed ambo querunt passionis brauium,
 110 in urbe ambo residere ambiunt.
- Summus sed papas Policarpum commonet,
 ut adquisitam plebem nollet linquere,
nouellam Xristi rore *uti* inriget;
 mox conticescens sacer ad hoc senior
 115 blandumque uatis annuit inperium.
- Tunc apud papam remansere martyres
 Marcellianus, Marcus Tranquillinusque,
 Tiburtius, Castorius, Nicostratus
 cum fratre uero Claudio uel filio,
 120 Sebastianus et Zoe sanctissima.
- Hos autem ipse sancta in ecclesia
 Xristo ministros rite omnes consecrat
 explentque sacra uegeti mysteria,
 pollent diuerse singuli officiis
 125 et prerogata sanitatum gratia.
- Sit trinitati sempiterna gloria
 honorque summus et potestas inclita,
 que trinitas pater patrisque filius

101 tyrannidis] tyrannidis *PL Blume* 103 Cromatius] Chromatius *Blume* 105
 abiret] adiret *X PL* commercio] commertio *X* 106 mouet] *Gil*, monet *X PL*
Blume 107 Policarpum] Polycarpum *PL Blume* 111 summus] sumus *PL*
 Policarpum] *scripsi*, Policarpus *X*, Polycarpus *PL*, Polycarpum *Blume* 112
 adquisitam] acquisitum *Gil* 113 nouellam] nouellum *Blume Gil* uti] *Gil*, ubi
X PL Blume inriget] irriget *Blume* 115 annuit] adnuit *Blume* inperium]
 imperium *PL Blume* 116 remansere] remanere *X PL* 117 Marcellianus]
 Marcellianum *X PL* Marcus] Marcum *X PL* Tranquillinusque]
 Transquillinumque *X*, Tranquillinumque *PL* 118 Tiburtius] Tiburcium *X*,
 Tiburtium *PL* Castorius] Castolium *X*, Castorium *PL* Nicostratus]
 Nicostratum *X PL* 120 Sebastianus] Sebastianum *X PL* sanctissima] sanc-
 tissimum *X*, sanctissimam *PL* 122 *p.* consecrat *uirg. scr. Blume* 127 honorque
 summus] honor quesumus *X*

cum spiritu unus deus substantia
130 per cuncta regnat seculorum secula.

164. En honor de san Sebastián. A vísperas.

1. Haz pública, pueblo fiel, la solemne festividad de Sebastián, santísimo mártir, el día en que, abandonando el mundo, se hace dueño del reino celestial; cantad todos con resonante júbilo y alabad a Cristo con corazón puro.

2. Éste, cristiano, conocedor de las letras y natural de Milán, era querido del tirano, estando al servicio de los príncipes en su vestido terreno para esto, para que sus palabras dignas de fe dieran la paz.

3. Dos gemelos, Marceliano y su piadoso hermano Marco, leales soldados, cuando daban culto a Cristo con corazón dispuesto, son castigados con una espantosa prisión, para ser oídos después por el magistrado Cromacio.

4. Ante esto, sus padres y sus virtuosas esposas llorando se dirigen a la cárcel, entre los perjudiciales halagos de los amigos les enseñan a sus hijos y con lamentos les piden que no busquen la muerte sino la vida.

5. En medio de las lágrimas de sus padres y esposas los soldados de Cristo comenzaron a ablandarse y a doblegar sus mentes ante los dolores del castigo, pero entonces Sebastián, valiente guerrero, estaba presente en aquella reunión.

6. Al punto se mete en medio de ellos instruyendo a todos con sus prudentes palabras, les revela que son falsas las ganancias de este mundo y, predicando las maravillas del reino celestial, les manda que por Cristo pongan fin a su vida.

7. Cuando el santo oportunamente pronunciaba estas palabras, una brillante luz desde el cielo iluminó al punto a Sebastián y se vio a un joven vestido del "pallium", cubriéndolo completamente bajo la luz.

8. Esto sucedió en casa de Nicóstrato, cuya esposa Zoe fue la primera que creyó; ella, que había vivido seis años muda, recupera entonces el habla por mandato del mártir y sigue sus palabras piadosamente.

9. En efecto, ella gritaba que veía que un ángel tenía delante de él un libro sagrado, por medio del que [Sebastián] sacaba cada una de las cosas que decía; enseguida todos gritan que creen y con presteza piden el bautismo.

10. Pero Sebastián, siempre ansioso y digno previsor, ordena a Nicóstrato que los que estaban encadenados y los que estaban encarcelados se unieran a los ya creyentes y todos alcancen el bautismo de forma mejor.

11. Hecho esto piadosamente, también creyó Claudio junto con sus hijos queridos y su querida esposa; entonces fue llamado un santo sacerdote, que estaba escondido por miedo a quienes le perseguían; éste ordena que los que van a ser bautizados le den su nombre.

12. Entonces todos, sesenta y ocho de uno y otro sexo, dan su nombre, son bautizados por él en el agua santa y, ya renacidos bajo la gracia divina, durante diez días entonan alegres cantos.
13. Era entonces gobernador de la ciudad Cromacio; ante esto pregunta a Tranquilino qué decía de la voluntad de sus hijos, y él, dándole a conocer plenamente la fe de Cristo, le manifiesta que había sido curado por adorarlo.
14. Informado el magistrado sobre la salud de éste, ordena que los santos vayan rápidamente a su presencia a escondidas; piensa que es venal la gracia de Cristo, promete enorme cantidad de oro y pide que sean curados sus miembros enfermos.
15. "No pienses que vas a conseguir esto con el dinero, a no ser que antes creas en Cristo", dicen los santos, "no habrá medicina para tu cuerpo"; él a su vez, quitando todo el miedo de su pecho, promete creer al punto en estas cosas.
16. Mas enseguida los santos le exhortan convenientemente a romper antes las falsas estatuas de los dioses, a desprenderse de todo el pernicioso culto, a renunciar inmediatamente a todos sus pecados; lo que vivamente desea él que se haga.
17. Y cuando los mártires comenzaron a romper los vanos templos de la ciencia astrológica, junto a Cromacio se detiene un bello ángel que le cura todo y con un ungüento divino hace desaparecer completamente los nudos gotosos.
18. Por el clarividente consejo de Sebastián Cromacio finge entonces que está enfermo, y llega otro prefecto de la república; de este modo, tras abandonar los asuntos del mundo que le demoraban, aprende los rudimentos de la vida futura.
19. Con el padre creyó también su bondadoso hijo Tiburcio y creyó toda su servidumbre, mil cuatrocientos hombres y mujeres; sus faltas fueron lavadas por el sagrado bautismo y todos consiguen la gracia de los carismas.
20. Era papa entonces el obispo Gayo; por sus sagrados preceptos Cromacio reúne en su propia casa a los santos para protegerlos, a los cuales ayuda y aconseja para que no se apodere de ninguno la vanidad del siglo.
21. Pero esto no puede mantenerse oculto por ningún medio, ya que se desata el furor de la tiranía; por un escrito sagrado se ordena a Cromacio que se alejara de su ciudad a la frontera con los suyos para cuidarlos.
22. La solicitud mueve entonces a ambos santos, a Sebastián y al santo Policarpo, sobre quién de ellos iría con los que se marchaban, mas ambos buscan el premio de la pasión y ambos piden permanecer en la ciudad.
23. Pero el sumo pontífice advierte a Policarpo que no abandone al pueblo ganado y que bañe a los neófitos con el bautismo de Cristo; callando inmediatamente ante esto el anciano sacerdote, asintió a la suave orden del obispo.

24. Entonces quedaron junto al papa los mártires Marceliano, Marco, Tranquilino, Tiburcio, Castorio, Nicóstrato con su hermano Claudio y con su hijo, Sebastián y la santa Zoe.

25. A todos ellos consagra, según el rito, ministros de Cristo en su santa iglesia y con ánimo cumplen su sagrado ministerio; cada uno sobresale de forma diferente por sus funciones y por la gracia de curar a ellos concedida.

26. Sea a la trinidad la gloria sempiterna y el sumo honor y el poder ínclito, trinidad que, padre, hijo y espíritu, un solo Dios en substancia, reina por todos los siglos de los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similares:

Para Fábrega el himno es una versificación de la versión de la pasión del santo, conservada en el *Pasionario de Cardaña*⁸².

uu. 6-10

Pass. 2

In diebus illis, Sabastianus, uir christianissimus Mediolanensium partium ciuis, Diocletiano et Maximiano imperatoribus ita carus erat, ut principatum ei prime cohortis traderent, et suo eum conspectui iuberent semper adstare. Erat enim uir totius prudentie, in sermone uerax, in iudicio iustus, in consilio prouidus, in comisso fidelis, in interuentu strenuus, in bonitate conspicuus, in uniuersa morum honestate preclarus. Hunc milites ac si patrem uenerabantur; hunc uniuersi, qui preerant palatio, carissimo uenerabantur affectu: erat enim uerus Dei cultor, et necesse erat ut, quem Deus perfuderat gratia, ab omnibus amaretur.

Pass. 3

Christo igitur quotidie sedulum exhibebat officium, sed agebat quatenus et hoc sacrilegis regibus esset occultum, non passionis timore perterritus, nec patrimonii sui amore constrictus, sed ad hoc tantum sub chlamyde terreni imperii Christum militem agebat absconditum, ut christianorum animos, quos inter tormenta uidebat deficere, confortaret, et Deo redderet animas, quas diabolus conabatur auferre.

uu. 11-15

Pass. 3

Denique quum post multas martyrum mentes a timore passionis eripuit, et ad coronam perpetue glorie incitauit: ipse quoque quis esset apparuit, quia lumen in tenebris latere non potuit. Clarissimis igitur uiris Marcelliano et Marco, duobus geminis fratribus, pro Christi nomine in uinculis constitutis, quotidie solacium exhibebat; et tam ipsis quam etiam seruis eorum, cum quibus tenti fuerant, salutaria fidei consilia ministrabat: quibus fugitiua seculi blandimenta respuerent, et momentanea tormentorum genera non timerent.

⁸² A. FÁBREGA. *Pasionario*, cit. n. v. I, p. 177 ss.; v. II, p. 148-176

*uu. 16-20**Pass. 8*

Igitur dum hec et talia senior ageret, ecce et amborum coniuges cum natis propriis ueniunt, et aspectibus eorum proprios infantulos offerentes, has uoces eiulantes effundunt: Quibus nos seruituras relinquitis? Quibus coniugii uestri traditis caritatem? Quis putas erunt horum infantium domini, et domorum uestrorum audissimi peruasores? Quis erunt uestre occupatores familie? uel quis sibi diuisuri sunt uernaculos, quos nutritis? Heu, quam impio crudelitatis genere: parentes despicitis, amicos respuitis, uxores abicitis, filios abdicatis, et uos ipsos carnifici ultroneos exhibetis.

*uu. 21-30**Pass. 9*

Interea dum ista dicuntur, et illa referuntur, inter uxorum lacrimas et suspiria filiorum, ceperunt Christi milites mollescere, et animos suos flectere ad dolorem. Huic expectaculo, ut supra diximus, intererat beatus Sabastianus, uir per omnia christianissimus, quem occultabat militaris habitus, et chlamydis [sue] obumbrabat aspectus. At ubi uidit athletas Dei inmenso certaminis pondere fatigari, in medio eorum se obiciens, dixit: O fortissimi milites Christi, o instructissimi diuini prelii bellatores, per nimiam uirtutem animi fortiter peruenistis ad palmam, et nunc per misera blandimenta coronam deponitis sempiternam? Discat nunc per uos Christi militum fortitudo, fide potius armari quam ferro. Nolite uictoriarum uestrarum insignia per mulierum blandimenta abicere, et subiectas pedibus uestris hostis insani ceruices ad uictricia et rediuua iterum bella laxare, cuius quamuis seua contra uos extiterit, et perquam iniqua instantia, seuerior tamen efficitur ira repetita. Erigite igitur plenis affectibus trophæum uestri certaminis gloriosum, et nolite illud omittere fletibus paruulorum.

*uu. 31-35**Pass. 25*

Igitur quum hec beatus Sabastianus, indutus chlamyde, succinctus balteo, ex suo ore proferret subito per unam fere horam, splendore nimio de celo ueniente, inluminatus est, et sub ipso splendore pallio candidissimo amictus, iuuenis apparuit iuxta eum.

*uu. 36-40**Pass. 26*

Hec autem gerebantur intra domum primiscrinii, nomine Nicostrati, apud quem custodiebantur Marcellinus et Marcus. Qui Nicostratus habebat uxorem, nomine Zoe. Hec ante sex annos egritudinis nimietate facta est muta, prudentiam tamen audiendi et intellegendi non solum non amiserat, uerum etiam melius quam prius habuerat obtinebat. Hec itaque, quum intellexisset omnia, que beatus Sabastianus dixerat, et tantum lumen circa eum uidisset, quumque omnes facto miraculo stupore tenerentur, innuebat manu omnibus, ut quasi exprobrandi essent, qui tam euidenti adsertioni non crederent, et genibus eius aduoluta, rogare eum manuum indicia cepit. Sed beatus Sabastianus, quum uideret cordis eius secreta lingue expressione declarari non posse, causas huius silentii percontatus, didicit sermonis illi copiam nimiam ui infirmitatis ablatam. Tunc beatus Sabastianus dixit: Si

ego uerus seruus Christi sum, et si uera sunt omnia, que ex ore meo hec mulier audiuit et credidit, iubeat Dominus meus Iesus Christus, ut redeat ad ea officium labiorum, et aperiat os eius, qui aperuit os Zacharie prophete Domini.

uu. 41-50

Pass. 27

Ad hanc uocem sancti Sabastiani, exclamauit mulier uoce magna, dicens: Beatus es tu, et benedictus sermo oris tui: et beati, qui credunt per te Christum Filium Dei uiui. Ego enim uidi oculis meis angelum ad te uenientem de celo, et librum ante oculos tuos tenentem, ex cuius lectione uniuersa sermonis tui ratio decurrebat.

Pass. 34

Igitur quum hec et his similia Marcus prosequeretur, ceperunt omnes, qui audierant, Deo gratias agere, atque uniuersi flentes, penitundinem gerebant, quod caritati Dei pretulerant amore carnis; et quia ab agone martyrii ausi fuissent animos reuocare sanctorum. Quumque omnes, qui ad decipiendos sanctos uenerant, unanimiter crederent Christo, Nicostratus cum coniuge sua urgebat, dicens: Non capiam cibum neque potum, nisi mysterium mici christiane religionis fuerit traditum. Cui sanctus Sabastianus dixit: Muta dignitatem tuam, et esse incipe Christi magis primiscrinus, quam prefecti. Audi itaque consilium meum, et omnes, quos carcer inclusit, omnesque, quos uincula tenent, quos ergastula conficiunt, in unum redige. Quod quum feceris, antestiti sacrosancte legis te adhibeam, ut cum omnibus, qui credere uoluerint, mysterii suscipias sacramentum. Si enim diabolus Christo sanctos auferre conatus est, et conatur; quanto magis nos pietatis argumento hos, quos diabolus iniuste lucratus est, curare debemus, et suo restituere creatori?

uu. 51-60

Pass. 38

Post hec sanctus Sabastianus abiit ad Polycarpum sanctum presbyterum, ubi erat causa persequutionis occultus, et narrauit ei omnia que gesta sunt.

Pass. 44

Quumque clamaret Claudius credere se, et desideraret se fieri christianum, iussit sanctus Polycarpus ut darent uniuersi nomina sua. Primus itaque omnium dedit nomen suum Tranquillinus pater Marcellini et Marci. Post hunc sex amici eorum, id est, Ariston, Crescentianus, Euticius, Vrbanus, Vitalis et Iustus. Post hos Nicostratus primiscrinus, et Castorius frater eius, et Claudius comentariensis. Post hos filii ipsius Claudii, Felicissimus et Felix. Post hos Marcia mater Marcellini et Marci, cum uxoribus eorum et filiis. Simul autem et Simforosa uxor Claudii, et Zoe uxor Nicostrati. Post hos omnis familia, que erat in domo Nicostrati, anime triginta [et] tres promiscui sexus et etatis; dehinc omnes qui uincti fuerant, ac de carceris squalore adducti, anime sedecim.

Pass. 45

Igitur omnes isti sexaginta et octo a sancto Polycarpo presbytero baptizati, et a sancto Sabastiano suscepti sunt; feminarum autem matres facte sunt Beatrix et Lucina.

*uu. 61-65**Pass. 48*

Chromatius urbis Rome prefectus ad se Tranquillinum patrem Marcellini et Marci uenire iubet. Quem quum de suorum inquireret arbitrio filiorum, Tranquillinus respondit: ad referendas beneficii uestri culminis grates nullus mici oris sufficit sermo.

*uu. 66-75**Pass. 59*

Post hec, mittit, et adduci eum ad se precepit per noctem occulte, [et] offerens ei infinitum pondus auri, dicebat ei: Ostende mici medicamenta ex quo recuperasti salutem. Cui Tranquillinus ait: Scias grandem iram et furorem Dei esse passuros, qui gratiam Dei uel uenundant uel emunt. Vnde si uis a podagrico dolore liberari, crede Christum Filium Dei esse, et liberaueris, et sicut hodie me uides, ita saluus eris. Nempe uix manibus deferebar, et undecim annis per omnes iuncturas neruorum in corpore meo dolorum nodis adstrictus, uix ori meo panis alienis manibus tradebatur: ilico ut Christum uerum Deum esse credidi, salutis mee gaudia recepi, et sum incolomis, quia uerum saluatorem agnouii.

Pass. 60

Tunc prefectus dimisit eum, dicens: Adduc ad me, qui te sanum fecit, et si mici promiserit sanitatem, possim et ego fieri christianus.

*uu. 76-80**Pass. 65*

Chromatius dixit: Quur ergo me dicis prius debere agnoscere quis sit creator meus, quem nisi cognouerim, salutem inuenire non possum? Sanctus Sabastianus dixit: Quia multos deos et multas deas coluisti. Nisi ergo hos a corde tuo excluderis, et imagines eorum confregeris, et cognoueris unum et uerum Deum, uitam et salutem inuenire non poteris.

Pass. 66

Sanctus Sabastianus dixit: Da nobis potestatem, ut omnia idola, que in domo tua inuenerimus, lapidea confringamus, aurea uero et argentea uel uitrea conflemus, et pretia earum egentibus diuidamus. Chromatius dixit: Et dum hec feceritis, mici quid fructus accedet? Sanctus Sabastianus dixit: Omnium neruorum tuorum, quorum nodositate constringeris, statim consequeris sanitatem; et quasi cui numquam nicil doluerit, ita in pedibus tuis currere incipies, et agnoscere quos inimicos tue salutis dilexeris; tuum uero parentem hunc esse, qui te, statim ut eius notitiam atque culturam inueniris, restaurat et saluat.

uu. 81-85

Pass. 67

...Pugnant etenim acerrime, et fortiter uincunt, quia contra inuisibilem hostem die noctuque infatigabiliter preliantur; et sunt tecti in manibus membris, fide potius armati quam ferro. Chromatius dixit: Fiat uoluntas Dei et uestra.

Pass. 68

Tunc sanctus Polycarpus presbyter et beatus Sabastianus, precingentes se, orauerunt; et post orationem amplius quam ducenta idolorum signa confringentes, ceperunt gratias agere Deo suo. Post hec accesserunt ad Chromatium, dicentes ei: Confringentibus nobis idola, tu debuisti sanitatem recipere, nisi forte aliqua tibi in animo signa infidelitatis dereliquit. Hoc enim apud nos certum gerimus, quod aut est aliquid quod nondum est factum, aut si omnia facta sunt, quid animi geras nobis euidentius manifesta. Tunc ille: Habeo, inquit, cubiculum olouitreum, in quo omnis disciplina stellarum ac mathesis mechanica est arte constructum, in cuius fabrica pater meus Tarquinius amplius quam ducenta pondus auri dinoscitur expendisse.

uu. 86-90

Pass. 75

Tunc beatus Sabastianus dixit Chromatio: Sicut ipse nosti, principatum cohortis prime ago, sed utrum sit militie hominis nescire olim decreui, nec uellem. Ad hoc tantum sub chlamyde latere uolui, ut nutantium animos instruerem et dubitantes constantes efficerem, ne passionum doloribus cederent, quos fides fecerat bellatores. Tu autem potestatis amplissime gerens apicem, non potes temetipsum nec ab spectaculis tollere, neque iudicandis negotiis absentare. Simulans igitur egritudinem, tibi ipsi postula successorem, ut possis, liber ab occupationibus mundi, future uite rudimenta suscipere, et secunda natiuitate iterum natus, eternis efficiaris parentibus prolis. Eodem itaque die mittit ad amicos suos in palatio positos, per quos testimonialis scribta suscipiens, tirocinium diuine militie, antequam babtizaretur, accepit.

uu. 91-95

Pass. 78

Igitur dum pauci admodum transacti fuissent dies, omnibus rite abrenuntiatis a Chromatio mundi negotiis, suscepit Chromatius sacri babtismatis nouitatem: et cum eodem ex familia eius promiscui sexus mille quadringente anime, quos omni prius manumissionis gratia a seruitutis nodos exsoluit, et donis obtimis instruxit, dicens: Hoc quod isti, qui Deum incipiunt habere patrem, serui hominis non esse debent.

uu. 96-115

Pass. 79

Erat autem papa urbis Rome, nomine Gaius, uir magne prudentie magneque uirtutis, imperantibus tunc Carino, Diocletiano et Maximiano.

Pass. 81

Tunc sancti Gagi episcopi consilio habito, Chromatius inlustris uir omnes christianos in domo sua suscepit, et uniuersos ita fouebat, ut nullus omnino sacrificandi necessitate subcumberet. Verum qui tanta uis persecutionis extiterat, ut opinio christianitatis eius celari non possit, meruit ex sacro rescribo Chromatius, ut medendi gratia in Campano litore moraretur, in quo erat lati cespitis dominus, tribuitque copiam omni christiano ire uolenti cum eodem ad persecutoris rabiem declinandam. Tunc orta est contentio inter sanctum Polycarpum presbyterem et beatum Sabastianum: qui in Vrbe remaneret, et quis iret cum Chromatio, qui tantum populum susceperat christianum. Quibus altercantibus, uenerabilis papa Gaius dixit: Dum ambo coronam passionis queritis, adquisitum Christo populum desolatis. Vnde mici uidetur ut tu, frater Polycarpe, qui et sacerdotii rectum tramitem tenes, et scientie Dei repletus es donis, perge simul ad confortandas credentium mentes, et animos dubios defecandos. At ille, his auditis, quieuit, blandumque pape imperium equanimiter tulit.

*116-120**Pass. 84*

Remanserunt autem cum uenerabile papa hii, Marcellinus et Marcus, simul quoque et pater eorum, uir gloriosissimus Tranquillinus, item Sabastianus beatus, et pulcherrimus iuuenis sed mente pulchrior, sanctus Tiburtius, Nicostratus ex primiscrinio cum fratre suo Castorio, et cum coniuge sua, Zoe nomine; iterum Claudius cum Victorino fratre suo, et cum filiis suis [Felicissimus et Felix], qui fuerant a morbo hydropis liberati [atque Simproniano.] Ceteris uero uniuersis cum Chromatio proficiscentibus, hii tantum cum Gaio episcopo remanserunt, qui Marcum et Marcellinum diaconi honore sanctificauit. Tranquillinum uero patrem eorum, fecit presbyterum. Sanctum Sabastianum, qui ad multorum profectum sub specie militie latebat, defensorem Ecclesie instituit; ceteros uero subdiacones fecit.

173. In sancti Thomae.

Ad Vesperas.

Festum, Xriste rex, per orbem inluxit almificum,
in quo tibi confitetur cuncta coors fidelium,
glorie persolbit ymnum pro triumphis martirum.

173. *codd.*: *M* (11), *L* (118v), *B* (50v), *X* (429)

edd. *PL* (1301), *Blume* (246)

1 inluxit] illuxit *Blume* 2 tibi confitetur cuncta] cuncta confitentur tibi *B*
coors] plebs *L*, cohors *X PL*, chors *Blume* 3 glorie] gloriam *X PL* persolbit]
persolbunt *MB*, persoluunt *X PL*, persoluit *Blume* ymnum] imnum *MB*, hym-
num *X PL Blume* triumphis] triumphis *B* martirum] martiris *L*

- Gloriosus ecce tuusque Tomas discipulus
 5 -cicatrices *contractando* creditus es Dominus-
 inter fratres gloriosus exstitit apostolus.
- Nuntius uenit de Indos querere artificem
 arcitectum, construere regium palatium,
 in foro deambulabat cunctorum uenialium.
- 10 "Habeo seruum fidelem," locutus est Dominus,
 "ut exquiris, talem;" abtum esse hunc artificem
 Abbanes uidens et gaudens suscipit apostolum,
- Traditur regis ministro sanctus dei apostolus;
 Elioforum ingressus susceptus conuibio;
 15 digna suo percussori reddita est ultio.
- Rex ut uidit et audiuit insigne miraculum,
 iubenes ut benedicat, supplicanter postulat,
 sic baptisma candidatos consecrat uelamine.
- Gundaforus, rex Indorum inicus ac perfidus,
 20 Romanorum more sibi uoluit palatium,
 huius opus construere precipit apostolum.

4 ecce tuusque] ecce tuus que L (que *legatur?* cui *Gilson*), ei cetus B a. et p. ecce *uirg. scr. Blume* Tomas] Thomas X PL *Blume*, Xristeque B p. discipulus *uirg. scr. Blume* 5 *contractando*] *contractando* *Blume* es] est MX PL p. dominus *uirg. scr. Blume* 6 exstitit] extitit ML PL apostolus] discipulus B 7 nuntius] nuncius X PL de Indos] de Indis X, ab Indis PL de Indos⁸³ artifices+ *Gilson* Indos (= Indis) 8 arcitectum] arcitectus M, arcitectuum L, architectum X PL *Blume* arcitectuum+ *Gilson* construere] construeret qui X palatium] palacium X p. palatium *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 9 foro *glos. L* mercatum deambulabat] dum ambulabat L ambulabat+ *Gilson* uenialium] uenialium L 10 habeo seruum] abeo serbum L locutus] loquutus B 11 exquiris] quiris M p. talem *uirg. scr. Blume* abtum] aptum X PL *Blume* p. artificem *punct. scr. Blume* 12 Abbanes *glos.* ministri regis L suscipit] suscepit MLX PL 13 traditur] traditus L regis] regi X ministro] ministros M, ministris X PL sanctus dei apostolus] sancto dei apostolo B 14 Elioforum] Elioforus X, Eliophorum PL susceptus] suscepit MX PL conuibio] conuibio MB, conuiuio X PL *Blume* p. conuiuio *uirg. scr. Blume* 15 suo percussori] sui percussoris MBX PL reddita] redita X ultio] ulcio X 16 p. rex *uirg. scr. Blume* 17 supplicanter] supplicantes X 18 baptisma] baptismum *Blume*, baptismum X PL candidatos] candidatis M uelamine] uelamina M 19 Gundaforus] Gundaphorus PL inicus] iniquus BX PL *Blume* ac] hac M 20 palatium] palacium X 21 opus] opes B apostolum] apostolo X PL

⁸³ Cf. Cf. GIL, *Apuntes sobre morfología*, cit. n. 35, p. 201

Sed beatus atque sanctus Didimus apostolus
erogando regis aurum construit *palatium*
rutilum, coruscum genmis, in supernis sedibus.

- 25 Carcere mox rex Abbanem trusit cum apostolo;
Gat, infirmus regis frater, migrat ab hoc seculo,
celo ductus uidit dignum fratrisque palatium.

Angeli expetunt Xristo, ut resurgat mortuus,
Gundaforo reddat aurum, emat edificium

- 30 et resolbat uinculatum Domini discipulum.

Illico surgens exponit sacrum regi ordinem,
carcerem deinde petit, *eicit* apostolum,
obsecrant undique fratres ueniamque criminum.

- Tunc Tomas in campum uocat populos indanicos,
35 lapidem conscendit altum, corda mulcet gentium,
per baptisma pollicetur ueniam peccaminum.

Indiam superiorem uisitans adgreditur
dogma Xristi predicando; fundauit ecclesiam,
infinita per baptisma consecrauit milia.

- 40 Mira quippe ac stupenda faciens miracula
Sinticeque restaurauit *corporalia lumina*,
laticis perfundit unda illam et Mindoniam.

22 sed...atque] set...adque *M* Didimus] Didymus *PL Blume* 23 palatium]
palacium *X*, ediculum *L Blume* 24 genmis] gemis *L*, gemmis *BX PL Blume* 25
carcere] carcerem *B* mox rex Abbanem] rex Abbanem mox *B* 26 Gat] Gath
X p. frater uirg. scripsi 27 palatium] palacium *X* 28 expetunt] expectunt
BX 29 Gundaforo] Gundaphoro *X* 30 resolbat] resoluat *BX PL Blume* 31
illico] ylico *L*, illico *X* exponit *glos. L* dicit regi ordinem] rei ordinem *MB*,
regio ordine *X* 32 carcerem] in carcerem *X PL* eicit] elicit *Blume* aposto-
lum] apostolus *X* 33 obsecrant *glos. L* rogant *p. criminum X* peccantium *add.*
34 Tomas] Thomas *BX PL Blume* tunc Th.i.c.uocat] tunc uocat Th.i.c. *B*
Indanicos] Indianicos *X* 36 baptisma] baptisma *X PL Blume* pollicetur *glos.*
L promittit 37 adgreditur] aggreditur *X Blume p. aggreditur uirg. scr. Blume*
38 dogma *glos. L* doctrina Xristi] Xristo *X*, Christi *PL Blume p. predicando*
punct. et uirg. scripsi ecclesiam] eclesiam *M*, ecclesia *B* 39 baptisma] baptis-
ma *X PL Blume* 40 quippe] quipe *X* ac] hac *M* 41 Sinticeque] Senticque
B, Sinticaeque *PL*, Syticem *Blume*, Syticem *Gilson* Sinticeque+ *Gilson*
corporalia] corporalis *ML*, corporali *B Blume* corporalis+ *Gilson* lumina]
limina *X*, lumine *Blume*, lumini *Gilson* 42 laticis] lacteis *B* perfundit] pro-
fundit *X* unda] undam *MX PL*

Xristiana iam probata regis uxor Treptia,
regnum Xristi concupiscens respuit terrestria;
45 ulcerosus scabrescens ut sanetur, postulat.

Precibus Tome a Xristo *dirigitur angelus*,
exiit in parte totam ulcerosam tunicam,
nobe cutis indumenta uestiuit corporea.

Templum solis comminutum corrui cum idolo,
50 ac metallum pretiosum soluitur in puluerem;
rex illius ciuitatis fugit cum Carisio.

Tunc sacerdos idolorum furibundus adstitit,
gladio transuerberauit sanctum Xristi martirem,
glorioso passionis laureatur sanguine.

55 O beata inter omnes Edessena ciuitas,
que pignus suscepit alium Domini discipulum.
ubi corpus requiescit cum honore conditum.

Inde cuncti te precamur, summi patris filium,
mitte nobis de supernis inuictum auxilium,
60 ut credentes euadamus eternum supplicium,

Vt sub uno cuncta coors coniuncta fidelium
te sequamur, te canamus, te fruamur perpetim,
humili professione proclamemus gloriam.

43 probata] probatam *B* uxor] huxor *B* Treptia] Creptia *X* *p.* Treptia *uirg.*
scripsi 44 respuit] repuit *X* terrestria] trestia *X* 45 ulcerosus] ulcerosum
MLB escabrescens] escabrentem *M*, iscabrentem *B*, scaber *X PL* scabrescen-
tem *glos.* *L* sarnoso sanetur] salbetur *B* 46 Tome] Thome *MBX PL*, Thomae
Blume dirigitur angelus] diriturque angelus *ML*, angelus dirigitur *X PL Blume*
Gilson diriturque+ *Gilson* 47 totam] totum *ML* totum+ *Gilson* 48 nobe]
nube *B*, nouae *X PL Blume* corporea] corpoream *MB* 49 comminutum]
cominutum *BX* idolo] idolum *MB*, idolis *X* 50 ac] hac *M* metallum pre-
tiosum] metalum preciosum *X* puluerem] pulbere *L* *p.* puluerem *uirg. scr.*
Blume pulbere+ *Gilson* 51 fugit] fuit *LX* Carisio] Caricio *L*, Curisio *X*,
Caristo *PL* 52 idolorum] ydolorum *LB* adstitit] astitit *X PL Blume* 53
martirem] martyrem *X PL Blume* *p.* martyrem *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 54
laureatur] laureantur *ML*, laureatus *B*, laureatum *X PL* laureantur+ *Gilson* 55
Edessena ciuitas] sedes sena ciuitas *B*, Edesena ciuitas *X* 59 auxilium] ausilium
B 60 *p.* supplicium *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 61 uno] una *B* coors] cohors
BX PL Blume 62 canamus] canamur *L* 63 professione] confessione *X* 64
Gloria patri *M*

173. En honor de santo Tomás. A Vísperas.

1. Por el orbe, Cristo rey, brilló la santificadora fiesta, en la que toda la corte de los fieles te confiesa y canta un himno de gloria por los triunfos de tus mártires.
2. He aquí que tu glorioso discípulo Tomás -creyó en ti, señor, porque tocó tus llagas- fue glorioso apóstol entre sus hermanos.
3. Llegó un mensajero de los indios a buscar un arquitecto para construir el palacio del rey; paseaba en el mercado.
4. "Tengo un siervo fiel como tú buscas" le dijo el señor; viendo Abbanes que éste es el artesano adecuado y alegrándose acepta al apóstol.
5. Y el santo apóstol de Dios se entrega al ministro del rey; después de llegar a Helióforo fue recibido en un banquete; se dio adecuado castigo a quien le había golpeado.
6. Tan pronto como el rey vio y oyó el gran milagro, con súplicas ruega que bendiga a los jóvenes; de este modo el bautismo consagra a los neófitos cubiertos con el velo.
7. Gundaforo, rey de los indios, inicuo y pérfido, quiso para sí un palacio como los de los romanos; ordenó al apóstol construir esta obra.
8. Pero el bueno y santo apóstol Dídimio, gastando el oro del rey, construyó en la morada celestial un resplandeciente palacio, brillante por sus perlas.
9. Inmediatamente el rey metió en la cárcel a Abbanes y al apóstol; muere Gat, hermano del rey, que estaba enfermo; llevado al cielo, vio el palacio digno de su hermano.
10. Piden los ángeles a Cristo que el muerto resucite, que compre a su hermano el palacio, que devuelva el dinero a Gundaforo y libere así al discípulo del señor encadenado.
11. Levantándose el muerto al instante, expone al rey el mandato santo, después se dirige a la cárcel y saca al apóstol, los hermanos piden el completo perdón de sus pecados.
12. Entonces Tomás llama a una llanura a los pueblos de la India, sube a una elevada roca, apacigua el corazón de las gentes y promete el perdón de sus pecados por el bautismo.
13. Visita la parte superior de la India predicando la fe de Cristo; fundó una iglesia y por el bautismo consagró muchos miles.
14. Hizo admirables y asombrosos milagros, devolvió a Sintice la luz de sus ojos y derramó sobre ella y Mindonia el agua del bautismo.
15. La esposa del rey, Treptia, ya probada cristiana, deseando el reino de Cristo, rechazó las cosas de la tierra; un hombre cubierto de sucias llagas pide que le cure.
16. Por las súplicas de Tomás es enviado por Cristo un ángel, el cual le quitó en un lugar aparte toda su piel llagada y vistió su cuerpo con la vestidura de una nueva piel.
17. El templo del sol cayó destruido junto con su ídolo y el metal precioso se deshizo en polvo; el rey de aquella ciudad huyó con Carisio.

18. Entonces el sacerdote de los ídolos se presentó fuera de sí y con una espada atravesó al santo mártir de Cristo; es laureado por la gloriosa sangre de la pasión.

19. Oh ciudad de Edesa, dichosa entre todas, que recibió como regalo al santo discípulo del Señor, donde su cuerpo descansa enterrado con gloria.

20. Por esto todos te suplicamos, hijo del padre todopoderoso, envíanos desde el cielo auxilio invencible, para que los que creemos escapemos al eterno castigo,

21. Para que toda la cohorte de los fieles a una te sigamos, te cantemos, te gocemos continuamente y proclamemos tu gloria con humilde confesión.

Fontes / Loci similes:

La gran cantidad de detalles que el himno nos da sobre el martirio del santo hacen suponer a Fábrega⁸⁴ que su autor lo compuso a la vista de un texto escrito. En el presente estudio remitimos a la pasión de santo Tomás editada por Zelzer⁸⁵.

u. 5

Io. 20, 24-28

Thomas autem unus ex duodecim, qui dicitur Didymus, non erat cum eis quando uenit Iesus. Dixerunt ergo ei alii discipuli: Vidimus Dominum. Ille autem dixit eis: Nisi uidero in manibus eius fixuram clauorum, et mittam digitum meum in locum clauorum, et mittam manum meam in latus eius, non credam. Et post dies octo, iterum erant discipuli eius intus: et Thomas cum eis. Venit Iesus ianuis clausis, et stetit in medio, et dixit: Pax uobis. Deinde dicit Thomae: Infer digitum tuum huc, et uide manus meas, et adfer manum tuam, et mitte in latus meum: et noli esse incredulus, sed fidelis. Respondit Thomas et dixit ei: Dominus meus et Deus meus. Dixit ei Iesus: quia uidisti me Thoma, credidisti: beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt.

7-9

1 Cum apostolus Thomas, qui et Didymus, esset apud Caesaream, apparuit ei dominus Iesus Christus et ait ad eum: "Rex Indorum Gundaforus misit praepositum suum ad Syriam quaerere hominem arte architectonica eruditum...

2 Haec eo dicente ecce praepositus familiae regis Indorum nomine Abbanes descendens de naui deambulabat iuxta mare in foro rerum uenialium...

uu. 10-12

2 Cui dominus ait: "Habeo seruum idoneum et fidelem mihi quem ad diuersas iam ciuitates misi, et quicquid laborat mihi laborum suorum mercedes apportat. Hunc itaque mittam tecum ut expletis omnibus ad me eum

⁸⁴ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. I, 222-23

⁸⁵ K. ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, Berlín, 1977.

facias cum honore remeare." Quod audiens Abbanes magno repletus est gaudio et gratias agens osculabatur genua eius. Et conuocans Thomam dominus tradidit eum in manu Abbanes et abscessit.

uu. 14-15

6 Cum haec et his similia loqueretur Thomas uelificante naue septimo die plenis uelis ac prosperis uentis tenuerunt ciuitatem Andronopolim.

Contigit autem et Abbanem cum Thoma interesse conuiuio; stupebant autem eos discumbentes quasi peregrinos et quos numquam uiderant.

8 Tunc pincerna increpans apostolum quod neque manducaret neque bibere dedit palmam in faciem eius. Apostolus autem dixit ei: "Melius est ut tibi in futuro saeculo detur indulgentia ubi finis plagae nullus occurrit, hic autem in isto saeculo plaga transitoria ista tibi reddatur ut tu ipse intereas, manus uero de qua percussisti a canibus rosa hic apportetur."

9 Is ergo qui palma sua faciem apostoli percussit egressus ut aquam deferret a fonte, inuasit eum leo et bibens sanguinem eius abiit, canes uero comederunt membra eius, in quibus unus niger canis dexteram manum eius suo ore ferens in medium conuiuui apportauit.

uu. 16-18

10 Cumque de strepitu hominum rex inquireret et quid euenisset audiret, fecit ad se uocari apostolum et rogare coepit eum ut benediceret filiam eius una cum sponso suo.

14 Tunc sponsus cum sua sponsa miserunt se ad pedes eius dicentes: "Confirma nos in omni ueritate ut nihil nobis de scientia dei desit." Quibus ait: "Veniam ad uos sequenti nocte et plenius uos instruens proficiscar." Igitur iuxta promissum suum ueniens de omnibus aeternae uitae mysteriis ambos diligenter instruxit et baptismatis eos unda sanctificans nauigauit.

uu. 19-21

16 Cum autem esset Hieroforum apostolus Indiae ciuitatem ingressus, Abbanes ad Gundaforum regem nuntiauit Thomam. Rex autem ut uidit Thomam dixit ei: "Potes mihi fabricare palatium?" Respondit Thomas: "Possum." Ostendens autem rex locum apostolo ait: "Dic mihi quo ordine poteris exstruere in isto loco palatium." Thomas autem apprehendens arundinem coepit metiri et dicere: "Ecce ianuas in isto loco disponam et ad ortum solis ingressum. Primo proaulum, secundo saluatorium,... Rex autem considerans ait ad apostolum: "Vere artifex es et decet te regibus ministrare." Relinquens autem illi pecunias infinitas abiit.

22-26

17 Apostolus autem coepit circuire per uicinas ciuitates, praedicare uerbum dei et donare pauperibus, baptizare credentes et abundanter donare egenis. Vnde factum est ut innumerabilem populum domino acquireret. Ordinauit autem cleros, ecclesias fabricauit et per totum biennium quod absens rex Gundaforus fuit firmauit ecclesias. Cum autem uenisset et hoc quod fecit apostolus deprehendisset, iussit apostolum simul cum Abbane ferro uinctos in ima carceris trudi, et quoniam frater regis in extremitate uitae languebat, distulit interfectionem eorum, cumque cogitaret uiuentes eos excoriare et ita eos flammis tradere, moritur germanus eius nomine Gad. Et factus est luctus intolerabilis, multum enim illum amabat.

uu. 27-33

18 Cumque eum circumdedissent mortuum bysso et purpura et iam gemmis regalibus totum eius corpus ornassent, iussit ex porfiriticis lapidibus memoriam exstrui et ipsum in labro purpureo poni. Igitur cum artifices tendunt moras sepulturae eius, Gad ipse qui mortuus fuerat resurrexit quarta die hora diei prima, et factus est pavor et stupor et silentium ita ut omnes uiri ac feminae qui regio funeri planctum exhibebant in silentium et in pauorem conuersi consideratione noua et inaudita expauescerent.

19 Tunc Gad dicit fratri suo regi Gundaforo: "Audi me frater. Iste homo quem tu disponebas excoriare et incendere amicus dei est et omnes angeli dei famulantur ei. Nam anima mea ducta est in caelum ab angelis et ostensum mihi est palatium quod tibi Thomas fabricauit, eo quidem ordine quo tibi disposuit se instructurum, sed tota fabrica ex lapidibus zmaragdis et iacinctis et cerauneis et albis instructa est intus et foris. Et cum considerans desiderarem uniuersam pulchritudinem, angeli sancti dixerunt mihi: Ecce palatium quod fratri tuo Thomas apostolus fabricauit. Et dixi: "Vtinam mererer ostiarius in isto fieri!" Quique respondentes dixerunt: "Frater tuus indignum se illo fecit. Si uis tu in eo manere, rogamus pro te dominum Iesum filium dei uiui et iubet te resuscitari, et uade et uendat eum tibi ut frater tuus recipiat pecunias suas quas se existimat perdidisse." Et haec dicens coepit ire festinus ad carcerem et ingressus misit se ad pedes apostoli plorans et postulans fratri suo indulgentiam dicens: "Ignorans hoc quod apostolus dei sis incurrit graue delictum."

u. 34-36

23 Apostolus autem petiit regem Gundaforum ut per unum mensem expectarent quousque fieret prouinciae totius congregatio et ita demum hoc facerent quod ipse docuisset. Completis autem triginta diebus quoniam nullum aedificium inueniri poterat in quo eos caperet iussit apostolus ut omnes congregarentur in campum iuxta Gazi montis ascensum.

26 Accedens autem apostolus ascendit super petram ut uideret omnes et uideri ab omnibus posset. Et facto magno silentio dixit: "Audite omnes populi. Me huc ad uos dominus meus cuius sum seruus qui dicitur Iesus Christus ipse me misit, ipse etiam hunc populum et uisitare dignatus est et curare.

31... Quod cum fecissent ueniente dominica baptizati sunt nouem milia uirorum exceptis paruulis et mulieribus.

uu. 37-41

32 Profectus est autem apostolus ad Indiam superiorem per reuelationem et ad opinionem eius omnes populi festinabant. Videntes enim signa magna et prodigia quae faciebat apostolus non poterant contemnere praedicationem eius. Nam et daemones pellebat et caecos illuminabat et leprosos mundabat omnes etiam dolores et calores et rigores pellebat, etiam mortuos suscitabat. 33 Contigit autem ut amica Migdoniae Sintice nomine quae fuerat per annos sex caeca curaretur, et ueniens ad Migdoniam uidens et ita sanos oculos habens ut nec signum praeteritae infirmitatis clarissimus eorum haberet aspectus, exclamauit Migdonia dicens: "Hic aut deus est aut angelus dei est qui tibi lumina sine aliquo medicamento restituit."

u. 39 o 36

38 Haec et his similia multa dicente apostolo credidit uniuersa multitudo et baptisate domini suo ordine per septem dierum ieiunium consecrata est.

uu. 43-48

44 Sed cum uideret Treptia regina tanta mirabilia obstupefacta ait: "Maledicti sunt a deo, qui non credunt his operibus salutis."

45 Migdonia autem dicit ad apostolum: "Domine, quidam leprosus cupit ingredi et non permittitur introire." Apostolus autem ait ad Sinforum: "Non patiaris prohibere eos qui credunt quod possint salutem consequi per me." Dicit ei Sinforus: "Penitus non est quod uideatur in eo. Facies ipsa plena uulneribus et uniuersa eius compago membrorum sub uno cortice uulnerum plena putoribus scaturrit." Dicit ei apostolus: "Recte tantum eius uulneribus datum est ut non sit leue quod dominus operatur." Iussumque est ut introduceretur et aspiciens eum apostolus fleuit et fixis genibus orauit diutissime.

47 Cum haec dixisset apostolus, apparuit quidam puer fulgido aspectu qui tulit eum leprosum a parte anguli secreti et exiit eum uestibus suis. Post haec exspoliavit eum corio quasi tunica corporali sicut qui excoriat uitulum et reuocauit eum ad apostolum. Apostolus autem consignans eum signo crucis baptizauit eum et fecit uestimentis indui nouis et candidis.

u. 43

48 Tunc Treptia uxor regis misit se ad plantas eius et osculans pedes eius uoce clara dicebat: "Obsecro te, apostole dei uiui, ut facias me participem uitae aeternae."...

49 Imponens autem manum suam super caput eius benedixit eam et post benedictionem instruxit eam de omnibus et dixit ei: "Audiui uocem domini mei Iesu Christi uocantis me et quia tempus mihi migrandi de corpore isto aduenit. Ideoque suscipite regenerationem quae datur per aquam et spiritum sanctum." Et baptizauit eam et omnes qui aderant...

50 Dicit ei Treptia: "Quoniam sperabam stultam effectam, illa autem ad ueram sapientiam peruenit in qua et me fecit uitae aeternae participem.

uu. 49-54

60 Dicit ei apostolus: "Ecce adoro sed non idolum, ecce adoro sed non metallum, ecce adoro sed non simulacrum. Adoro autem meum dominum Iesum Christum in cuius nomine impero tibi, daemon, qui hic in ipso lates, ut nullum hominum laedens metallum simulacri comminuas." Statim autem quasi cera iuxta ignem posita liquefactum idolum resolutum est. Tunc omnes sacerdotes mugitum leuauerunt, pontifex autem templi eleuans gladium transuerberauit apostolum dicens: "Ego uindico iniurias dei mei"

uu. 55-57

61 Sicque factum est ut translatum esset de India corpus apostoli et positum in ciuitate Edissa in locello argenteo quod pendit ex catenis argenteis.

62 In qua ciuitate nullus haereticus potest uiuere, nullus Iudaeus, nullus idolorum cultor.

175. In sancti Thyrsi.⁸⁶

Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium,
sollemne odie martiris incliti
est festum, modula carmina fortiter
in laudem Domini adque potentiam.

- 5 Celestis patrie gaudia cogitans
Tirsus *uir* pepulit omnia seculi
sanctus, cum minime crederet in Deum,
afflatus subito flamine sancto est.

- Seuum conspiciens iudicem increpat:
10 "quor sanctos Domini, inquit, atrocior,
penis discrucias ualde crudelibus?
infelix, ereui igne cremandus es."

- Illo quo* ravidus tempore presserat
hostis Cumbricius membra colentium
15 in terra dominum, multa peremta sunt
sanctorum nitida milia martirum.

- Sanctus pro domino Leucius nititur
electam animam tradere *promptior*;
diuersa genera pertulit innocens
20 penarum cupiens premia celica.

175. *codd.*: M (32), E (212), X (343v)

edd. PL (1083), Blume (249)

1 [...]xulta E 2 sollemne] solemne X PL odie] M, [...]odie E, hodie X PL
Blume incliti] incliti PL 3 [...]armina E 4 adque] atque X PL Blume
potentiam] potentia ME 5 cogitans] cogitat X 6 Tirsus] Tyrsus E, Thyrsus
PL Blume uir] ui Blume pepulit] reppulit M Blume 7 cum minime] qui-
bus minime X 8 afflatus] adflatus X PL Blume flamine] fammine E 10
quor] cur X PL Blume inquit] inquit M atrocior] atrociter X p. atrocior
uirg. scripsi 12 ereui] hereni X, erebi PL Blume p. infelix *uirg. scripsi* 13
illo quo] Thorsberg, ilico ME Blume, illico X PL ravidus] rabidus X PL Blume
15 dominum] domini E peremta] perenta X, perempta PL Blume 16 milia]
millia PL 17 Leucius] Leutius E nititur] nitit X 18 promptior] potius M
PL Blume, promptior X p. potius *uirg. scr.* Blume

Cf. B. THORSBERG, *Études*, cit. n. 4, p. 14-6.

Adleta pedibus impiger ambulans
Tirsus regem ubi repperit impium,
adpreendens tenuit, admonet et docet,
iam falsa ut colere idola temneret.

- 25 Tunc leto simulans ore locutus est:
“tu, Tirse, cupio, consilio meo
adsensum tribuens sacrifices diis,
ut magnam accipias copiam munerum.

- Sanctus: “*prespicuum* est”, ait, “impie,
30 quod totus habitet ille nequissimus
in te nunc coluber, prauus et inuidus;
cum tali pereas principe orride.”

- Gastrum perneciter adfore precipit
plenum limfa, caput martiris suffocat,
35 corpus, quod superest, fustibus cedere
nodosis acrius pestifer inperat,

- Set seruus domini uoce piissima
de uase miserum iudicem increpat:
“agnosce dominum, lubrice et inuide,
40 cum cernis opera magna et inclita.”

Turris construitur altius eminens,
per girum gladiis fixis in *ordine*,

21 adleta] athleta *X PL Blume* 22 Tirsus] Tyrus *E*, Thyrsus *PL Blume p.*
Tirsus *uirg. scr. Blume* repperit] reperit *X PL* 23 adpreendens] apprehen-
dens *X PL*, apprendens *Blume* admonet] ammonet *X* 24 colere] coleret *ME*
idola temneret] desinat idola *EX* 26 tu Tyrse] tu Thyse *PL Blume*, te Tirse *MX*
27 adsensum] assensum *X PL Blume* sacrifices] ut sacrifices *M PL* 28
magnam...copiam] magna...copia *ME*, magnas...copias *X PL* 29 prespicuum]
perspicuum *PL Blume* prespicuum⁸⁸ ait] agit *MX* impie] impie *EX PL*
Blume 31 *p.* coluber *uirg. scripsi* 32 orride] horride *PL Blume*, horrido *X*
33 gastrum] gustrum *X* precipit] percipit *X* 34 limfa] limpha *X PL Blume*
suffocat] soffocat *E* 36 inperat] imperat *EX PL Blume p.* imperat *punct. scr.*
Blume 37 set] sed *EX PL Blume* 40 inclita] inclyta *E* 41 altius] altus *X*
p. eminens *uirg. scripsi* 42 girum] gyrum *E PL Blume* ordine] ordinem *M*
PL Blume

⁸⁸ Cf. GIL, *Notas sobre fonética*, cit. n. 26, p. 78 ss.

almus ut fastigio positus decidens
enses susciperent membra fidelia.

- 45 "Magnus tu, *Domine, pre* diis omnibus,
 multum mirificus in te credentibus,
 prauis muscipula;" sanctus in ethera
 Xristi glorificat omnipotentiam.

- Victus non ualuit insatiabilis,
 50 seuus, terribilis, et noua cogitat
 tormenta sitiens uincere martirem,
 set *sanctus dominus conteruit* malum.

- "Ne, Tirse, timeas", sic ait angelus,
 "directus ego sum a domino deo,
 55 a te suplicia auferam omnia
 hostemque poteris uincere pessimum."

- Exaudi, domine, cogitat impius
 inferre onera, uincula omnia,
 feruentem oleum, plumbum et ungulas,
 60 ut sanctum superet martirem et necet.

Cernens proficere nil suis uiribus,
 sanctum precipitem in mare precipit
 iactare, uideant ne oculi hominum,
 ter dena stadia a litore longius.

- 65 Quam mira, Domine, sunt opera tua!
 adducunt manibus martirem angeli
 et dulci resonant carmine canticum,
 iudex non meruit cernere angelos.

43 almus ut] almus X, almus (ut) *Blume* 44 enses] *scripsi*, ense *MEX PL Blume*
 susciperent] susciperet X *PL Blume* fidelia] fidelium M 45 domine pre]
 domine es pre *EX Blume* 46 in te credentibus] ingredeuntibus M p. creden-
 tibus *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 47 prauis] prabus E p. muscipula *uirg. scr.*
Blume sanctus] sis sanctus X *PL* 48 Xristi] Christi *PL Blume* omnipo-
 tentiam] omnipotentia *ME* 50 et noua cogitat] et noua cogitans E, sed noua
 cogitat X 51 p. martirem *punct. et uirg. scr. Blume* 52 set] sed *EX PL Blume*
 sanctus] sanctum *Blume* dominus] domini *Blume* conteruit] non terruit E
Blume, conterruit X *PL* 53 uu. 53-56 et 57-60 inuertuntur in mss. Tirse]
 Tyrse E, Thyrese *PL Blume* 55 a te suplicia] a te ut supplitia X, a te supplicia
Blume p. omnia *uirg. scr. Blume* 58 onera] honera E uincula] uincula et
 M 59 feruentem] ferbentem E 62 mare] mari M *PL* 63 iactare] iactari X
PL ne] nec M 64 om. a E 66 martirem angeli] angeli martirem X 67
 dulci...carmine] dulcis...carmina E 68 angelos] angelum X

- Debemus penitus facta retexsere,
 70 que sanctus meritis reddiderit bona
 tribus iudicibus culpa labentibus,
 quos terra *pepulit* mortuos sepius.
- Exorant populi martirem, inquit:
 “oramus, domine, precipe protinus,
 75 terra ut suscipiat corpora iudicum,
 que scatent putrida uermibus funditus.”
- Clementer lacrimans sarculum accipit
 designans locum, ubi corpora condere
 deberent. “Veniam da pie, poscimus,
 80 martir, nos humiles credimus in deum.”
- Letentur omnium corda uolentium
 celestis patrie querere gaudia
 et *prauī* faciant nulla nocentia,
 ut uenti a facie stipula peruolent.
- 85 Te, martir, lacrimis, uernule, poscimus,
 per te omnipotens conditor ocus
 durum, quo premimur, hoc iugum auferat
 et letos faciat secla in omnia.
- Iam, summe domine, respice saucium
 90 delictis *populum*, dele cirographum
 et nostrum gemitum cerne propitius
 dans nobis auxilium tempore congruo.
- Defunctis requiem omnibus, obtime,
 concede, *tribue tempora* prospera,

69 retexsere] retexere EX PL Blume 70 sanctus] sanctis MX PL meritis red-
 diderit bona] ini[...]reddidit hec bona E 72 quos] quod X pepulit] reppulit
 MX Blume, repulit PL 75 iudicum] iudicium PL 76 scatent] scatens M PL,
 escam dent X funditus] funditur E PL 77 lacrimans] lachrymas X PL sar-
 culum] oraculum X 78 designans] desinans X 81 omnium] hominum
 Thorsberg 82 p. gaudia uirg. scr. Blume 83 et prauī] ex prabi E, et prauī X
 Blume faciant nulla] faciunt ulla X 84 ut uenti a facie] que uenti a facie ut
 X peruolent] peruolant EX 85 lacrimis] lacrimas M, lachrimis X a. et p.
 martir et a. et p. uernule uirg. scripsi 86 ocus] ocus PL 87 quo] quod E
 hoc] ob M, ut E 88 letos] lectos X secla] secula X PL in omnia] per omnia
 X 89 saucium] sautium X 90 populum] populi ME Blume p. delictis uirg.
 scr. Blume p. populum uirg. scripsi cirographum] cirografum M, chirogra-
 phum Blume 92 dans...congruo] da...congruum E 93 obtime] optime EX
 PL Blume 94 concede] concedens X tribue tempora prospera] tempora pros-
 pera tribue MX PL Blume

- 95 uictum pauperibus, subsidium uiduis,
omnes percipiant, quod pie postulant.

Templum hoc, domine, Cixilla condidit,
dignam hic habeat sortem in ethera,
cum summis ciuibus cantica precinat

- 100 gaudens perpetuis seculis omnibus.

Te nostra iubilet gloria perpetim,
qui solus dominus trinus et unus es
iugi imperio secula continens
et cuncta dominans, omnibus imperans.

95 uictum] uitum *X* 97 *uu.* 97-100 *om.* *ME PL* 101 *uu.* 101-4 *om.* *M* 105
sit trino domino gloria sedula regnum perpetuum adque potentia uirtute solita
(solida *PL*) qui regit omnia sustentans condita pie per secula *M PL*, presta inge-
nite per unigenitum regnas qui perpetim cum sancto spiritu olimpum continens
iugi iudicio sustentans aridam perenni imperio *X*

175. En honor de san Tirso.

1. Alégrate mucho, pueblo fiel, hoy es la fiesta solemne de un glorioso mártir, canta con fuerza cantos al poder y la gloria del Señor.
2. El santo varón Tirso, pensando en los goces de la patria celestial, rechazó todos los del mundo; aun cuando no creía en Dios, fue inspirado súbitamente por el espíritu santo.
3. Al ver al malvado magistrado, le increpa: "¿por qué, sanguinario, torturas a los santos del señor con tan inhumanos castigos?" le dice, "desdichado, el fuego del infierno te ha de consumir".
4. En el tiempo en que Cumbricio, enfurecido, había perseguido hostilmente a quienes en la tierra dan culto al señor, muchos miles de santos mártires perecieron con gloria.
5. El santo Leucio se esfuerza con alegría en entregar por el Señor su alma elegida; aunque inocente, soportó distintos castigos, deseando las recompensas del cielo.
6. Cuando el atleta Tirso, de pies infatigables, encontró en su camino al impío rey, agarrándolo lo detiene, le recuerda y le informa de que ya no quería dar culto a los falsos ídolos.
7. Entonces él, fingiendo, con expresión amiga le dijo: "deseo, Tirso, que tú, siguiendo mi consejo, sacrifiques a los dioses, para que recibas abundantes bienes."
8. El santo contestó: "Está claro, impío, que en todo tu ser habita aquella viciosa serpiente, malvada y envidiosa; ojalá perezcas tú en compañía de semejante príncipe horrendo."

9. Manda el malvado traer rápidamente una olla llena de agua, mete la cabeza del mártir en el agua y ordena azotar enérgicamente con varas nudosas el resto de su cuerpo,
10. Mas el siervo del señor con voz piadosa, desde la olla increpa al miserable magistrado: "mentiroso y envidioso, reconoce al señor, ya que ves sus grandes y brillantes obras."
11. Se construye una torre muy elevada y se fijan espadas en orden alrededor de ella, para que las espadas recibieran en su caída el cuerpo santo del creyente, que había sido puesto en la cúspide.
12. "Grande eres tú, señor, por encima de todos los dioses, maravilloso sobremanera para los que en ti creen y trampa para los malvados." El santo glorifica en el aire el poder absoluto de Cristo.
13. [El magistrado] no se dio por vencido, insaciable, cruel, terrible, y piensa en nuevos padecimientos, deseando vencer al mártir, pero el Señor santo venció al malvado.
14. "No temas, Tirso," le dice el ángel, "yo he sido enviado por el señor Dios, apartaré de ti todos los padecimientos y podrás vencer al cruel enemigo."
15. Oye, señor, el impío piensa echarle encima una carga, ataduras de todas clases, aceite hirviendo, plomo y uñas de hierro, para vencer al santo mártir y matarlo.
16. Viendo que nada conseguía con sus fuerzas, [el magistrado] ordena arrojar de cabeza en el mar al santo a treinta estadios de la costa, para que los ojos de los hombres no lo vean.
17. ¿Qué admirables son, señor, tus obras! Los ángeles llevan al mártir en sus manos y hacen resonar un cántico de dulce armonía, pero el magistrado no mereció ver a los ángeles.
18. Debemos recordar todos los hechos, qué bienes devolvió el santo con sus méritos a los tres jueces que habían caído en pecado, a los cuales, una vez muertos, la tierra rechazó más de una vez.
19. Imploran los pueblos al mártir diciendo: "Te pedimos, señor, ordenes que la tierra acoja pronto los cuerpos de los magistrados, que saltan del fondo podridos de gusanos."
20. Derramando lágrimas de bondad toma el escardillo, señalando el lugar en que debían depositar los cuerpos. "Te pedimos, mártir, danos bondadosamente el perdón, en Dios creemos humildemente."
21. Alégrense los corazones de todos los que buscan los gozos de la patria celestial y que los malos no hagan el mal, que vuelen como paja frente al viento.
22. Con lágrimas te pedimos, mártir nuestro, que por tu intercesión el creador omnipotente aparte pronto de nosotros este yugo pesado, con el que estamos oprimidos, y nos haga dichosos para siempre.
23. Ahora, poderoso señor, mira al pueblo herido por sus pecados, borra la sentencia que pesa sobre nosotros y mira propicio nuestro llanto, dándonos tu ayuda en el tiempo oportuno.

24. Concede, señor, el descanso a todos los difuntos, a nosotros danos prosperidad, comida a los pobres, ayuda a las viudas, que todos reciban lo que con piedad piden.

25. Cixila fundó este templo, señor, que tenga una suerte apropiada en el cielo y entone cánticos con los ciudadanos del cielo gozando eternamente por todos los siglos.

26. Que nuestra gloria haga sonar un canto de alabanza a ti, que eres el solo señor trino y uno, abarcando los siglos con tu permanente poder, dominándolo todo, mandado sobre todo.

Fontes / Loci similes:

El himno es atribuido tanto por Fábrega, como por Pérez de Urbel⁸⁸, al arzobispo Cixila (774-783 circ.). Las Actas cuentan con toda minuciosidad la pasión del santo en medio de una de las persecuciones sufridas por la Iglesia. El autor del himno silencia algunos detalles de la pasión, pero en otras ocasiones es más minucioso, empleando incluso el mismo vocabulario que las Actas.

uu. 13-16

Pass. 2

Tempore quo Christi membra hostis in terra premebat, seua fuerat fidelibus orta tempestas: iam enim infiniti aggeres martyrum per totum mundi alueum sua sibi defenderant loca, illutque solum desidia presserat membra, quod non inlustrauerat memorie sanctorum.

uu. 21-24

Pass. 6

Exeunte autem Cumbricio ad portam, que dicitur Helispontiaca, magnus adleta Thyrsus, et continuo martyr futurus, tenuit eum, dicens: Aue, carissime preses, et patienter audi, que a me ad te dicenda sunt.

uu. 25-28

Pass. 7

Audi autem me, et sacrifica cum sis paganus, et non incipias male mori. Thyrsus dixit: Ego, Cumbrici, non multum loquor, neque sacrifico; sed timeo unum et uerum Deum, qui est in celis...

uu. 33-36

Pass. 36

Siluanus dixit: Capacem gastrum adferte, et aqua eum implete: Thyrsus autem capite, deorsum in eodem artate, et reliqua, que supersunt, membra conscidite flagris, ut et uiscerum interna, quousque ualent, sustineant penam et dolor, sine uoce animam sub aquis pellat e corpore.

⁸⁸ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n. 7, v. p. 205 ss.; v. II, p. 202 ss. PÉREZ DE JRBEL, *Origen*, cit. n. 23, p. 35 ss.

uu. 41-44

Pass. 38

Siluanus dixit: In modum muri sub quadro angulari construite turrem, cuius caput in sublime porrectum, petat altius celum; huius in edificio turris infixi manu fabрили emineant dextra leuaque acuti per omnia gladii; ad turris autem ipsius pedem onme genus ferramentorum dumtaxat acutum terra suscipiat: Thyrsus autem, manibus postergum positus, de fastigio mitte muri, ut quemlibet membrorum eius partem [telorum arma] tetigerit, in frusta discindat; ut auibis, singuli quod abstulerint gladii, offerant passus.

uu. 49-51

Pass. 40

Audiens hec Siluanus, et uidens, quamuis cecus, mirabilia Dei, sic Cumbricio dixit: Omnes iam in Thyrso expressimus penas, et ut apparet, nobis uictis, ipse uictor abscedit. Cumbricius dixit: Interim ne uictorem se sentiat Thyrsus, magicis deputa artibus; quod factum est.

uu. 61-64

Pass. 52

Baudus dixit: In quattuor illum primum neruos extendite, et membra in eo fustibus confringite. Inde ferreis per quattuor artus membrorum conligate catenis, ita ut curua dorsi spina ceruicibus inminens genua premat, et oculos suos prospiciant pedes, ut et lingua, calcaneis adherens plantas, lambere credatur: ipsius autem palmas nodosis confringite trastris, ut confracte postergum manus facilius seruiant ligaturis, et in modum glomeri denso illum conserite sacco sub ingenti pressura:...

uu. 65-68

Pass. 53

Iam paratis, ut lacerum corpus fluctibus darent, aspera uel saxa et cautes in ima defixi membra sibimet expectarent martyris propinari; ilico luce premissa ultra solitum, resplenduit celum, et nauem inlustrant agmina angelorum, qui ut adfixos pupi epipatas reddiderunt, arreptum de medio minutatim, uoce premissa, scindunt eronem: Egredere Thyrses, te expectamus: ueni nobiscum. Illi, quem colis, in ministerio sumus. Et sublato Thyrso, parem gressum per equora petunt. Quum medias simul tetigissent arenas, uox leta turmarum hymnum cum martyre cantant, et nautarum, quos exsanguis et pauidos interior sentina tenebat, ex delectabili cantu trepidos suspendebat auditus.

Pass. 54

...sed uidere militiam celi non meruit, quia non fuit dignus

uu. 71-72

Pass. 46

...Condiunt ex more membra ministri; celabant ex parte fetores corporum odoramenta unguentorum. Traduntur humo magna medii comitante caterua. Subito locus ipse sepulcri, igne terra scatente, sulphoratos in celum pulueres iactat, et cum ingenti fragore mox corpora sibi tradita remouet.

uu. 77-80

Pass. 47

Inuenitur mortuis salubre remedium: Thyrsus uenire rogatur, et quicquid forte iniuriarum in corpore susceperat, petitur indulgere. Rogant martyrem agmina ciuitatis, et uestem beati onerant fontibus lacrimarum: Ne, quesumus, ignaros absorbeat terra; uel natos prospice nostros. Quur rogamus nescios subsequitur pena, cum iudicibus remaneat ultio diuina? Peroramus te Christum, quem colis, ut celum sedetur ab ingenti fragore: et quomodo nobis inlesis, corpora regum terra suscipiat. Thyrsus, Deo oblatione libata, sibi poposcit dari bidentem; concauis duabus ex numero fossis, manibus humat corpora damnatorum, et in hoc illis beneficia profuere diuina, ut haberent ex more sepulcrum, quos terra suscipere recusabat.

uu. 89-90

Col. 2, 14

...delens quod aduersus nos erat chirographum decreti

176. In sancti Torquati.

Ad Vesperas.

Vrbis Romulee iam toga candida,
septem pontificum destina, promicat,
missos Esperie quos ab apostolis
adsignat fidei prisca relatio.

- 5 *Hii* sunt *prespicui* luminis indices:
Torquatus, Tisefons atque Isicius,
hinc Indalecius siue *Secundus est*,
iuncti Eufrazio Cecilioque sunt.

- Hii euangelico* lampade prediti
10 lustrant occidue partis arentia,

176. codd.: M (59), F (67v), Q (42v), X (363)

edd. PL (1112), Blume (253)

2 destina] destinat Q 3 Esperie] Hesperie X PL Blume 4 adsignat] assignat
Blume 5 hii] hi Blume PL prespicui] perspicui PL Blume indices] iudices
X 6 Tisefons] Tesiphons PL, Ctesiphons Blume adque] atque X PL Blume
Isicius] Hisitius X, Hesychius PL Blume 7 hinc Indalecius] hic Vidalecius X,
hinc Indaletius PL Secundus est] Secundius Blume p. est uirg. scripsi 8
Eufrazio] Eufhrasio X PL Blume 9 hii] hi PL Blume euangelico] euangelica
Blume 10 arentia] arentie F

- quo sic catholicis ignibus ardeant,
ut cedant facibus furba nocentia.
- Accis continuo proxima fit uiris,
bis senis stadiis qua procul insident,
15 mittunt adseculas escula querere,
quo fessa dapibus membra reficerent.
- Illic discipuli idola gentium
uanis inspiciunt ritibus excoli;
quos dum sic agere fletibus immorant,
20 terrentur potius ausibus impiis.
- Mox insana fremens turba satellitum
in his cum fidei stigmata nosceret,
ad pontem flubii usque per ardua
incurso celeri hos agit in fugam.
- 25 Sed pons preualido murice fortior
in partes subito *prona* resoluitur
iustos ex manibus hostium eruens,
hostes flumineo gurgite subruens.
- Hec prima fidei est uia plebium,
30 inter quos mulier sancta Luparia
sanctos adgrediens cernit et obsecrat
sanctorum monita pectore conlocans.
- Tunc Xristi famula obsequio parens
sanctorum statuit condere fabricam,
35 quo baptisterii unda patesceret
et culpas *omnium* gratia tergeret.

11 quo] quos *F* 12 facibus] faucibus *MFQ* furba] furua *X PL*, furua *Blume*
nocentia] nocencia *X* 13 Accis] Acis *MQX* 14 bis] uis *F* 15 adseculas]
adsecula *MF*, asseculas *X*, adseculas *PL*, asseculas *Blume* escula] secula *F*, escu-
lenta *X* querere] quererent *F* 16 quo] quibus *X* 18 *p.* excoli *uirg. scr. Blume*
19 quos] quo *Q* sic *om. X* immorant] inmorant *F* 20 terrentur] terretur
F 21 *p.* satellitum *uirg. scr. Blume* 22 cum] cunt *F*, quum *Q* nosceret]
noscerent *F* 23 flubii] fluui *MQ*, fluuii *X PL Blume* usque] adque *F* 24
in fugam] in fuga *F* 25 sed pons preualido] set fons preualide *F* 26 in partes]
in parte *MFQ* prona] pronus *PL Blume* 27 iustos] instos *X* 29 plebium]
pleuium *M* 31 adgrediens] aggreiens *Blume* 32 pectore] pectora *F* conlo-
cans] collocans *Q Blume* 33 tunc] nunc *F*, tum *Q* parens] perens *F*, aren-
dens *X* 34 statuit] instatuit *MQ* fabricam] fabrica *F* 35 quo] quos *F* bab-
tisterii] baptisterii *QX PL Blume* *p.* patesceret *uirg. scr. Blume* 36 omnium]
hominum *Q Blume*

Illic sancta dei femina tingitur
et uite lauacro tincta renascitur;
plebs hic continuo peruolat ad fidem
40 et fit catholico dogmate multiplex.

Post hec pontificum cara sodalitas
partitur properans septem in urbibus,
ut diuisa locis dogmata funderent
et sparsis populos ignibus hurerent.

45 Per hos Esperie finibus indita
inluxit fidei gratia *precocax*,
in signis uariis adque potentia
uirtutum homines credere prouocat.

Exhinc iustitie fructibus incliti
50 uitam multiplici fenere terminant;
consepti tumulis urbibus in suis,
sic sparso cinere una corona est.

Hinc te, turba potens unica septies,
oratu petimus pectoris abditu,
55 ut uestris precibus sidus in etheris
portemur socii ciuibus angelis.

Sit trino domino gloria unico,
patri cum genito atque paraclito,
qui solus dominus trinus et unus est
60 seclorum ualide secula continens.

37 tingitur] tinguitur *F PL*, tinguitus *M* 38 uite lauacro] uita labacro *F p*.
renascitur *uirg. scr. Blume* 39 hic] in *FQ* 40 dogmate] docmate *F* 41 cara]
chara *PL* 43 dogmata] docmata *F* 44 populos] populis *M* hurerent] ure-
rent *QX PL Blume* 45 Esperie] Hesperie *X PL Blume* 46 inluxit] illuxit *Q*
Blume precocax] [...]cax *F*, precoqua *Q Blume*, precox *X* 47 in signis] insi-
gnis *M*, hinc signis *FQX Blume* adque] atque *QX PL Blume* 48 uirtutum]
uirtutem *F* prouocat] prouocant *Q PL* 49 iustitie] iusticie *X* 50 fenere]
foenore *PL p*. terminant *uirg. scr. Blume* 52 cinere] cineri *X* 54 oratu...abdi-
ti] orata...abdito *X* 55 uestris] nostris *M* 58 cum] quum *Q* atque] adque
MF 59 dominus trinus] dominus summus *Q*

176. En honor de san Torcuato. A vísperas

1. Resplandece ya la brillante toga de la ciudad de Rómulo, el cónclave de los siete obispos, que, según el antiguo relato de la fe cristiana, habían sido enviados a Hesperia por los apóstoles.

2. Estos son los propagadores de la brillante luz: Torcuato, Tesifonte, Isicio, después está Indalecio y Segundo; se unieron a Eufrasio y Cecilio.

3. Pertrechados con la luz del evangelio recorren los áridos parajes de occidente, para que ardan por el fuego de la fe, para que la negrura de sus pecados ceda ante la luz.
4. Sin demora se acercan a Acci, se detienen a doce estadios de ella y envían a sus servidores a buscar alimentos para reponer sus cansados miembros con la comida.
5. Allí los discípulos ven que los ídolos de los gentiles son adorados con vanos ritos; cuando con lágrimas intentan detenerlos de obrar así, más bien son aterrorizados por su impía osadía.
6. Enseguida la turba de infieles llena de cólera y fuera de sí, cuando reconoció en éstos las señales de la fe, en rápida carrera los pone en fuga por lugares escarpados hasta el puente del río.
7. Mas el puente, más fuerte que el fuerte múrice, de pronto se inclina y se parte arrancando a los justos de las manos de sus enemigos y precipitando a éstos en el abismo del río.
8. Éste es el primer camino de la muchedumbre hacia la fe; de entre ella Luparia, santa mujer, se acerca a los santos, los mira y les suplica, acogiendo en su corazón los consejos de los santos.
9. Entonces la sierva de Cristo, obedeciendo a los santos, decidió levantar una iglesia, de donde se derramara el agua del bautismo y por su gracia limpiara los pecados de todos.
10. Allí es bautizada la santa mujer de Dios y renace bañada por el agua de la vida; en seguida el pueblo corre a la fe y se multiplica en la creencia católica.
11. Después de esto el amado colegio de los obispos con premura se reparte en siete ciudades, para derramar la doctrina en sitios distintos y esparcir su fuego, abrasando a los pueblos.
12. La gracia de la fe dada por ellos a las tierras de Hesperia resplandeció muy pronto, y el poder de los milagros manifestándose en distintas señales invita a los hombres a creer.
13. Después ellos, conocidos por los frutos de su santidad, acaban su vida con acrecentado provecho; fueron enterrados en sus ciudades y así, aun distribuidas sus cenizas, hay una sola corona.
14. Por esto, cenáculo único siete veces poderoso, con la secreta oración de nuestro corazón te pedimos que por vuestras súplicas seamos llevados al cielo en compañía de los ángeles.
15. Sea la gloria al señor uno y trino, al padre con el hijo y el paráclito, que es solo señor uno y trino, sosteniendo con poder los siglos de los siglos.

Fontes / Loci similes:

La fuente utilizada por el autor para la composición de las partes narrativas de este himno parece ser la misma que se utilizó para la misa en honor

de los Varones Apostólicos, las Actas de la pasión, redactadas, según Fábrega, a mediados del siglo VIII⁸⁹.

uu. 1-8

Pass. 3

Igitur quum apud urbem Romam beatissimi confessores Torquatus, Tisefons, Indalecius, Secundus, Eufrasius, Cecilius et Esicius a sanctis apostolis sacerdotium suscepissent, et ad tradendam in Spania catholicam fidem, que adhuc gentili errore detemta, idolorum supprestitutione pollebat, profecti fuissent;

uu. 13-16

Pass. 3

divino gubernaculo comitante, ad civitatem Accitanam se utrisque converterent; qui quum procul ab urbe, quasi stadia duodecim, fatigatis artubus, resedissent, ut membra, que fuerant itineris prolixitate confecta, paulisper indulgerent, et sese animantibus in quo longeuus iter adtriverat, quiescendo reficerent,...

Pass. 4

Itaque, ut ipsi conperimus, venerandi antestites in illo loco, quo iam diximus requiescere expetissent, ad civitatem Accitanam, propter escarum indigentiam, sequepedas suos mitterent.

uu. 17-18

Pass. 4

Tunc videlicet in predictae urbis venerabilium senium discipuli moeniam ingredienti, vident infelicissimam turbam deceptionis summe laqueis inreptam et perpetui barathri precipitatione dimersam; ut per id, quod videbatur pollutis manibus perpetrari, per hoc crederetur se posse saluari.

uu. 21-36

Pass. 5

Quumque sanctorum senum comites eorundem omnium pestifera conventio obviasset, agnito in eis religionis venerabili cultu, et pie fidei habitu sacerdotum, fervidus eos usque ad fluvium, in quo pons erat antiquo mole constructus, infandus hostis insequitur, ibique, divino laborante miraculo, opus, quod nulla etas posse crederet dissolutum, eodem momento conteritur, et cum cruento populo in ipsius fluminis alveo seditio pagana submergitur; et cantantibus sanctis: equum et ascensorem, proiecit in mare. Dei vero famuli liberantur. Quo videntes eventum, pars maxima terrore vehementi conteritur. Inter quos fuit quedam senatrix, rebus inclita et inflammatione Sancti Spiritus adornata, genere nobilissima, nomine Luparia. Ipsorum sanctorum opinionem ut repperit, ad eos suos nuntios misit, per quos illos summis precibus, ut suam eisdem exhiberet presentiam, obtavit.

⁸⁹ A. FÁBREGA, *Pasionario*, cit. n.

p. 125 ss.; v. II, p. 255 ss.

Pass. 6

Quos ubi primum eos mulier videre meruit, cuius interna pectoris iam superna dona ditaverat: unde sanctissimi senes essent, vel de quibus regionibus advenissent, audacter interrogat. Et quum illi, se a sanctis apostolis missos ad predicandum Dei regnum et Christi evangelium Spanie denuntiari fuissent preceptum, perquirenti femine faterentur; docentibus illis et dicentibus: Quia omnis qui credit in Christo Filio Dei mortem non videbit in eternum, sed vitam possidet angelorum, continuo sancte doctrine novella discipula credere adquevit, et postulans donum sancti bap̄tismatis, iubetur, non prius petita percipere quam pro bap̄tisterio, quo sancti elegerant, fabricaret basilicam.

Pass. 7

Quumque iam perfectum opus existeret, et universa, que, sanctis, ut iusserant, placuisset, fontem ex more construunt, in quo sancte devotionis femina salutaris lavacri unda perfunderetur.

*uu. 37-40**Pass. 7*

Cuius mulieris quum sanctum sequeretur exemplum cunctus populus, qui idolorum vacua sup̄stitione colebant, veteriosi criminis templum relinquunt, et sanctorum senum doctrinam avidis mentibus adsequuntur. Ex tunc iam idolorum polluta sedis relinquitur, et ibi, sancti Iohannis bap̄tiste consecrantes altario, ecclesiam Christi construitur, et, crescente fide, Dei populus augmentatur.

*uu. 41-44**Pass. 8*

Deinde non mente segregantes nec fide, sed pro dispensanda Dei gratia, per diversis urbibus dividuntur:...

*uu. 49-52**Pass. 8*

Vnde parum post tempore laborum suorum, gloriosos palme triumphos superne patrie reportarunt, atque ideo, de augmento bonorum operum iam securi, deficiente temporali vita, eterne regionis possessione percepta, felici obitu de hoc seculo migraverunt.

Resumen

Se presenta en este artículo un nuevo texto de veintiún himnos de la Liturgia Hispánica, tomando como referencia la edición de los mismos de Clemens Blume, *Hymnodia Gothica. Die Mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus*, Leipzig, 1897, AH XXVII. Partimos de una nueva lectura de los códices en los que se encuentran estos himnos y tenemos en cuenta las posibles fuentes de inspiración de sus autores así como las ediciones y los estudios que de ellos se han hecho hasta el momento. El deseo de ser fiel a los códices, incluso en la grafía, ha sido el criterio que ha presidido este trabajo. El nuevo texto se acompaña de un aparato crítico negativo y de las fuentes o *loci similes*. Se da así mismo una traducción que sólo pretende orientar al lector para que pueda comprender mejor nuestras propuestas.

Does the Combination of Maximus' *Ambigua ad Thomam* and *Ambigua ad Iohannem* go back to the Confessor himself?*

by

B. JANSSENS

(Leuven)

In this contribution two points shall be established:

1. it is highly probable that Maximus the Confessor (ca 580 – 662) himself at a certain time has combined his *Ambigua ad Thomam*¹ and *Ambigua ad Iohannem*² into one large corpus;
2. this notwithstanding, for scholarly purposes it is more appropriate to distinguish between both works.

1. In the manuscript tradition of Maximus' works, *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* are often found bracketed together. Most modern scholars are in favour of the view that the author himself has been responsible for the combination of both sets of *ambigua*³. A deci-

* Thanks are due to Professor P. Van Deun for his critical reading of the present article. Koen Van der Gucht has been so kind as to correct my English.

¹ *Amb. Thom.*; *CPG Supplementum* 7705 (1). See B. JANSSENS (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* (CCSG 48), Turnhout – Leuven, 2002.

² *Amb. Io.*; *CPG Supplementum* 7705 (2). The critical edition of *Amb. Io.* is currently being prepared by Professor C. Laga. The ninth-century Latin translation of the work by John Scot Eriugena has been edited by E. JEAUNEAU, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem iuxta Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae latinam interpretationem* (CCSG 18), Turnhout – Leuven, 1988.

³ See e.g. H. U. VON BALTHASAR, *Die 'Gnostischen Centurien' des Maximus Confessor* (*Freiburger Theologische Studien* 61), Freiburg i. Br., 1941, p. 153-154;

sive argument in favour of their point of view is the cross-reference in Maximus' own *Opusculum* 1, where the Confessor apparently has to defend himself against charges of monoenergism: 'περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἀπόρων τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου κειμένης μιᾶς ἐνεργείας, σαφὲς ὁ λόγος' (PG 91, 33A8-10; my italics)⁴. This is a clear reference to the following 'ambiguous' passage in *Amb.Io.* II: ὥστε μίαν καὶ μόνην διὰ πάντων ἐνέργειαν, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων θεοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ μόνου θεοῦ, ὡς ὅλου ὅλοις τοῖς ἁγίοις περιχωρήσαντος' (PG 91, 1076C10-13)⁵.

On the basis of this cross-reference it would seem safe to conclude that Maximus, at some point between the confection of *Amb.Thom.*⁶ and *Opusculum* 1⁷, has issued a re-edition of *Amb.Thom.* and *Amb.Io.*, in which the latter were made to follow the five *ambigua ad Thomam*, thus making the second *ambiguum ad Iohannem* the seventh of the complete corpus ('ἑβδομὸν κεφάλαιον').

P. SHERWOOD, *An annotated Date-list of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (Studia Anselmiana 30), Rome, 1952, p. 32; ID., *The earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and his Refutation of Origenism* (Studia Anselmiana 36), Rome, 1955, p. 23 and p. 39-40; P. CANART, *La deuxième lettre à Thomas de S. Maxime le Confesseur*, in: *Byzantion* 34 (1964), p. 416, n. 2; JEAUNEAU, *Amb.Io.*, p. XII. See also H. U. VON BALTHASAR, *Kosmische Liturgie. Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenners*, Einsiedeln, 1961², p. 67.

⁴ Dr B. Marquesinis, who is currently preparing the critical edition of Maximus' *Opuscula*, has confirmed that 'ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ κεφαλαίῳ' etc. is found in all manuscripts without exception. This proves invalid Bracke's hypothesis that the reference was a later addition (see R. BRACKE, *Some Aspects of the Manuscript Tradition of the Ambigua of Maximus the Confessor*, in: F. HEINZER - C. SCHÖNBORN [ed.], *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur. Fribourg, 2-5 septembre 1980* [Paradosis. Études de littérature et de théologie anciennes 27], Fribourg, 1982, p. 98, n. 7). On Bracke's hypothesis, see also below.

⁵ About Maximus' 'palinode' in *Opusculum* 1, see J.-C. LARCHET, *La divinisation de l'homme selon Maxime le Confesseur* (Cogitatio Fidei 194), Paris, 1996, p. 553-563.

⁶ Dated to 634 or shortly thereafter (see JANSSENS, *Amb.Thom.*, p. XXII-XXIII). Maximus' *Amb.Io.* are traditionally dated earlier, to about 628/630 (see SHERWOOD, *Date-list*, p. 31-32, n° 26).

⁷ Dated by Sherwood to 645/646 (*Date-list*, p. 53, n° 80). Von Balthasar dated the work later: 'nicht vor dem römischen Aufenthalt (646-653)' (*Gnostische Centurien*, p. 153). Larchet seems to accept Sherwood's dating (see J.-C. LARCHET, *Maxime le Confesseur. Opuscles théologiques et polémiques* [Sagesses Chrétiennes], Paris, 1998, Introduction, p. 76 and 86; ID., *Divinisation*, p. 557).

There is only one scholar who has argued against the common point of view: R. Bracke thought that the combination of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* should be traced no further back than to the compiler of the so-called *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*⁸, a large collection of Maximus' works, the origin of which Bracke himself dated to the latter part of the tenth century⁹. As far as is concerned the mentioned cross-reference in Maximus' *Opusculum* 1, Bracke suggested that it might be a reader's note dating from after the confection of the *Corpus* and later wrongly inserted into the text. However, this hypothesis has since been proven invalid¹⁰.

Bracke's major argument for his point of view was that there are no witnesses, direct nor indirect, of a combination of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* that predate the origin of the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*¹¹. At first sight Bracke seems to have a point here: indeed, having examined all known manuscript witnesses of *Amb. Thom.* in preparation of our edition of the work, we have found that the distinction between the manuscripts that transmit *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* bracketed together, and those that transmit *Amb. Thom.* but not *Amb. Io.*, coincides with the distinction between the manuscripts that on a textual basis belong to the tradition of the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum* (hyparchetype 'a' in our edition), and the non-*Corpus* manuscripts respectively¹². Thus it can be accepted as a rule that in all *Corpus* manuscripts and exclusively in them, *Amb. Thom.* are found immediately followed by *Amb. Io.*¹³.

⁸ See *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 98-99.

⁹ *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 102-103. See also the posthumously published article *Two fragments of a Greek Manuscript containing a Corpus Maximianum: Mss. Genavensis gr. 30 and Leidensis Scaligeranus 33*, in: *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 4 (1985), p. 112.

¹⁰ See above, n. 4.

¹¹ See *Manuscript Tradition*, p. 103-106.

¹² An investigation of this kind had already been judged necessary by CANART, *Deuxième lettre*, p. 416, n. 2.

¹³ Partial and indirect witnesses have not been taken into account. — One could nevertheless cite a few 'exceptions' to the rule: in *Athous, Batopediou* 475 (*Ba*), although on a textual basis belonging to the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum* (see JANSSENS, *Amb. Thom.*, p. xc and xcii-xcv), we find *Amb. Thom.* but not *Amb. Io.* However, as I have pointed out (*o.c.*, p. xxviii), the compiler of *Ba* has selected freely from the body of Maximus' works. Thus, for one reason or another he has

Bracke's remark about the absence of witnesses of a combination of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* before the existence of the *Corpus* was correct. It does not, however, have any value in the present discussion, for there are hardly any witnesses of *Amb. Thom.* at all that predate the origin of the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*, the oldest manuscripts of the complete work dating from the eleventh century¹⁴. Therefore Bracke's *argumentum e silentio* does not hold. In addition, Maximus' cross-reference proves him wrong, so it can be safely accepted that from Maximus' own time there have been two traditions of *Amb. Thom.*: one original, in which *Amb. Thom.* were simply transmitted as a letter to a certain Thomas, and one secondary, in which Maximus himself or a contemporary, probably for the sake of completeness, has combined the work with the similar but much larger *Amb. Io.*, thereby reversing the accepted chronological order of both works. It is this secondary, collective tradition that has become much more wide-spread, due to its insertion into the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*.

left out *Amb. Io.*, which in his exemplar he must have found following *Amb. Thom.*, on purpose. Secondly, in *Vaticanus*, *Reginensis* gr. 37, *Amb. Thom.* are the last work to have been copied. It can be concluded that *Amb. Io.* were absent from the manuscript's exemplar (see *o.c.*, p. XLVI and LV). However, this hypothesised exemplar 'x' shares a common ancestor 'b' with manuscript *Romanus*, *Angelicus* gr. 120 (see *o.c.*, p. LXXXIX), in which the presence of *Amb. Io.* is beyond doubt. In *Sinaiticus* gr. 1726, *Amb. Thom.* are separated from *Amb. Io.*, but both works are found bracketed together in the manuscript's exemplar, *Monacensis* gr. 363. More exceptions are *Oxoniensis*, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, *Baroccianus* 128 and *Genavensis*, *Bibliothecae Publicae et Universitatis* 32, the former not transmitting *Amb. Io.* at all, the latter having separated them from *Amb. Thom.* However, it has been shown (*o.c.*, p. CXVII-CXX) that the scribes of both manuscripts have acted very independently in their choice of works, and that, more importantly, their texts are only remotely related to the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*, so that they too confirm the rule rather than deny it. In addition, a number of folia have disappeared from *Baroccianus* 128, so that we cannot even be absolutely sure that *Amb. Io.* were not present in the original manuscript.

¹⁴ A number of manuscripts are dated to the ninth or tenth centuries (viz. *Mediolanensis*, *Ambrosianus* H 45 *sup.* [see JANSSENS, *Amb. Thom.*, p. XXXVI-XXXVII], *Vaticanus* gr. 2195 [*o.c.*, p. LXVI-LXVII] and *Vaticanus* gr. 475 [*o.c.*, p. LXIX-LXX]), but these are all either mutilated or partial witnesses with adapted contexts, so that there is no way of telling whether they stem from a tradition in which *Amb. Thom.* were combined with *Amb. Io.* or not.

It is noteworthy in this context that the primary manuscripts that transmit *Amb. Thom.* but not *Amb. Io.*, viz. *Parisinus gr. 1097* and *Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinitatis O. 3.48*, tend to have better texts than the *Corpus* manuscripts. In addition they both transmit *Amb. Thom.* in a context of Maximus' letters, which seems to confirm that the tradition which they stem from stands closer to the original use of the work¹⁵.

It can be concluded that Maximus himself or a contemporary has combined *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*, and that, even if the Confessor is not to be held personally responsible, at any rate he agreed with the combination and referred to it as 'τὰ ἄπορα τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγόριου'. In addition, the reference to the 'ἔβδομον κεφάλαιον' of this large corpus of ἄπορα or *ambigua* seems to suggest that the author has also known a continuous numeration of the – in total – 71 chapters (five to Thomas and 66 to John). However, this continuous numeration of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* has probably only existed in Maximus' head, except for the one explicit reference in *Opusculum* 1. In any case there are no traces of such a numeration to be found in the manuscript witnesses¹⁶. It has been P. Sherwood who has 'recovered' it from *Opusculum* 1 and has for the first time explicitly applied it to the complete corpus¹⁷.

2. Although Maximus himself can be suspected to be responsible for the combination of the two sets of *ambigua* (*Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*) as well as for their continuous numeration, it is nev-

¹⁵ It remains to be examined if the same goes for the separate tradition of *Amb. Io.* It can be expected that C. Laga's edition of the text shall shed more light on this point.

¹⁶ In a number of manuscripts – e.g. *Vaticanus gr. 504* – we do find a continuous numeration of the chapters of *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.*, but it always pertains to the complete collection of Maximus' works in those manuscripts, not exclusively to the corpus of *ambigua*.

¹⁷ See *Earlier Ambigua*. – As far as *Amb. Io.* are concerned, C. Steel has adopted John Scot's numeration, which slightly differs from that of the existing Greek manuscripts (see *Le jeu du verbe. À propos de Maxime, Amb. ad Ioh. LXVII*, in: A. SCHOORS – P. VAN DEUN [ed.], *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* [OLA 60], Leuven, 1994, p. 281-293). It is also different from Maximus' assumed numeration, since the latter apparently did not take into account the introductory letters to Thomas and John (otherwise the second *ambiguum ad Iohannem* would not have been the seventh of the complete corpus, but the ninth), while Eriugena's did (see JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. LXVI-LXVII and p. 7).

ertheless clear that both were originally separated works: they are dated to different periods of the Confessor's life, have different addressees, and apart from a common tradition, both also have a separate one¹⁸. Indeed, *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* had been recognised as separate works by their seventeenth-century editors Thomas Gale and François Combefis¹⁹. However, Franz Öhler considered both works to be nothing more than two different parts of one larger work²⁰. Thus, since the reprint of Öhler's edition by J.-P. Migne in PG 91, the term '*Ambiguorum liber*' has become institutionalised as a collective name for both *Amb. Thom.* and *Amb. Io.* This collective name has often generated confusion among scholars and in library catalogues. Sherwood's solution to the problem, viz. the distinction between 'Ambigua I' and 'Ambigua II' is as confusing – as has been demonstrated by Sherwood himself²¹. The distinction between 'earlier' and 'later' *ambigua* is more accurate, but for the sake of clarity it would be best to distinguish between both works on the basis of their addressees²², and consequently introduce two separate numerations (*Amb. Thom.* I to V and *Amb. Io.* I to LXVI). The dedicatory letters to Thomas and John respectively could then be referred to as *prologue*.

Summary

In this contribution two points are established: 1. It is highly probable that Maximus the Confessor (ca 580 - 662) himself is to be held responsible for the combination of his *Ambigua ad Thomam* (dated to ca 634) and his *Ambigua ad Iohannem* (dated to 628/630) into one large corpus. At this occasion the accepted chronological order of both works was reversed. 2. This notwithstanding, it is clear that both sets of *ambigua* were originally conceived as separated works. For scholarly purposes, therefore, it would seem appropriate to distinguish between both works and consequently introduce two separate numerations (*Amb. Thom.* I to V and *Amb. Io.* I to LXVI). The dedicatory letters to Thomas and John respectively could then be referred to as *prologue*.

¹⁸ On the separate tradition of *Amb. Io.*, see SHERWOOD, *Earlier Ambigua*, p. 3, and JEAUNEAU, *Amb. Io.*, p. XI and XIII (on the Greek manuscript used by John Scot Eriugena for his Latin translation of the work). See also above, n. 15.

¹⁹ See JANSSENS, *Amb. Thom.*, p. CXXVIII-CXXIII (Previous Editions).

²⁰ See Öhler in PG 91, 1029-1030.

²¹ In *Date-list*, p. 39, the author refers to *Amb. Thom.* as 'Ambigua I', while in *Earlier Ambigua*, p. 3, we find 'Amb II, that addressed to Thomas'.

²² As has been done in *CPG Supplementum* 7705 (1) and (2).

Otto of Freising's revendication of Isaiah

as the prophet of Constantine's "exaltation of
the Church" in the context of Christian Latin exegesis

by
Elisabeth MÉGIER
(Paris)

The initial passages of Otto of Freising's prologue to Book 4 of his chronicle¹, where he sets out to prove that the change from "humiliation" to "exaltation" brought about by Constantine enters into the plan conceived by God for His Church, are particularly suggestive; for a large part this is due to a series of quotations from the prophet Isaiah, which form the culminating points in the rhetorical structure of the text, and which are important also for Otto's argument. In fact they are used as *testimonia*, proof texts, justifying in this case, instead of the Christian message², the form of the Christian Church as Otto knew it.

In a first passage, Otto writes: "I think there is now no wise man who does not consider the works of God – no wise man who, having considered them, does not stand amazed and is not led through the visible to the invisible. The Lord in fact, who had foreordained His city before the constitution of the world, and wanted it to be hidden for a time, at the proper time made ready to exalt it.

¹ *Otonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronicon sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. HOFMEISTER, *MGH SSrerGerm.* (Hannover, 1912), p. 180.

² As would have been their proper function, cf. G. DORIVAL, 'Sens de l'écriture', *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* sous la direction de J. BRIEND et E. COTHENET, XII,1 fasc. 66 (Paris, 1992), col. 430; F. M. YOUNG, *Biblical exegesis and the formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 115.

Therefore at the time of its humiliation He graciously consoles it, by foretelling through His prophet the time of exaltation. Stretch forth thy tents, He says, and strengthen thy cords, and again: Whereas thou hast been cast off, I will make thee a joy of many generations"³. Here the divine plan is attested by a condensed version of Is. 54:2 and 60:15⁴.

Successively, Otto relates how God chose the Roman emperor "to whom the whole world at that time paid honour", as the person most fit for the task, "and gave him not only faith whereby departing from the darkness of error, he might come to know the true light, but also love whereby he might exalt His city with many honours and enrich it with many treasures and possessions." Then he adds: "And that you may know that all this was brought to pass not by chance, at haphazard, but through the profound and righteous judgement of God, behold the Church who but yesterday was skulking in hiding and fleeing from every man of even the lowest condition, become speedily of so great authority that she rules kings, judges kings; behold her held in so great veneration by the world that the lords of the earth come to bow before her and worship the soles of her feet as she sits upon the throne"⁵. Here, after

³ Chron. IV Prol. p. 180: *Nullum iam esse sapientum puto, qui Dei facta non consideret, considerata non stupeat ac per visibilia ad invisibilia non mittatur. Dominus enim, qui civitatem suam ante constitutionem mundi preordinatam ad tempus latere voluit, tempore, quo decuit, exaltare disposuit. Unde ipsam tempore humiliationis suae tempus ei exaltationis per prophetam predicendo blande consolatur: Dilata, inquit, tentoria tua, et pelles tabernaculorum tuorum consolida. Longos fac funiculos tuos. Et rursum: Pro eo quod fuisti abiecta, ponam te in superbiam saeculorum.* I follow the translation given in *The Two cities, a chronicle of universal history to the year 1146 a. D. by Otto Bishop of Freising*, translated in full with introduction and notes by CH. C. MIEROW, ed. by A. P. EVANS and CH. KNAPP (NY, 1928), but I have tried to remain closer to the Latin text, especially in the use of tenses.

⁴ Whole length, 54:2 runs like this: *Dilata locum tentorii tui, et pelles tabernaculorum extende, ne parcas; longos fac funiculos tuos, et clavos tuos consolida*; and 60:15: *pro eo quod fuisti derelicta, et odio habita, et non erit qui per te transiret, ponam te in superbiam saeculorum.* I quote from: *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis* (Milano: Edizioni San Paolo, 1995). *Abiecta*, the term Otto puts in the place of *derelicta*, can be found (together with *derelicta*) in Is. 54:6.

⁵ Chron. ibid.: *Cum ergo Dominus multis temptationibus ac persecutionibus attritam vellet exaltare ecclesiam, personam potissimum per quem id habilius facere posset, elegit. Proinde Romanorum imperatorem, ad quem tunc universus respiciebat*

having been described in terms that recall Isaiah 9:2 and 60:1-3⁶, the exaltation of the Church is validated as providential by formulations taken mainly from Isaiah 60:14⁷, and reminiscent of (probably) 6:1⁸.

It can be said that this association of Isaiah's prophecies with the new era of the Church inaugurated by Constantine is founded in the most venerable patristic tradition. Eusebius of Caesarea widely quotes Isaiah in his Church history in order to describe the joy of the Church after its recognition by the Roman emperors, and in his Isaiah commentary he repeatedly declares that "we", that is, of course, the Christians living in the time of Constantine, "have seen with our own eyes" Isaiah's prophecies fulfilled⁹. Both of Eusebius' works became models and sources for Latin medieval authors: the Church history in the translation by Rufinus, and the Isaiah commentary indirectly through St. Jerome's commentary on the same prophet¹⁰. However there is no direct continuity between Eusebius

orbis, ad id faciendum ordinavit eique non solum fidem, qua ab errorum tenebris discedendo ad veram lucem cognoscendam veniret, sed et dilectionem, qua civitatem suam multis honoribus exaltaret, multis facultatibus ac possessionibus locupletaret, dedit. Et ut cognoscas non fortuitis casibus, sed Dei profundissimis ac iustissimis iudiciis id factum, vide pridie latitantem ac quemlibet infimae conditionis virum fugientem in brevi tantae auctoritatis fieri, ut regibus imperet, de regibus iudicet; vide tantae a seculo venerationis haberi, ut veniant curvi vestigiaque pedum eius in solio sedentis adorent orbis domini. The general sense demands to translate by "the Church" instead of Mierow's "man"; there is a certain – perhaps voluntary – ambiguity about the "sitting on the throne" who is identified with Christ by St. Jerome: on Is. 6:1, CCSL 73, p. 84.

⁶ Is. 60:1-3 reads: *surge, illuminare Ierusalem, quia venit lumen tuum, et gloria Domini super te orta est. Quia ecce tenebrae operient terram, et caligo populos, super te autem orietur Dominus, et gloria eius in te videbitur. Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui.*

⁷ Is. 60:14: *et venient ad te curvi filii eorum qui humiliaverunt te, et adorabunt vestigia pedum tuorum omnes qui detrahebant tibi, et vocabunt te civitatem Domini, Sion Sancti Israel.*

⁸ The „seated on the throne“ appears in quite a number of biblical texts; in Is. 6:1 we read: *vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum et elevatum.*

⁹ See M. J. HOLLERICH, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah. Christian Exegesis in the Age of Constantine* (Oxford, 1999), esp. p. 21; 59-60; 67; 80; G. RUHBACH, 'Die politische Theologie Eusebs von Caesarea', in id. ed., *Die Kirche angesichts der konstantinischen Wende, Wege der Forschung* 306 (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 236-258.

¹⁰ P. JAY, *L'exégèse de Saint Jérôme d'après son "Commentaire sur Isaïe"* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985), p. 57-58; HOLLERICH (note 9), p. 56.

and Otto. The medieval historians in the West who follow Eusebius did not in general adopt his references to Isaiah; even Hugh of Fleury, who in his Church history makes an extensive use of exegetical terms and methods¹¹ and moreover asserts that Constantine's conversion and favours for the Church are providential¹², does not appeal on this occasion to biblical quotations, let alone prophecies. With the medieval biblical commentators, the association between Isaiah's prophecies and what has been called the "Constantinian revolution"¹³ is fairly constant, but based on the more restrictive form given to it by St. Jerome – and tends to regress as we approach Otto's time.

With Eusebius, the new and marvelous position of the Church under Constantine appears as an ultimate accomplishment rather than as a turn in history¹⁴. His enthusiasm in relating the events of his time and in quoting Isaiah's prophecies in order to mark them as providential, are correlated with this eschatological perspective which, on the other hand, tends to remove them from their normal historical context. It has been noted that Eusebius never mentions

¹¹ Cf. E. MÉGIER, 'Ecclesiae sacramenta: the spiritual meaning of Old Testament history and the foundation of the Church in Hugh of Fleury's *Historia ecclesiastica*'. To be published in *Studi medievali* 2002.

¹² *Hugonis Floriacensis historia ecclesiastica* ed. B. ROTTENDORF (Münster, 1637), p. 87-90; 94. The passage, p. 94, which most recalls Eusebius' enthusiasm, reads: *Denique incredibile est memoratu, quam breui eius* (i.e. Constantine's) *studio sancta late per totum orbem creuerit ecclesia... nec aliqua fuit difficultas victoriae, ubi causa iustior et fides purior et virtus erat eminentior*. Cf. E. MÉGIER, 'La Chiesa cristiana, erede della Roma antica o dell'Antica Alleanza? I punti di vista di Ugo di Fleury e di Ottone di Frisinga', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX-XIII*, Atti della XIVa Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 24-28 agosto 1998 (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2001), p. 505-536: 519-522.

¹³ I take this term from R. A. MARKUS, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 16. The German term, "Konstantinische Wende", is less dramatic.

¹⁴ RUHBACH (note 9), p. 247. See also G. A. PRESS, 'History and the development of the Idea of History in Antiquity', *History and Theory* 16 (1977), p. 280-296; G. F. CHESNUT, 'Eusebius, Augustine, Orosius and the Later Patristic and Medieval Christian Historians', in H. W. ATTRIDGE, G. HATA eds., *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* (Detroit, 1992), p. 687-713: 693 and ID., *The First Christian Histories. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and Evagrius*, *Théologie historique* 46 (Paris, 1977), p. 118; HOLLERICH (note 9), p. 173-175; 178-181; 203.

the name of Constantine in his Isaiah commentary¹⁵; if he evokes prophecies fulfilled at the hands of specifically designated Roman emperors – namely the destruction of Jerusalem and the expulsion of her habitants by Titus, Vespasianus and Hadrian – this concerns the Jews, who have remained confined in time and history¹⁶, and not the Church¹⁷.

St. Jerome, on the contrary, considers the relationship between the Church and the Roman empire in a much more matter-of-fact way. Instead of adopting Eusebius' general correspondence between Isaiah's prophecies and the Constantinian Church in the light of eschatology, in his commentary on Isaiah he picks out a limited number of particular correspondences, which lose most of their transcendent aura. Or more precisely, St. Jerome takes pains to distinguish what he understands to be their transcendent or "spiritual" dimension, from the objectively observable facts¹⁸. Eschatological fulfilments of prophecies, if envisaged, belong to the spiritual sphere, but become a rather distant prospect, by no means related to the present situation¹⁹. And while we can speak of proof texts in the case of Eusebius, this seems much less appropriate in the case of St. Jerome who in his scholarly way is more interested in the correspondences as such than in their being providential. Moreover, as at his time the persecution by the Roman empire is no longer a problem felt by the Church, Jerome concentrates more than Eusebius on the main concern of Christian commentaries on the prophets, namely on the dispossession of the Jews of their role as the chosen people²⁰. Consequently it is more the fate of the Jews than the acts of the Roman emperors that for him are likely to be providential, and in need of *testimonia*. Both of course can be associated: Titus, Vespasian and Hadrian have their role in Jerome's as well as in Eusebius' interpretation of Is.2:6, and of quite a number of other verses announcing the tribulations of the Jews²¹. But if the

¹⁵ RUHBACH, p. 244; HOLLERICH, p. 194.

¹⁶ Cf. HOLLERICH, p. 163.

¹⁷ HOLLERICH, p. 26; 33.

¹⁸ See below p. 295.

¹⁹ Cf. JAY (note 10), p. 248; 250.

²⁰ Cf. DORIVAL (note 2), col. 432; HOLLERICH (note 9), p. 33; 40.

²¹ St. Jerome rarely misses an opportunity to evoke the "captivity" of the Jews by the Romans which is in his eyes a more convincing fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies than the Babylonian exile. Cf. HOLLERICH (note 9), p. 42; JAY (note 10), p. 364-365.

fact that the Roman emperors, once persecutors, have become Christians, and protectors of the Church, is in his eyes an obvious reference for several verses of Isaiah, this does not receive the special emphasis given to it by Eusebius²². And it is probably for a more trivial reason than Eusebius' that Jerome does not mention Constantine in this context: he has little sympathy for this emperor whom he sees as a promoter of the Arian heresy²³. Constantine appears in person only on behalf of a relatively minor subject: we read that at the time of Constantine, "under the sparkling light of the Gospel", together with the unbelief of all peoples, the ugly custom of male prostitution has been abolished²⁴. On the other hand, the Roman background in Jerome's commentary makes itself felt even without being directly expressed²⁵; we must not forget either that Jerome adopts the coincidence between the Augustan peace and the birth of Christ, which had become a commonplace in the Christian view of history²⁶.

Otto, in a way, returns to Eusebius, combining the latter's "providentiality"²⁷ with St. Jerome's historical realism. What I would like to investigate here is the context in which this return takes place: that is, I would like to describe Otto's position, not only with respect to the patristic heritage, but also with respect to what has become of this heritage in the course of time. As in the passages that interest us Otto seems nearer to the exegetical than to the historiographical tradition, my method will be to study in the texts of the biblical commentators concerned, from St. Jerome up to the

²² It is mentioned only marginally by JAY, p. 368, and by H. INGLEBERT, *Les Romains chrétiens face à l'histoire de Rome. Histoire, christianisme et romanité en Occident dans l'Antiquité tardive (III^e-V^e siècles)*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 145 (Paris, 1996), p. 289 note 229.

²³ INGLEBERT, p. 267.

²⁴ *Sub Constantino imperatore Christi euangelio coruscante et infidelitas universorum gentium et turpitudine deleta est*. On Is. 2:6, CC SL 73, p. 32.

²⁵ Cf. INGLEBERT (note 22), p. 280.

²⁶ On Is. 2:4 CCL 73, p. 30. Cf. H. V. CAMPENHAUSEN, 'Die Entstehung der Heilsgeschichte. Der Aufbau des christlichen Geschichtsbildes in der Theologie des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts', *Saeculum* 21 (1970), p. 189-212: 209-210. Otto very much emphasizes this coincidence, but without quoting Isaiah, cf. E. MÉGIER, 'Tamquam lux post tenebras, oder: Ottos von Freising Weg von der Chronik zu den Gesta Friderici', *Mediaevistik* 3 (1990), p. 131-267: 181.

²⁷ Cf. HOLLERICH (note 9), p. 67.

middle of the 12th century, the exegesis of the verses of Isaiah that St. Jerome or Otto have taken as references to the Constantinian Church. These verses are not exactly the same for both authors, but mostly taken from the same context. The questions that will guide me are: firstly, how important for the various authors is the relationship between the Christian Church and the Christian Roman empire²⁸, and in particular the "Constantinian revolution"? Secondly, by what exegetical categories do they express their views, in other words: what do they consider as "spiritual", and what as non-spiritual, "literal", "historical", "carnal", in their interpretation of the verses concerned? And finally: what images of the Church are connected with all this? As relying on a very selective reading, my eventual conclusions will of course have to be verified, or falsified, by further studies²⁹.

There are two prophecies in particular which according to Jerome are fulfilled by the Christian Roman emperors, Is. 60:3, and 60:10. The first reads: "nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising"³⁰, and is explained as follows: "This is fulfilled spiritually, and carnally, so that the kings whose heart is in the hand of the Lord, and in whose mortal bodies sin does not reign, march in the splendour of the nascent Church, or in Him who has risen in the Church, and bow their necks to the faith of Christ, the true king: this we see fulfilled daily when the Roman emperors, the error of idolatry and the fury of persecution having been abolished, pass over to the faith and tranquillity of Christ"³¹. Here we have, without mentioning his name,

²⁸ The pagan Roman emperors will interest us here only marginally.

²⁹ The existing general studies concentrate on the figure of Constantine and do not consider exegetical texts. Cf. E. EWIG, 'Das Bild Constantins des Grossen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters', *Hist. Jahrbuch* 75 (1956), p. 1-46; H. WOLFRAM, 'Constantin als Vorbild für den Herrscher des hochmittelalterlichen Reiches', *Mitteilungen des Inst. f. Österr. Geschichtsforschung* 68 (1960), p. 226-243.

³⁰ Quoted above note 6.

³¹ CCSL 73A, p. 694: *quod et spiritaliter impletur, et carnaliter, ut reges quorum cor in manu Domini est, et quibus non regnat peccatum in mortali corpore* (Rom 6:12), *ambulent in splendore nascentis Ecclesiae, siue in eo qui ortus est in Ecclesia, et ueri regis Christi fidei colla submittant. Quod cotidie videmus expleri quando idolatriae errore sublato et persecutionis rabie, ad fidem ac tranquillitatem Christi Romani principes transeunt.* Cf. JAY (note 10), p. 368.

a summary of the advantages gained by the Church under Constantine: the conversion of the emperors, plus the end of paganism and persecutions. And we can observe St. Jerome's effort to distinguish "spiritual" and "carnal" fulfilments, which represents a twofold difference with regard to Eusebius: the distinction itself, and the use of the term *carnaliter*, whereas Eusebius spoke of "historically" or "literally", indicating by this, not an opposition between the letter and the spirit, but the reality of the fulfilment³². Jerome's reason for preferring "carnal" to "historical" might be precisely the desire to accentuate the distinction, and thus, by changing the term, to eliminate the spiritual = eschatological dimension contained in Eusebius' "literal" or "historical" fulfilments by the "rulers and powers"³³. Another, apparently opposite but in fact complementary reason, might be the ambiguity that remains in Jerome's image of the Constantinian Church. We might say that it is no longer eschatological but remains in a definitive, timeless present: the use of the adverb *cotidie*, and of the present tense are characteristic in this respect. Jerome finds (past) time and narration more easily in biblical history, to which effectively the term "historical" is mainly reserved³⁴.

Probably for a similar reason, Jerome is not quite convincing in his distinction between the spiritual and the non-spiritual³⁵. In the text we have just seen, he states it as a postulate, but does not specify what should be attributed to one or the other mode of interpretation. We can only conjecture that the absence of sin belongs to the spiritual sphere, while the abolition of idolatry and persecu-

³² Cf. HOLLERICH (note 9), p. 21-22; 70; 86-87; 90; 102. Eusebius does not distinguish between the letter and the spirit, but between "letter" and "meaning", *kata lexin* and *kata dianoian*. JAY (note 10), p. 253 note 223 observes the total absence of precise correspondences between the exegetical terminology of Eusebius and of St. Jerome.

³³ In this context, *carnaliter* does not seem to have the negative connotation it takes on when it characterizes the Jewish interpretations rejected by St. Jerome, cf. JAY (note 10), p. 199-200; 244-248.

³⁴ This means also that "historical" has for St. Jerome a more specific meaning than for Eusebius, nearer to the modern use of the term, cf. JAY, p. 174.

³⁵ That is, in the texts that interest us here. For a more general evaluation cf. JAY, p. 150-172; CH. SCHÄUBLIN, *Untersuchungen zur Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese*, Theophaneia, Beiträge zur Religion und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums 23 (Köln-Bonn, 1974).

tion, as political acts, may be classified as carnal. Jerome is more assured in his interpretation of Is. 60:10³⁶. Here the *peregrini*, "foreigners", who "will build the walls of Jerusalem", and their kings who "will serve her" mean the gentiles and their rulers. This, Jerome continues, can be understood carnally, or spiritually: "if carnally, we see the Roman Cesars bow their necks under the yoke of Christ, build churches from public funds, and edict laws against the persecutions by the pagans and the snares of the heretics. If spiritually, whoever among them are princes in continence, eloquence and sanctity and subjugate to the empire of the soul the servitude of the flesh, those serve, assist and aid the Church whom (God) often abandons because of her negligence, or chastises by the rod of the persecutors, and again loves because of His mercifulness"³⁷. Here the carnal fulfilment consists explicitly in the outward acts and decisions of the emperors in their political capacity as rulers, while the spiritual fulfilment is to be found in their inner disposition, that is, if some of them are also "princes" or "foremost" by their virtues. Still they are useful to the Church in both cases, and the final allusion to the persecutions and their abolishment – one must suppose by the emperors – which might seem part of the carnal fulfilment is here connected with the spiritual one. At any rate, as both modes of fulfilment concern the same persons, they appear as complementary aspects. And it is not easy to decide whether the personal "spirituality" of the emperors or the spiritual dimension of the Church creates the conjunction.

In these texts the idea of a change from a problematic past to a more satisfactory present exists, but is not emphasized. The change that holds Jerome's attention is, as we said, not so much the passage of the emperors from persecution to promotion, but the passage of

³⁶ *Et aedificabunt filii peregrinorum muros tuos, et reges eorum ministrabunt tibi; in indignatione enim mea percussi te, et in reconciliatione mea misertus sum tui.*

³⁷ CCSL 73A, p. 700: *Alienigenae autem et peregrini proprie significant populum nationum, qui uere extruxerunt Ecclesiam Christi, in tantum ut reges eorum et principes ministrent siue assistant ei. Quod uel carnaliter accipitur, uel spiritualiter. Si carnaliter, uidemus Caesares Romanos Christi iugo colla submittere, et aedificare ecclesias expensis publicis, et aduersus persecutiones gentium atque insidias haereticorum legum scita pendere. Si spiritualiter, quicumque in eis continentia, eloquentia, sanctitate principes sunt et animae imperio carnis subiugant seruitutem, ipsi administrant et assistant uel auxiliantur ei, quam saepe propter negligentiam deserit, uel persecutorum percutit uirga, ut rursum propter sui misericordiam diligat.*

the Church from the Jews to the gentiles, and it is in this perspective that he interprets Is. 54:2³⁸ and the following. The converted gentiles, however, are the peoples living under Roman rule; when Jerome declares that with the image, *similitudo*, of the tabernacle of Moses, its curtains and cords stretched out and its stakes (omitted by Otto) strengthened, the Church is told to leave behind the exiguous "Jewish space" and spread out to the whole world³⁹, Rome is implicitly present. In particular, the *termini*, "boundaries" or "frontiers" of the Church to be extended can be read, I believe, as an evocation of the Roman Empire. Moreover, among the moral interpretations of the "left" and the "right" in Is. 54:3⁴⁰ which conclude the passage, we find the recommendation of obedience to temporal, that is, of course, Roman government (the left), as well as to God (the right)⁴¹. So here also the union or at least solidarity between the Church and Rome appears, together with the opposition between the Church and the Jews. – As to the modes of interpretation, the prophetic text is treated at first as a metaphorical exhortation, which in Jerome's view is part of the literal reading, even if he does not specify this by the use of an appropriate technical term⁴². The explanation of the metaphor is in any case separated from the spiritual sense, introduced explicitly by: "Let us pass to the spiritual understanding". Here the tent and its different parts are treated as allegories of preaching and divine doc-

³⁸ Quoted in note 4.

³⁹ *Cui dixerat... rumpe vincula quibus prius tenebaris adstricta... nunc eidem praecipitur in similitudinem tabernaculi Moysi, quod quondam habuit in deserto, ut dilaret tentorium suum, pellesque distentet funiculosque faciat longiores, et clavos quibus firmatur omne tentorium, altum defigat et roboret, ne uentorum flatibus dissipetur. Ad dexteram penetret et sinistram et nequaquam Iudaici tabernaculi imitetur angustias..., nec templi breuitate claudatur... sed ad dexteram et sinistram locum capere ne cesset... Hoc de ecclesiarum magnitudine quae pro uno Iudaeae loco et ipso angustissimo, in toto orbe terrarum suos terminos dilatabunt.* CCL 73A, p. 601-602.

⁴⁰ *Ad dexteram enim et ad laevam penetrabis, et semen tuum gentes haereditabit, et civitates desertas inhabitabit.*

⁴¹ ... *ut et potestatibus istius saeculi subiciamur quae non iniuste tenent gladium in uindictam eorum qui male egerunt, quae sinistra intellegitur. Et Deo reddamus quae Dei sunt, ut nullum alium timeamus nisi eum, qui et animae habet et corporis potestatem, quod in dextera accipitur.* CCL 73A, p. 603.

⁴² Cf. JAY (note 10), p. 150-153.

trine, and Jerome underlines the "spirituality" of this interpretation, by presenting it together with several others which belong clearly to the domain of tropology⁴³. He starts the series with a consideration about the faithful in earthly tents yearning for the heavenly mansions; the recommendation of obedience comes near the end, and the preaching of doctrine in between⁴⁴. Here again, the distinction between spiritual and non-spiritual aspects is somewhat arbitrary; the geographical extension of the Church and the spiritual extension of Christian doctrine end up in a common result, the conversion of the gentiles.

Is. 60:15 receives only a short paraphrase, whose theme is again the conversion of the gentiles⁴⁵. In the commentary on Is. 60:14 those who come bending low, *curui*, are those who have become Christians not by their own free will but by necessity, that is by the fear of the rulers they dare not offend. Or else, they are the former persecutors who later became believers, like the apostle Paul⁴⁶. One can assume that the *regnantes* who induce even the unwilling to embrace Christianity designate the Christian Roman emperors, and we can note that while Jerome does not mind evoking the submission of the emperors to Christ, those who are bent down before the Church are not the emperors but their subjects. Here the mode of interpretation followed is not specified.

The medieval commentators up to Otto's time all rely heavily on St. Jerome, in their interpretation of the verses we are interested in as well as in the rest of their work. However, there are changes, one of which concerns the distinction between spiritual and non-spiritual fulfilments. On the one hand, by that time the Church had become more "historical" if not "carnal"; it had settled down in its terrestrial present and past, the eschatological dimension having definitely become an affair of the future. On the other hand, in its capacity as the institutional body of the clergy, the terrestrial

⁴³ That is, of the moral or psychological sense, according to standard terminology: see H. DE LUBAC, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, (Paris: Aubier, 1959-1965), I/2, p. 549.

⁴⁴ CCSL 73A, p. 602-603.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 702.

⁴⁶ ... *de his debemus intellegere qui non voluntate sed necessitate sunt Christiani, et metu offensae regnantium timentibus animis inclinantur. Vel certe quod prius persecutores, postea crediderint. Qualis fuit et apostolus Paulus qui persequabatur Ecclesiam Dei, et postea uas electionis est appellatus: ibid.*, p. 701.

Church claimed its "spirituality" with growing insistency⁴⁷. So it is not astonishing that as far as the Church is concerned, many authors abandon the effort of distinguishing between the "spiritual" and the "carnal" or "historical" with which St. Jerome had not been thoroughly successful. Concerning the emperors, the distinction remains, but is situated elsewhere. Most of the authors place the Roman emperors as well as other holders of temporal power wholly on the non-spiritual side, whatever the terms used. The new position does not yet appear with Hrabanus Maurus – on Isaiah, he only presents a slightly abbreviated copy of St. Jerome's work⁴⁸ – but it is clearly expressed in the second extant Isaiah commentary from the Carolingian period, now attributed without doubt to Haimo of Auxerre⁴⁹.

In Haimo's commentary on Isaiah 54:2, the term "spiritual" is employed neither for the whole interpretation nor for any of its parts. On the other hand, the meaning of the tent and of its different components is much more developed than by Jerome, and Haimo uses the verbs *significare*, *designare*, *intelligere*, *accipere* and the like which Jerome seems to have avoided in this context and which suggest an allegorical = spiritual sense. In other words, instead of separating the metaphor, *similitudo*, from the *spiritualis intelligentia* as St. Jerome did, Haimo presents his whole interpretation as an allegory, and thus makes it appear as entirely spiritual, whether it be concerned with the extension of preaching and doctrine or with the geographical growth of the Church⁵⁰. And while

⁴⁷ Cf. B. SZABÓ-BECHSTEIN, *Libertas ecclesiae. Ein Schlüsselbegriff des Investiturstreits und seine Vorgeschichte, 4.-11. Jahrhundert*, Studi Gregoriani (Roma, 1985).

⁴⁸ It seems that Hrabanus is more original in other exegetical works, see J.-L. VERSTREPEN, 'Raban Maur et le Judaïsme dans son commentaire sur les quatre livres des rois' *Revue Mabillon* NS 7 = vol. 68 (1996), p. 23-55. – I have not been able to see the commentary of Josephus Scotus, qualified as "epitome" of St. Jerome by F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* (Madrid, 1950-1955), n. 5146.

⁴⁹ Cf. D. IOGNA-PRAT, 'L'oeuvre d'Haimon d'Auxerre', in: *L'École Carolingienne d'Auxerre, de Murethach à Rémi (830-908)*, Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989, publiés par D. IOGNA-PRAT, C. JEUDY, G. LOBRICHON, préface de G. DUBY (Paris: Beauchesne, 1991), p. 157-189. The edition in *PL* 116 col. 715-1086 goes under the name of Haimo of Halberstadt.

⁵⁰ ... modo iterum dicitur ut dilatet tentorium suum ad similitudinem tabernaculi Mosi... Tabernaculum Mosi... sanctam Ecclesiam significabat... Sancta ergo

Jerome inserts the former between the various tropologies which dominate the passage, and thus leaves no doubt as to his intention to place it in the spiritual sphere which he has separated from the literal one, the only tropology Haimo retains, namely the journey of the faithful from the earthly tents to heaven, is somewhat out of place in his overall ecclesiological interpretation⁵¹ – even if on the other hand it adds to its spiritual colouring.

On the contrary, in Haimo's commentaries on Is. 60:3 and 60:10, the distinction is manifest. The emperors belong, not exactly to the flesh but to history or the letter – Haimo substitutes *historialiter* and *ad litteram* to *carnaliter* or speaks of a “double understanding” – as church builders, and as believers as well, while the spiritual fulfilment is reserved for the saints, or even more so for the martyrs and apostles⁵². We read on 60:3: “We understand here kings in a double way, either the kings of this world like Constantine, Heraclius, Theodosius and many others who had the faith of Christ, or also the kings are the saints, who as the sons of

Ecclesia locum tentorii sui dilatatum habet, quia ad orientem et ad occidentem et ad meridiem Ecclesiae in Christi nomine dilatatae sunt. Pelles sanctae Ecclesiae sunt praedicatores et praelati qui eam protegunt ab aesto vitiorum et daemonum, et ab omnibus adversis. Habebat tabernaculum (sicut diximus) saga cilicina per quae designantur poenitentes, quia cilicium habitus poenitentiae est. Habet rubricatas pelles per quas designantur martyres, habet et hiacynthinas, per quas designantur omnes pallorem abstinentiae gestantes... Dicit ergo ad sanctam Ecclesiam: o Ecclesia, dilata locum tentorii tui per quatuor mundi climata, ne concludaris uno angulo solummodo Iudaeae, et pelles hoc est praedicatores tuos extende et diffunde per orbem terrarum... Longos fac funiculos tuos, id est longe extende praedicationem tuam, et praecepta divina elonga, et clavos tuos consolida, id est intelligentiam et rationem tuam confirma et corrobora. Ad dexteram et ad laevam penetrabis, hoc est omnes gentes possidebis: PL 116, col. 994-995.

⁵¹ *Qui in tabernaculis commorantur, de loco ad locum transeuntes ad domum tendunt et ad terram promissam, sicut Iudaei fecerunt. Et sancti in praesenti saeculo in tabernaculis habitant, hoc est in ecclesiis, quia peregrini et advenae sunt in hoc saeculo... tendentes ad domum.* This passage comes after: *Ecclesiam significabat*, in the text quoted in the preceding note.

⁵² There is a Hieronomian text where the “kings whose hearts are in the hand of the Lord” are identified, not with any Roman emperors but with the “saints”: *reges ergo sancti sunt, et istorum cor in manu domini est: Tractatus in psalmos*, ps. 75, CCSL 78, p. 54, but there is another where the kings stand in a row with the apostles and the prophets: *illae ambulant in lumine domini, quae secutae fuerint reges, apostolos et prophetas de quibus scriptum est: cor regis in manu domini* (Prov. 21). In *prophetas minores, Zacharias*, CCSL 76A, p. 883.

the King govern themselves well ...”⁵³. Similarly, on 60:10, we find on the side of the “historical” or “literal” understanding “the kings, princes and mighty who have built churches of Christ throughout the whole world, so as Constantine constructed twelve churches in Rome in honour of the twelve apostles...” – and on the side of the “spiritual” meaning “the martyrs and preachers of the nations by whose virtues and faith the Church is founded”⁵⁴. Thus instead of following Jerome’s parallel efforts of distinction between objective facts – the flesh – and what transcends them – the spirit –, with regard to the emperors and with regard to the Church, Haimo draws a line of demarcation between an ecclesiastical = spiritual and a profane = non-spiritual sphere.

Haimo’s preference, with regard to the Constantinian Church, for the term *historialiter* does not necessarily result from a closer association of the “non-spiritual” sense of Scripture with “history” in its more specific acceptance, that is, with the events of the past and their narration⁵⁵. It is true that the Roman fulfilments now share the same terminology (or absence of terminology) as the Jewish ones; this suggests that the Constantinian Church is no longer an eschatological accomplishment or an ideal present, but, like the history of the Jews, part of a past to be remembered. Such a past is of course “historical”, and we can observe that Haimo shows greater interest than St. Jerome in specific historical facts, persons, and circumstances. For instance, he calls the Christian emperors by their names much more readily; Constantine is

⁵³ *Reges hic dupliciter intelliguntur, vel reges saeculi huius, ut Constantinus, Heraclius, Theodosius, aliique quamplures qui fidem Christi habuerunt, vel etiam reges sunt sancti, qui filii regis existentes se bene rexerunt, de quibus dicitur: cor regis in manu Dei.* PL 116, col. 1032-1033. The second part of the sentence is certainly an echo of the first of Jerome’s texts quoted in my preceding note; on the contrary, there is no trace of Jerome’s “spiritual” emperors.

⁵⁴ PL 116, col. 1036: *Hoc et historialiter et spiritualiter accipi potest. Filios peregrinorum quantum ad litteram pertinet, appellat filios gentium, et reges videlicet et principes ac potentes qui ecclesias Christi aedificaverunt per universum orbem, ut Constantinus duodecim ecclesias Romae fabricavit in honore XII apostolorum... Spiritualiter vero filios peregrinorum et reges eorum appellat martyres, et praedicatores gentium quorum fide et virtutibus Ecclesia sancta fundata est.*

⁵⁵ According to JAY (note 10), p. 141, St. Jerome’s *historia* is different from *littera* (or from *caro*) not so much by the subject matter it designates than by its more favourable colouring.

named at least three times⁵⁶, eventually joined, as we saw, by Heraclius and Theodosius. But Haimo does not, in the texts quoted until now, evoke any historical change from a former to a new situation: the *reges saeculi huius* signified by 60:3 "have" the faith of Christ instead of being converted to it. So the change of terminology might find its explanation simply in the lack of a spiritual counterpart, which would have made *carnaliter* too pejorative. Moreover Haimo speaks indifferently of *historia* and *littera* and the vagueness of his "double intelligence" can be filled with any kind of qualification. It seems to me that Haimo is more interested in the emperors' exemplarity than in the specific historical effects of their action. Constantine can be cited as a church builder in Rome, but he is only one among many kings and princes who "built churches of Christ all over the world, and supplied what was necessary for their subsistence"⁵⁷. The formulation: *ut Constantinus fuit*, or *ut Constantinus... et alii quamplures* makes the Roman emperors appear as representants of a generic Christian rulership, more than as actors in history⁵⁸. Haimo's inclination to multiply the number of emperors named – as well as of other categories of persons like the Fathers of the Church⁵⁹ –, might be a sign of the same tendency. Moreover, he apparently hesitates to mention as persons the pagan Roman emperors who cannot serve as examples; we find the peace of Augustus in his commentary on Is. 2:4 but when he evokes the tribulations inflicted to the Jews by the Romans, he often suppresses the names of Titus, Vespasian and

⁵⁶ In the commentary on 60:11, *PL* 116, col. 1037, we read: *Quae sunt portae Ecclesiae quae semper patent? Episcopi et sacerdotes, quorum ministerio introducimur intra sanctam Ecclesiam die ac nocte, hoc est in prosperitate et in adversitate. Et quare hoc? Ut afferatur ad Ecclesiam fortitudo gentium, principes videlicet ac potentes, vel martyres fortes in fide, et reges earum, ut Constantinus fuit, vel sancti qui semetipos bene regunt, adducantur ad fidem eius.* Here Haimo has not considered a distinction between levels of meaning.

⁵⁷ The text quoted in note 54 continues after *apostolorum*: *aliique multi plurimas fundaverunt, eisque quae necessaria erant ministraverunt.*

⁵⁸ Cf. D. IOGNA-PRAT (note 49), p. 169 and J. CONTRENI, 'Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezekiel, ms. Paris 12302', *ibid.*, p. 229-242: 234 about the information Haimo finds "in the treasure house of history".

⁵⁹ *PL* 116, col. 1000: *Sic Hilarius, sic Augustinus, sic Hieronimus et Athanasius contra vasa diaboli pugnaverunt, suis disputationibus.* Cf. CONTRENI, p. 234.

Hadrian mentioned by St. Jerome⁶⁰. The king who guides the Romans against the Jews is God Himself⁶¹.

In part Haimo's reticence against the idea of a historical change brought about by Constantine might result from an unwillingness to present the Roman emperors as the particular protectors of the Church: the "school of Auxerre" is known to have been connected with the court of Charles the Bald, that is, with the origins of a *Francia* independent from the empire⁶². In fact Haimo never speaks of emperors, and as we have seen prefers the appellation of "kings of this world", "princes", or even more widely "the powerful": *reges huius saeculi, principes, potentes*, and in his version of the expansion of the Church to the whole world the *termini*, frontiers of the *orbis Romanus*, have disappeared⁶³. Maybe Haimo comes a little nearer to a historical view – that is, if history implies a narrative of succession and change and not only the memory of an exemplary past – when he considers the Church without referring to its relation with Rome. In his commentary on 60:14-15 there is nothing about the forced Christians and who might have forced them⁶⁴, be it the Roman emperors or any rulers whatsoever, but the theme of the former persecutors who become believers is developed much more than by Jerome, and applied not only to the Jews – with again a special mention of St. Paul – but also to the gentiles. Haimo tells us that the Jews strongly humiliated the Church when they killed St. James and St. Stephen, but later humiliated themselves when they accepted faith by the grace of Christ, like St. Paul and the other converts mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. Similarly, the gentiles strongly humiliated the Church when they

⁶⁰ For instance in the interpretation of Is. 1:6 and 2:15, col. 720 and 734. In Haimo's commentary on Ezekiel, Titus and Vespasian are omitted in the interpretation of Ez. 7:22, fol. 36v, whereas we find them (together with Antiochus and Pompey) in St. Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel which Haimo follows: CCSL 75, p. 85.

⁶¹ PL 116, col. 1029 (on Is. 59:17): *Indutus est vestimentis ultionis, subaudis sicut rex, et suis militibus Romanis, et opertus est quasi pallio zelis, id est ultionis*.

⁶² Cf. *L'École Carolingienne d'Auxerre* (note 49), avant-propos, p. 6, and J. L. NELSON, 'Charles le Chauve et les utilisations du savoir', *ibid.*, p. 37-54.

⁶³ Haimo has *per orbem terrarum, in quattuor mundi climata*, PL 116, col. 995. There will be no more *termini* in the later commentaries either.

⁶⁴ In the medieval commentaries I have seen, this theme appears only if copied mechanically from St. Jerome, for instance, in Rainald of St. Eloi, cf. below.

killed St. Peter, but later, humiliated, they glorified God in the works of His Apostles⁶⁵. The same theme of the double persecution by the Jews and the gentiles appears in the interpretation of 60:15, together with the theme of idolatry: Haimo explains that the Jews hated the Church because of her faith in Christ whom they had crucified, and the pagans hated her because of her refusal of the idols which they adored⁶⁶. Change – from persecution to veneration – is here an important issue, and Haimo introduces, even more than in his commentary on 60:10, historical information – persons, events, motives of action – not given by St. Jerome⁶⁷. Still the term *similiter* and the repetition of *quando – postea* in the passage quoted above tend to turn the narration of change into its – double – exemplification. – Haimo uses here no more terms designating the mode of interpretation than Jerome in the same context.

After quite a long pause, the next Isaiah commentaries were composed shortly before 1100 by two fervent champions of the papal party in the investiture contest, Manegold of Lautenbach and Bruno of Segni⁶⁸. Only Bruno's work has come down to us.

Among the authors I consider here, it is Bruno who most emphasizes the importance of Rome, but not so much in relation

⁶⁵ PL 116, col. 1038: *et venient ad te, subaudi per fidem, o Ecclesia, curvi, id est inclinati et humiles, filiorum, subaudis persecutorum, qui humiliaverunt te, interficiendo sanctos tuos praedicatores, et adorabunt vestigia pedum... id est venerabuntur signa et opera apostolorum tuorum, qui sicut superius diximus, pedes Ecclesiae fuerunt. Valde humiliaverunt Iudaei Ecclesiam, quando decollaverunt Jacob fratrem domini, qui erat eis ab apostolis episcopus ordinatus, et quando lapidaverunt Stephanum. Sed postea per Domini gratiam venientes ad fidem eius humiliati sunt, et venerabantur signa et miracula apostolorum, ut beatus Paulus fecit, qui fortiter humiliavit eam consentiens civibus suis, et illi de quibus scripsit Lucas, quod multa turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei. Similiter gentiles valde humiliaverunt Ecclesiam, quando succiderunt Petrum excelsam cedrum, sed postea humiliati glorificaverunt Dominum in operibus apostolorum eius...*

⁶⁶ Ibid.: *Ecclesia derelicta sive deserta fuit in Iudaeis infidelibus et gentibus idolatris, et odio habita ab utroque populo. Iudaei idcirco illam odio habebant, quia fidem Christi tenebat et praedicabat tenendam, quem ipsi contemnendo crucifixerant. Gentes autem ideo exosam illam habebant, quia idola dicebat nihil esse, quae ipsi colebant, et eorum vanissimos errores pro nihilo ducebat.*

⁶⁷ Cf. CONTRENI (note 58), p. 234.

⁶⁸ His Isaiah commentary has been published by A. AMELLI in *Spicilegium Casinense complectens Analecta Sacra et Profana*, III/1 (Monte Cassino, 1897).

to the emperors than in relation to the popes. In his interpretation of Is. 60:3, we find only the "kings and princes of the earth", without any names or titles, who, "having abandoned the error of idolatry, march in the splendour of the rising Church"⁶⁹. In Is. 60:5 Bruno sees the same kings and princes, "and Rome, the mistress of the world herself, come to the Church with a bowed head and a humiliated neck"⁷⁰. Already Haimo had insisted on the theme of humiliation, present in Is. 60:14, but in his commentary the humiliation was inflicted to the Church by the persecutors and was suffered by the converted Jews and gentiles, without any mention of their rulers⁷¹: the peoples, not the kings, were concerned. Bruno on the contrary attributes the humiliation to temporal government, and to Rome in particular. However, he emphasizes, along with the submission of Rome to the Church, also her dominion over the world, which was to become the heritage of the Apostles. Is. 54:3⁷² has been fulfilled, according to Bruno, "in this noblest of all cities which has become the dwelling place of the two eyes of this world, Peter and Paul"⁷³.

The popes, in fact, derive their primacy from apostolic succession, but also from their quality as Romans. On behalf of the rising Church in 60:3 Bruno writes: "Even if the Church is entirely fair and beautiful, yet its outset and beginning, namely the Apostles, shine brightly before all. Indeed the others follow their splendour and doctrine"⁷⁴, – which is a way of underlining the importance of the popes who hold the apostolic see. On the other hand in the commentary on 60:10 the prerogative of the popes is

⁶⁹ *Et reges et principes terrae relicto errore simulacrorum ibunt in splendore ortus tui*: AMELLI, p. 179.

⁷⁰ *Quando fortitudo gentium, quando reges et principes, quando ipsa Roma domina terrarum submisso capite et humiliata cervice venerit tibi*: *ibid.*

⁷¹ It seems that "gentiles" evokes for Haimo not so much the ancient Romans than the contemporary Saracens, Hungarians, or Vikings, cf. CONTRENI (note 58), p. 233-234.

⁷² Quoted note 40.

⁷³ *Quod ne longe petamus exempla in hac nobilissima omnium civitatum videmus esse completum, quae quidem duorum huius mundi oculorum habitatio facta est, Petri videlicet et Pauli*: AMELLI, p. 158.

⁷⁴ *Quamvis enim tota pulcra et formosa sit aecclesia, ortus tamen et principium eius apostoli scilicet prae omnibus rutilant. Quorum quidem splendorem et doctrinam caeteri sequuntur*: *ibid.*, p. 179.

founded in their "Romanity": as Romans they assume the function of destroyers of heresies, which Jerome had attributed to the emperors. Bruno writes: "Who indeed has built the walls of the Church like the newly arrived Romans? Whose pontiffs have destroyed all heresies and whose emperors have built the beautiful churches we see now?"⁷⁵ We observe that it is also as Romans that the Christian emperors retain at least one of the roles they had with St. Jerome. Nonetheless the popes come first, and if in the following sentence Constantine appears in person as in Haimo's exposition, he is presented not so much as a mighty ruler as in the humble position of a workman: "The emperor Constantine may suffice us as an example, he who not only bestowed many gifts on the churches but also carried on his own shoulders the stones for the construction of the basilicas"⁷⁶. Bruno, unlike Haimo, is not interested in Constantine's faith; in the following sentence which comments the second part of 60:10, "in his wrath He has hit thee", the "conversion" alluded to concerns Rome, not the emperors. Constantine only ratifies the new situation: "not only when she still served the idols, but also after her conversion up to the emperor we have just mentioned she has been abundantly stricken and afflicted by many sufferings: he the first ordered the Christians to be free and the churches to be opened"⁷⁷.

In 54:2 the cords of the tent are not, as in the preceding commentaries, Apostolic preaching, but the Apostles themselves, with a precise historical reference: a particularly long rope represents the apostle Peter who came all the way from Jerusalem to Rome in order to fix the stake (of the Church's tent), which of course alludes to the transfer of the center of Christianity from the former to the latter city, by the foundation of the papal see, just as the stakes fixed by St. Paul mean the bishoprics founded by him all over the

⁷⁵ *Quis enim sic aecclesiae muros aedificavit ut advenae Romani? Quorum quidem pontifices omnes hereses destruxerunt, quorum imperatores pulcherrimas quas nunc videmus aecclesias construxerunt: ibid., p. 181.*

⁷⁶ *Constantinus imperator nobis sufficiat in exemplum, qui et multa donaria aeclesiis fecit et suis humeris ad basilicas construendas lapides deportavit: ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Non solum enim cum adhuc idolis deserviret, verum etiam post conversionem usque ad hunc quem modo diximus imperatorem satis percussa et multis tribulationibus afflictus est. Hic enim primus Christianos liberos esse et aecclesias aperire iussit: ibid.*

world⁷⁸. In fact, "the Church made its beginning in Jerusalem which is situated in the middle of the world, so that it might find space to extend all around"⁷⁹, but it obtains its accomplishment in Rome. When Bruno writes, in his explanation of 60:15: "Indeed the Church is installed in glory forever because this city is marked out among all and by all centuries as nobler and higher"⁸⁰, he actually identifies the Church with "this city" which he does not even need to name, and whose splendour becomes the glory of the Church⁸¹. We find the same identification, or rather confusion, in the interpretation of 60:10 quoted above: "not only when she still served the idols..." Whoever served the idols, and then converted, can be none other than Rome, but whoever was afflicted, before being liberated, is certainly the (Roman) Church. – It is not astonishing that in such a "Roman" commentary there is again more room for the names of the pagan Roman emperors, Titus, Vespasian and Hadrian⁸² – whereas Bruno has no use, in his exposition of 54:2, for the opposition between the moving tents and the rest in Heaven.

Bruno's interpretation of Is. 60:14 is rather short; after having mentioned the apostle Paul as a bowed or humiliated persecutor, he writes: "we read that in the time of persecution many detractors and persecutors, suddenly converted to faith, cast themselves down at the feet of the saints"⁸³. This is probably what Bruno hopes will happen, or has been able to observe in the case of one or another bishop or prince having joined the papal party. The "for-

⁷⁸ *Funiculi namque quibus tabernacula tenduntur, et claves quibus terrae ne forte ruant affiguntur, apostoli sunt et doctores. Longus funiculus beatus Petrus qui ab Hierusolimis Romae venit figere clavum. Sed quid de Paulo dicam, cui nec terra sufficiebat undique circa tabernaculum discurrens quasi clavos singulis quibusque civitatibus episcopos infigebat et constituebat?* Ibid., p.158.

⁷⁹ *Ideo enim in Hierusalem quae in medio mundi sita est, aecclesia caepit, ut undique circa se locum haberet ad quem se extendere posset:* ibid.

⁸⁰ *Ponitur ergo aecclesia in superbiam seculorum, quoniam in cunctis et a cunctis seculis nobilior et sublimior haec civitas indicabitur:* ibid., p. 182.

⁸¹ Cf. the quotation in note 74, and Bruno's commentary on Is. 59:19-21, AMELLI, p. 178: *gentiles vero qui sunt ab occidente, ubi caput aecclesiae construere-tur.*

⁸² E.g. ibid., p. 23.

⁸³ *Hoc enim quamvis ad finem referri possit, tamen in tempore persecutionis multos detractores et persecutores subito ad fidem conversos sanctorum pedibus advolutos legimus:* ibid., p. 181.

saken" Jerusalem in 60:15 in any case reminds Bruno of the problems confronted by his friend Gregory VII, or of his own⁸⁴.

There is no distinction between a spiritual and a geographical extension of the Church in Bruno's commentary on 54:2, in conformity with the tendency we already found in Haimo. But in the construction of the Church by the *peregrini* the distinction between spiritual and historical, clearly marked by Haimo, does not appear either, which seems to contradict what we have said about the attribution in the Middle Ages of spiritual and historical meanings to secular and ecclesiastical realities respectively. Worse, we read on 60:5: "So that the strength of the nations may be brought to you, that is, the strong and mighty of this world. And their kings shall be led nigh, who rule them (i.e. the nations) carnally or spiritually"⁸⁵. This is certainly an echo of Jerome's double interpretation of 60:3 and 60:10. However Bruno is by no means interested in reestablishing the spiritual dimension of the Roman emperors: in fact the two kinds of rule can be seen as pertaining to two kinds of "kings", namely the temporal and the spiritual authorities⁸⁶. Rather, Bruno goes a step further to limit the role of the emperors in the Church: in his interpretation of Is. 60:10, instead of distinguishing a historical aspect attributed to the temporal rulers and a spiritual one reserved to the saints and the clergy, he transfers part of the former historical fulfilments of the prophecies – the combat against heresy – from the Roman emperors to the popes. In other words, after having been expelled from the spiritual sense, the kings and emperors are also partly dispossessed of their position in historical exegesis. Yet, Bruno cannot be interested in qualifying the fulfilments assigned to the popes as historical, let alone carnal, if he wants to assure, at the same time, as a good Gregorian, the spiritual character of the Church. In fact the transfer can be seen as an enlargement of the spiritual sphere: having become the competence of the popes, the destruction of heresy is no longer a carnal

⁸⁴ *Pro eo inquit quod fuisti derelicta inter manus persecutorum et odio habita a tyrannis qui te totis viribus persequantur, et non erit qui pertransiret quoniam omnes timore percussi etiam ipsi pontifices in speluncis latebant*: *ibid.*, p. 182. Cf. J. S. ROBINSON, "Political Allegory" in the Biblical Exegesis of Bruno of Segni', *RThAM* 50 (1983), p. 69-98.

⁸⁵ *Ut afferatur ad te fortitudo gentium, id est robusti et potentes huius seculi. Et reges earum adducantur. Qui eas carnaliter vel spiritualiter regnant*: AMELLI, p. 181.

⁸⁶ See also below, p. 314.

or historical fulfilment but a spiritual one. But to present it explicitly as spiritual would probably have been too great a change with respect to the Hieronymian tradition. Conversely, since whatever attributions assigned to the emperors are certainly not spiritual, but are situated on the same level as the popes' part, Bruno probably prefers to avoid terminological qualifications here as well.

On the other hand, and this seems to me particularly interesting, Bruno introduces an explicit spiritual sense into his interpretation of Is. 54:2: not a spiritual sense distinct from a historical fulfilment, but a spiritual sense meant to "spiritualize" the historical fulfilment itself. At least this seems to be the intention of Bruno's closing remark: "That he commands to strengthen the stakes, is not void of mystery": *Quod autem clavos consolidare praecepit, non vacat a misterio*⁸⁷. By this mystery, the understanding of which is left to the reader, Bruno suggests, I believe, that the historical references to Isaiah's prophecies he has proposed, namely St. Peter's migration to Rome and St. Paul's foundations of episcopal sees, include a spiritual truth. Here, it seems to me, the tendency shown by Bruno is opposed to St. Jerome's, and goes far beyond what we can find in Haimo's commentary. If St. Jerome is not always convincing in his distinction between spiritual and historical meanings concerning the Church, still he tries to maintain it and in particular avoids, as a rule, the identification between the providential aspect, which historical events fulfilling a prophecy tend to take on, and the spiritual meaning. Haimo, as we have said, rather neglects this distinction, but he does not openly claim the spirituality of fulfilments in the historical and institutional Church; we can note that in his commentary the spiritual fulfilment of Is. 60:3 and 60:10 is attributed to persons – saints, martyrs, preachers –, not to institutions.

On the contrary, the spiritual dimension Bruno evokes by the term *misterium* does not concern the relation to God of any individuals, emperors or saints; it concerns the events which have led to the institutional organization of the Church under the supremacy of the papal see of Rome. So if Jerome "spiritualized" the Roman emperors, by attributing to them a spiritual fulfilment of

⁸⁷ AMELLI, p. 158.

prophecies, Bruno "spiritualizes" the history of the Roman Church. And this can apply to the present as well as to the past. We have already seen the Church of his own time and its vicissitudes appear in Bruno's commentary on Is. 60:14-15, albeit without an indication of the mode of interpretation. But there are other more explicit texts. On Is. 7:1-2 we find at first – introduced by: *Sequimur ergo historiam* – a summary of 4 Kings:15-16 where the events Isaiah alludes to are related (a league of enemies threatening the Jewish kingdom). But then Bruno continues: "If we want to understand this allegorically, the exposition does not demand a great effort, whilst we see such great princes of this world leagued against this holy Roman Church; because a great number of our brothers and companions have surrendered to them, our fear and sorrow is considerable. Always, to be sure, the evil are allied against the righteous: also Herod and Pilate became friends by the death of the Lord"⁸⁸. This means that a relatively contingent event in the history of the Church can be the allegorical, that is, the spiritual meaning of an Old Testament prophecy, in other words, that the historical vicissitudes of the Church are spiritual, not only historical realities⁸⁹. The term *allegorice* used here is even more explicit than the *mysterium* that accompanies the establishment of the papal see; on the other hand, *mysterium* implies more than the understanding of the text: it evokes the providential character of the events, if not their belonging to the mystery of faith⁹⁰.

This means that with Bruno, the exegesis of Isaiah's prophecies is again, as with Eusebius, aimed to reveal a providential design of

⁸⁸ *Hoc autem si allegoricae intelligere volumus, non multum est in expositione laborandum. Cum videamus tantos huius seculi principes contra hanc sanctam Romanam aecclesiam coniurasse quibus quoniam quamplures consocii et confratres nostri sese dederunt, non parvus nobis timor est atque tristitia. Semper enim contra bonos malorum fit coniuratio, nam et Herodes et Pilatus in morte Domini amican-tur: ibid., p. 23. Cf. ROBINSON (note 84), p. 72.*

⁸⁹ ROBINSON, p. 94-95, observes that with Bruno "the spiritual sense is the property of the papal party".

⁹⁰ In patristic exegesis, *mysterium* often indicates a level of theological truth different from the more technical level of exegesis indicated by *allegoria* and the like, cf. G. OTRANTO, 'La Terminologia esegetica in Giustino', in: *La terminologia esegetica nell'antichità*, Atti del Primo Seminario di antichità cristiana, Bari, 25 ottobre 1984, Quaderni di "Vetera Christianorum" 20 (Bari, 1987), p. 61-77: 69. The same might be the case with Bruno.

God in which Rome is involved; only, as we said, this design has to do with the popes rather than with the emperors, and it concerns the Church as a historical, not as an eschatological reality. One could say that while with Eusebius history tended to be absorbed by eschatology, or the spirit, a tendency against which St. Jerome reacted, Bruno, – preceded to a certain extent by Haimo, – goes toward the absorption of the spirit by history. And we can add that history, in Bruno's case, is not a reservoir of examples, but is made up of stories, that is, successions of events, which are presented in the form of narrations.

Bruno shows a general tendency in his exposition to narrate actions instead of describing states or qualities. At the beginning of his commentary on 54:2 we are told that Moses “made the tabernacle”, *fecit enim Moyses tabernaculum in heremo*⁹¹, while Jerome has: *tabernacul(um) Moysi, quod quondam habuit in deserto*⁹². Later, as we have seen, the Church started, *caepit*, in Jerusalem, St. Peter has come, *venit*, from Jerusalem to Rome, Rome has been made, *facta est*, the dwelling place of the apostles; St. Paul has founded a series of bishoprics; or also, the popes have destroyed heresy, and the emperors have constructed beautiful churches, the Church has suffered, Constantine has freed the Christians from persecution. It is true that Constantine appears as *exemplum* in one of the texts, and that many of the actions related are contained in subordinate clauses introduced by *qui*, perhaps as a reminiscence of the very frequent relative clauses to be found in St. Jerome's commentary. But Bruno's *qui* is not the same as Haimo's *ut*, and in the case of the exemplary Constantine, in particular, the subordinate – *qui et multa donaria aecclesiis fecit et suis humeris ad basilicas construendas lapides deportavit* – is preceded and followed by several main sentences which tend to make a coherent narrative of the whole passage⁹³. So effectively what interests Bruno are not exemplary deeds and names, let alone their accumulation – one “example”⁹⁴ is enough for him – but rather actions with their agents: *quis enim?* and even more with their results: the establishment of papa-

⁹¹ AMELLI, p. 157.

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 601.

⁹³ Cf. the texts quoted in notes 75-77.

⁹⁴ Bruno's *exemplum* comes near to a synonym of “fulfilment of prophecy” see also his commentary on Is. 54:3 quoted in note 73.

cy, the freedom of the Church, the beautiful church buildings we see now.

If Bruno adds supplementary historical data – for instance, Constantine having been the first to open the churches and to free the Christians – to his Hieronymian source it is in order to establish or to make more explicit his “story-line”⁹⁵, in this case the one leading to Christian (= papal) Rome. Bruno also tells us the more general story of the salvation of the gentiles; we read on Isaiah 54:5: “As the multitude of the pagan nations deserted God and began to serve the devil, they remained (like) a widow and without a husband; this in fact began with Cain, the first born, and so they went on until Christ by whom they were reconciled”⁹⁶. The beginning with Cain and the continuation until Christ do not appear in Jerome’s corresponding text⁹⁷. Another opportunity for a historical outline is, for Bruno, Is. 54:11. St. Jerome interprets the stones “laid out by order” as the contrasting kinds of people, slaves and free, Greeks and barbarians, poor and rich, men and women... present in the Church. Bruno says, instead: “These are laid out by order, because after the patriarchs and the prophets there are the apostles and teachers and in the same way the others by order”⁹⁸. “Virtual historiography” would not be an inappropriate term to characterize Bruno’s commentary⁹⁹. And the association with prophecy proves the providential – and spiritual – character of the history he presents¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁵ I take this term from H. WHITE, ‘The Structure of Historical Narrative’, *Clio* 1 (1972), p. 5-19, quoted by Paul RICOEUR, *Temps et récit* I (Paris, 1983), p. 231.

⁹⁶ *Ex quo enim gentium multitudo Deum derelinquens diabolo servire coepit, ex eo semper vidua et absque viro fuit, quod quidem a Cain qui primus natus est inchoavit et sic ad Christum usque pervenit, qui sibi eam reconciliavit*: AMELLI, p. 158.

⁹⁷ There are several other examples where Bruno makes explicit a historical succession which is only implicit in St. Jerome’s text, e.g. on Is. 1:15, AMELLI, p. 4: *Prius prophetas postmodum Christum occidistis*.

⁹⁸ *Per ordinem autem isti sternuntur, quoniam post patriarchas et prophetas apostoli sunt et doctores et sic ceteri per ordinem*: *ibid.*, p. 159.

⁹⁹ In this respect, Bruno’s approach is opposed also to the one described as historical by OTRANTO (note 90), p. 77: Justinus, in his interpretation of the prophets, reconstructs the history of Christ in the form of figures and symbols, while Bruno transforms the prophetic figures into historical narration.

¹⁰⁰ Or else, the historical event which is narrated proves the truth of the prophecy: on Is. 2:3, AMELLI, p. 6: *Ibi enim* (i.e. in Jerusalem) *Christus predicavit*,

With the calming down of the investiture contest, the exegetes returned to less partisan positions, which they are inclined to found on the renewed authority of St. Jerome¹⁰¹. We have here, between 1110 and 1150, quite a consistent group of authors (excluding those whose commentaries were certainly written after Otto's chronicle): the Benedictines Herveus of Bourg-Dieu¹⁰², Rainald of St. Eloi¹⁰³, and Rupert of Deutz¹⁰⁴, all born around 1080, and the Cistercian Arnold of Bonneval¹⁰⁵, probably a little younger. Unlike the "Gregorians", they are in general more concerned with the spiritual¹⁰⁶ issues of monastic "reformation" than with the institutional issues of papal politics, and they have in mind a Church which is detached from temporal affairs¹⁰⁷. This means, in exegesis, that the temporal affairs are not only excluded from the spiritual sense which is the proper domain of the Church, but that they now tend to be excluded from all possible – spiritual, historical, carnal – meanings of Scripture. To be truly spiritual, the Church should not depend on profane historical circumstances, and consequently, biblical interpretation should not be concerned with precise historical references to kings, emperors and the like. Still this tendency can be more or less marked, and does not always prevent the weight

ibi passus et sepultus est, ibi evangelium caepit, sed non ibi stetit, alioquin non esset verum quia de Sion exibit lex.

¹⁰¹ Cf. G. CONSTABLE, *The Reformation of the 12th century* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 160-161.

¹⁰² *PL* 181, col. 17-542. I have not been able to find any recent studies on this very prolific author whose works seem to have known a much larger diffusion than Arnold's and Rainald's: see STEGMÜLLER n. 3251-3289.

¹⁰³ Ms. Paris nat. lat. 494, fol. 1-174. Rainald's commentary on the Pentateuch has been studied by G. DAHAN, 'Une introduction à l'étude de l'Écriture au XII^e siècle: le Prologue du Commentaire du Pentateuch de Rainald de St.-Eloi', *RThAM* 54 (1987), p. 27-51.

¹⁰⁴ *CCCM* 23, p. 1455-1571. The latest comprehensive studies on Rupert are: J. VAN ENGEL, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London: University of California Press, 1983), and M. L. ARDUINI, *Rupert von Deutz (1076-1129) und der "Status Christianitatis" seiner Zeit. Symbolisch-prophetische Deutung der Geschichte*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, ed. Egon Boshof, 25 (Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1987).

¹⁰⁵ Ms. Troyes 923. Among Arnold's works, only one has received special attention: A. H. BREDERO, *Études sur la 'Vita prima' de St. Bernard* (Rome, 1968).

¹⁰⁶ I hope not to create confusion by using this term also in a general sense, not strictly related to exegesis.

¹⁰⁷ CONSTABLE (note 101), p. 4; 304-305.

of Rome from making itself felt. Another question – which the authors do not face directly – is the proper historical (institutional, political) dimension of the spiritual Church. – Instead of the dates of composition of the single commentaries, which are mostly not ascertained¹⁰⁸, I will follow the order of the single authors' greater or lesser proximity to St. Jerome, which corresponds also, roughly, to the greater or lesser importance they attribute to Rome and to the "Constantinian revolution".

Rainald of St. Eloi presents a curious mixture of originality regarding the themes that really interest him and dependence on St. Jerome for the rest; where he does not feel personally concerned, he is ready to copy faithfully the text of his predecessor. One of his important concerns is certainly the presence of Christ in the Church and the personal, interior reception of His message¹⁰⁹. So Is. 54:2 receives at first a Christological, combined with a moral interpretation, which is not to be found in St. Jerome. The widening of the tent signifies that "our Saviour, when he suffered the anguish – or narrowness – of death, spread out His Faith among the nations and extended the Church in the innumerable hearts of the believers". This earthly extension "would not have taken place if Christ Himself had not shown us before, in His resurrection, a life we did not know"; yet to receive His message the hearers need "the large space of goodness": they will "remain narrow if their thoughts go to carnal things"¹¹⁰. In addition, Rainald repeats also a large part of St. Jerome's explanation, including the passage, not

¹⁰⁸ According to VAN ENGEL, (note 104), p. 131-134, Rupert of Deutz has written his *de trinitate et operibus eius* of which the Isaiah commentary is a part between 1111 and 1117; for the other authors only some rare biographical dates are known. Rainald is attested as prior of St. Eloi from 1107 to 1126, and Herveus and Arnold seem to have lived until about 1150.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. G. CONSTABLE, *Three Studies in medieval religious and social thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 196 and the following on the renewed interest in the person of Christ in the 12th century (with a quotation of Arnolf of Bonneval, p. 216 note 414).

¹¹⁰ *Et quia redemptor noster dum angustias mortis patitur, fidem suam in gentibus dilatauit atque (in?) innumera corda credentium sanctam ecclesiam tetendit, que latitudo terre profecto non fieret nisi ipse prius et uitam quam non nouimus resurgendo monstraret. Vnicuique vero doctore quasi ad manendum locus spatiosus est in auditoris cor latitudo bonitatis... Ac si eis aperte diceretur ad suscipiendam ergo doctrinam spaciosum locum mentis facite sed ad cogitanda carnalia angusti remanete.* Ms. Paris nat. lat. 494, fol. 126.

adopted by other medieval authors, about the right and the left, which mean the submission to God and to temporal power.

So in a striking contrast to Bruno of Segni, Rainald shifts his point of emphasis from the historical and institutional Church to the interior disposition of its members, and it even seems that together with the interior space of faith he defends the prerogative of temporal government¹¹¹; at least, he makes no effort to limit it and he does not judge necessary to alter St. Jerome's commentary on Is. 60:10 which he reproduces integrally, including the spiritual fulfilment by the emperors¹¹². There is a slight change, however, in the commentary on Is. 60:3; instead of: *et ueri regis Christi fidei colla submittant*, we read: *et uere reges Christi fidei colla submittant*¹¹³. If this is not due to an error of the copist in the manuscript I have consulted, two translations are possible, either: "those who are kings in truth, bow their necks" or: "in truth, the kings bow their necks"; in the first case, Rainald can mean that only Christians are truly kings, but, more probably, like Bruno, that the true kings are the leaders of the Church, those who rule "spiritually". In any case, the spirituality or non-spirituality of kings and emperors does not seem to be an important issue with Rainald, nor is their role in or for the Church, which he neither questions nor emphasizes¹¹⁴. He also rather neglects the change of the Church from persecution to glory, as well as the change from Jewish narrowness to Christian universalism¹¹⁵: there is no history of the Church to be spiritualized. What is important is the spirituality of the Church as such, which receives a new and more explicit foundation. By Haimo this spirituality had been affirmed, we could say, formally, by the mode of interpretation employed: he presents the

¹¹¹ In this, he resembles Hugh of Fleury who in his *Historia ecclesiastica* as well as in his *tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate* defends the spiritual authority of the Church as well as the temporal prerogative of the kings, cf. E. MÉGIER, 'Karl der Grosse, das römische Reich und die Kirche in franko-normannischer Sicht: der Standpunkt Hugos von Fleury', in F.-R. ERKENS ed., *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001), p. 221-233: 222-223.

¹¹² Ms. Paris nat. lat. 494, fol. 151v.

¹¹³ Ibid., fol. 149-149v.

¹¹⁴ Rainald insists on the submission of the guilty Jews to the Romans, but he rarely mentions the emperors in particular.

ecclesiological interpretation as a spiritual meaning, parallel to other spiritual meanings, for instance the tropology of the moving tents¹¹⁶. Rainald, on the contrary, confirms it theologically, by the substance of the interpretation: that is, by basing the expansion of the Church on the passion of Christ. This Christological foundation allows Rainald to intertwine by a sort of hyperbaton – Faith, we have read, is spread out among the nations, and the Church in the hearts of the believers – and thus to amalgamate in one and the same spiritual sense the geographical and the spiritual expansion. With the ecclesiological meaning Rainald connects also the moral one, which is equally orientated towards the Church. The link is provided by the repetition of the theme of the heart – the large space of goodness necessary for the reception of Christian or ecclesiastical doctrine is situated “in the hearts of the hearers”. So from Haimo’s juxtaposition of parallel meanings, which sustain reciprocally each other’s spiritual character, Rainald tends to a hierarchy, in which a basic spiritual meaning – the Christological meaning, in this case – guarantees the spirituality of the whole interpretation, as well as of its reference, the Church. And of course there is no need to call this interpretation explicitly spiritual.

Formally, the Constantinian Church is present in Rainald’s commentary as much as in St. Jerome’s, however with much less preponderance. Arnold of Bonneval deliberately reduces this presence. If he mentions Constantine in person, this is because he reproduces Jerome’s remark on the abolition of male prostitution¹¹⁷. In his commentary on Is. 60:10 the Roman emperors, builders of churches and defenders against heretics and other enemies of the faith appear, like in St. Jerome’s exposition without any names, whereas those who march in the light of Sion in 60:3 are only the *reges terre sive principes mundi*; in both cases, Arnold restores the distinction between the two meanings of “kings” in the way of Haimo¹¹⁸. In fact like Rainald Arnold is for the most part content

¹¹⁵ In spite of the large amount of text he copies, Rainald does not reproduce Jerome’s statement about the “magnitude” of the Churches contrasting with the “single and most exiguous” place of the Jews, cf. the text quoted in note 39.

¹¹⁶ Cf. above notes 50-51.

¹¹⁷ Ms. Troyes 923, fol. 6v.

¹¹⁸ On Is. 60:3: *Ambulabunt autem gentes et current post Christum claudicantibus et torpentibus Iudeis, proficient in Christo qui est lux mundi, et reges terre sive*

with following Jerome; however, especially in the exposition of the verses that interest us here, he often prefers Haimo, probably because of his less "Roman" position – or even proposes interpretations of his own.

Like most of his colleagues and Haimo in particular, he explains the tent in Is. 54:2 as an allegory of the Church (without using the term) and as for the features of the Church represented, he too insists particularly on doctrine and preaching. But like Bruno, Arnold abandons the theme of the saints who struggle to reach the heavenly mansions from the moving tents of this world – which Haimo had explicitly identified as "the churches"¹¹⁹ – and emphasizes instead the difference between the moving tent (of Moses) and the solid state of the Church¹²⁰. This solidity is in the first place spiritual: like Rainald's, Arnold's Church is founded in Christ, and there is nothing about St. Peter or St. Paul founding bishoprics, let alone the papal see; no names of persons or places are mentioned. But on the other hand in Arnold's view the Church is solidified also by the "stakes of the immutable (or divine) precepts"¹²¹, which imply a certain institutional rigor, and the "yoke of faith" under which in the commentary on 60:14 the former detractors have to bow, expresses more constraint than St. Jerome's evangelic "yoke of Christ"¹²². The submission to faith by St. Paul, "and the others", appears in fact as a variant or exemplification of submission to the Church, in the way of Bruno: in the exposition of the preceding verse 60:13 the "glory of Lebanon" coming to ornate Jerusalem

principes mundi sive qui membra sua et sensus suos digne regunt et dirigunt... de virtute in virtutem proficient: *ibid.*, fol. 116v. On Is. 60:10: *Hec ad litteram patent. Principes quippe gentium et ipsi imperatores Romani prius a fide peregrini modo instaurant muros ecclesie et propriis impensis edificant et aduersos hereticos et impugnatores fidei legum scita proponunt. Spiritualiter quoque martires et doctores ecclesie et plebes subiecte et edificant et nutriunt ecclesiam et pro ea si expedit animas ponunt:* *ibid.*, fol. 117v.

¹¹⁹ See the text quoted in note 51.

¹²⁰ *Fundata est in Christo ecclesia nec in modum tabernaculi de loco ad locum adportatur, sed firmis clavis preceptorum immutabilium compacta solidum optinet statum, nec iam locum unum sed totum occupat mundum:* Ms. Troyes 923, fol. 105v. Arnold also tells us that the right and the left mean the good and the evil, the grain and the bale, none of whom is excluded by the Church provided they do not deviate from faith: we find the same idea in Otto's chronicle, VIII Prol., p. 390.

¹²¹ Ms. Troyes 923, fol. 105v.

¹²² See above note 37.

means "the more eminent kings and philosophers of the world who have bent their necks to the Church"¹²³. We can add that the *vestigia apostolorum* which the former "detractors" (Arnold seems to avoid the term of persecutors, maybe too near to historical reality ?) "venerate" or "adore" can be more easily referred to the authority of the Roman bishops than Haimo's "signs and miracles" of the apostles¹²⁴. So Arnold's Church is at the same time more spiritual than Bruno's, and more historical-institutional than Haimo's by its "solid state" which is attained already on earth.

Herveus of Bourg-Dieu goes one step further in the exclusion of Rome: in his exposition of 54:2 he openly challenges the importance of the Roman Empire for the Church. The cords of the tent are to be extended not from Jerusalem to Rome, but, *longius quam Romani imperii iura*, "farther out than the rights of the Roman Empire", to all nations and tongues until Persia, India, and the other barbarian peoples¹²⁵. Later in the same passage, he speaks of *tota mundi latitudo* which definitely excludes Jerome's (Roman) *termini*¹²⁶. Rome provides neither a limit nor a center for the Church – which Herveus again sees "on the way", *in itinere*, to the heavenly mansions, and which moreover comprises several churches (Herveus insists on the plural of *tabernacula*), none of which has a leading position¹²⁷. We can also observe that where Haimo speaks of *predicadores et prelati*, and Arnold of *doctores*, Herveus puts for-

¹²³ *Libanus ergo mundus est, eius gloria mundi sublimiores reges scilicet et philosophi seculi qui colla ecclesiae subdiderunt. Vide quomodo Paulus apostolus qui prius detrahebat ecclesiam et ceteri incuruati sunt iugo fidei et qui humiliauerant eos qui nomen Christi proferebantur quomodo adorent et venerentur vestigia apostolorum et hos qui pedes Christi postea facti sunt portando nomen coram gentibus et regibus et filiis Israel*: Ms. Troyes 923, fol. 117v.

¹²⁴ See note 65.

¹²⁵ *Si enim dilatat Ecclesia locum tentorii sui omnes nationes et linguas occupans, ut longius quam Romani imperii iura tendantur, usque in Persas et Indos aliasque barbaras gentes funiculos porrigat*: PL 181, col. 497.

¹²⁶ *Pelles tabernaculorum sancti, qui se ipsos in Ecclesiis mortificant vitiis. Quae scilicet pelles non parce extenduntur, dum electi ad praedicandum in totam mundi latitudinem circumquaque diffunduntur*: ibid. cf. note 63. Arnold has: *omnis terra* together with *totus mundus*, Rainald (and Herveus in other circumstances) *in toto* (or *universo*) *orbe*.

¹²⁷ *Tentorium autem Ecclesiae potest accipi... praesens Ecclesia in itinere huius vitae. Tabernacula eius plures Ecclesiae quae simul unam catholicam faciunt. Nam qui in tabernaculo est firmam atque perpetuam non possidet mansionem, sed semper*

ward the saints and "elect", and he associates the solid authority of the Church, not only with its precepts but also with the "assertion of truth"¹²⁸. Moreover in a striking contrast with the other commentators, Herveus refuses to take sides with Rome against the Jews. Whereas St. Jerome affirms that the latter's hope to see the Romans, like the Babylonians, defeated and obliged to set them free, is inconceivable¹²⁹, Herveus declares in his commentary on 29:1-5 that not only the Jews were defeated by the Romans, but that also the Romans "were to perish promptly because they did not recognize Christ"¹³⁰. In fact this statement is somewhat enigmatic, as well as a similar one on 29:6, where the Romans are qualified as *inanes*, without valour, "because they did not have the life which is in Christ"¹³¹. Herveus probably means the pagan Romans, whom he does not want to appear as God's champions, but he does not tell us how and by whom they were to be vanquished. A doubt remains: one can be tempted to ask if being the enemies of "Ariel", that is, of Jerusalem, the Romans might not also be seen as the enemies of the Church which is signified by Ariel¹³². In fact Herveus is the one among our authors who most insists on the persecutions of the Church – that is, on the persecutions themselves and not only on their ending – and who ascribes them not to generic gentiles like Haymo¹³³, or to "tyrants", like Bruno¹³⁴ but to "kings": on Is. 52:15

*mutat loca, et ad altiora festinat praeteritorum obliviscens donec perveniat ad bravi-
vium supernae vocationis. Finis enim tabernaculorum aeternae domus possessio est:*
PL 181, col. 497.

¹²⁸ *Funiculi eius praecepta eius sunt, qui fiunt longi dum usque in barbaras pro-
cul nationes porriguntur. Clavi illius verba eius sunt, qui solidantur, dum praedica-
tio eius auctoritate robusta firmatur, vel assertionem veritatis constans efficitur:* ibid.

¹²⁹ *Quod si sequentes litteram, spe se falsa decipiunt, quis eis concedet, ut Roma
uocetur Babylon, et Nabuchodonosor rex Romani imperii?* On Is. 14: 2-4, CCSL 73,
p. 237.

¹³⁰ *Sed quia et ipsi Romani velociter perituri erant, et in nihilum redigendi, quo-
niam Christum non cognoverunt:* on Is. 29: 4, PL 181, col. 273.

¹³¹ *Sed quia Romani vitam, quae Christus est, non habuerunt, quam sint inanes,
ostendit propheta, subiungens: et erit sicut somnium visionis nocturnae multitudo
omnium gentium, quae dimicaverunt contra Ariel: et omnes qui militaverunt et obse-
derunt, et praevaluerunt adversus eam.*

¹³² PL 181, col. 274.

¹³³ Cf. above p. 302-303.

¹³⁴ Cf. on Is. 33:1, AMELLI, p.96; on Is. 44:1-5, ibid. p. 127; on Is. 60:13-15,
ibid. p. 182.

we read of "the kings who promulgated most savage laws against the Christians"¹³⁵ and on 60:16 of "the kings who persecuted thee" (that is, the Church)¹³⁶. Herveus never explicitly tells us who were these persecuting kings, but they are implicitly identified as the pagan Roman emperors by his repeated references to the specific time of the persecutions, as well as to their end. For instance, 54:7 "is to be understood specially as concerning the time when the Church suffered persecutions in the past"¹³⁷ .. and on 51:1-3 we hear of "the exultation of the faithfull and the public festivities of the Church which took place everywhere after the persecutions had ceased"¹³⁸. It is likely that the Roman emperors are not explicitly named as persecutors, because Herveus does not want to credit them with the ending of the persecutions. In this latter case, even the "kings" do not appear directly as actors: the persecutions, it seems, cease by themselves, *cessavere*, or, rather, their end is due to God himself. Herveus does not completely exclude a beneficial action of "the kings" for the Church: the *mamillae regum* in Is. 60:1 mean the "pious kings who offer the people of God words of holy admonition", but he explains that if "faith has become so strong that you can receive the milk of divine preaching from (former?) heathens and kings, then you will know in truth that I am the Lord who saves you... and I have turned the kings who persecuted you into your nurturers". Only having thus assured the sovereignty of God, Herveus is ready to understand, in this specific case, Isaiah's *reges* not as the apostles and preachers, like some interpreters might propose, but as *reges terrarum*: because this seems to him "a greater promise", "especially as the prophet is speaking of the time when the persecutions calmed down"¹³⁹. Here again, the persecutions end

¹³⁵ *Reges, qui contra Christianos leges saevissimas promulgebant: PL 181, col. 491*

¹³⁶ *Reges, qui te persequabantur: PL 181, col. 547.*

¹³⁷ *De eo tempore specialiter intelligendum... quo persecutiones olim passa est Ecclesia: PL 181, col.500.*

¹³⁸ *De exultatione fidelium et publicis Ecclesiae solemnitatibus, quae postquam cessavere persecutiones, ubique fiunt: PL 181, col. 475.*

¹³⁹ *Solent enim et pii reges populo Dei verba sacrae admonitionis edere. Cumque fides in tantum proficiet, ut a gentibus et regibus lac divinae praedicationis sumas, tunc profecto scies, quia ego sum dominus salvans te, et redemptor tuus fortis Iacob, qui te redemit a cunctis tribulationibus, et reges qui te persequabantur, feci nutritores tuos. Fortasse quis reges istos intelliget apostolos et praedicatores. Sed mihi maior in*

without any royal, and indeed human initiative, and we must admire Herveus' ability to assure at the same time the prestige the Church gains by royal collaboration, and its independence from it.

So it will not surprise us that in the exposition of 60:10 there are no more churches built nor anti-pagan or anti-heretic laws promulgated by any kind of temporal authorities and the serving kings only signify that "no king can be found anymore who would not rejoice to serve the Church"¹⁴⁰. Even their nurturing role in 60:1 is rather an exception, and the construction of the Church is usually a wholly spiritual affair. In 60:3 the kings mean the apostles exclusively, "who have been established as leaders of the peoples"¹⁴¹, and to be sure only God is the supreme emperor and true lord, who in Is. 6:1 "sits on the throne": *Solus ille summus imperator vere vocatur dominus*¹⁴². Moreover, Herveus declares repeatedly that the mighty of this world will be reduced to naught on the day of the judgement¹⁴³. So just as he explains Is. 2:4 without any allusion to the Augustan peace¹⁴⁴, Herveus does his best to dismiss the "Constantinian revolution".

In spite of their decidedly un-Roman if not anti-Roman tendency, Herveus's interpretations present similarities with Bruno's. Having drastically reduced the role of temporal rulership, whether it be for the benefit of the popes in the case of Bruno, or for the benefit of a more spiritual Church in the case of Herveus, neither of them wants or needs to distinguish between spiritual and non-spiritual fulfilments of 60:3 and 60:10, or between spiritual and

hoc loco videtur promissio, si de regibus terrarum hanc acciperimus, praesertim cum sermo nunc sit de eo tempore, quo persecutiones quieverunt, et pax undique data est Ecclesiae. PL 181 col. 547.

¹⁴⁰ *Filii namque peregrinorum filii sunt infidelium ad fidem conversi, qui aedificant muros Ecclesiae, quia munimenta defensionum eius et disciplinarum atque virtutum exstruunt verbo et opere. Et reges ministrant ei, quia vix sub universo caelo rex quisquam inveniri potest, qui non gaudeat Ecclesiae servire. Col. 545.*

¹⁴¹ *Ambulant reges, id est apostoli, qui fulgorem miraculorum Salvatoris a principio viderunt, et exordium nascentis Ecclesiae. Reges enim sunt apostoli, qui rectores populorum sunt constituti. Col. 542.*

¹⁴² Otto's "sitting on the throne" might be an allusion to this verse, cf. above note 8.

¹⁴³ E.g. on Is. 34:12, col. 327: *principes eius sunt potentes saeculi et sapientes, qui in die ultiones erunt in nihilum*, or col. 283 on Is. 30,1-5.

¹⁴⁴ PL 181, col. 47.

non-spiritual kings. The Church, seen either from an institutional or from a spiritual angle, embraces the Christian society as a whole and tends to "spiritualize" it as a whole. Moreover with Herveus as well this spiritual Church has a marked historical dimension: its extension beyond the Roman Empire implies a certain mimesis between both¹⁴⁵. We could see that the persecutions and their ending represent a "time", in other words a temporal, historical stage in the vicissitudes of the Church, and we can also observe that Herveus often formulates his interpretations as narrations in Bruno's style. We read on Is. 54:4 that God had called all peoples in Noah, but then, *deinde*, He chose Abraham, and let the multitude of the gentiles go. So the *gentilitas* who had remained abandoned, widowed, for a long time, is lead back to her former husband and obtains such great grace that she forgets her former confusion¹⁴⁶. Is. 54:1 prompts a distinction of different historical stages: "at the time when the prophet spoke, the gentiles had not yet accepted the law, and no Christian king had yet appeared"¹⁴⁷. However, whereas with Bruno the "story-line" leads to the institutional Church of the present, with Herveus it goes on until the coming of the Antichrist and the Last Judgement, which become important themes¹⁴⁸, together with the eschatological coming of Elijah, when the "captivity" of the Jews will end¹⁴⁹. This means that instead of an undetermined present, Herveus¹⁵⁰ envisages for

¹⁴⁵ This is confirmed by Herveus' remark on the order of the epistles of Paul, PL 181, col. 594. The letter to the Romans is placed at the beginning, as directed to the city *quae in illo tempore caput totius exstitit orbis, et quia usque hodie Romana Ecclesia omnium ecclesiarum obtinet principatum*. For Haimo, the explanation lies in the past only, in the *dignitas Romanorum qui tunc temporis universis gentibus imperabant*: PL 116, col. 363.

¹⁴⁶ PL 181, col. 498, cf. also on Is. 54: 8, *ibid.*, col. 500.

¹⁴⁷ *Neque acceperant gentes legem eo tempore, quo loquebatur propheta, neque rex Christianorum adhuc apparuerat*: on Is. 54:1, PL 181, col. 497. Cf. also on Is. 2:7-9 *ibid.*, col. 48, where Herveus states that the accusation of idolatry in this verse cannot concern the time of Christ, but only the earlier times: *non...ad aduentum Domini sed ad superiora tempora referendum*.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. on Is. 3:8, PL 181, col. 57; on Is. 30:1-5, *ibid.*, col. 283.

¹⁴⁹ *Quia omni tempore usque ad adventum Eliae captivitas haec perseverat*: on Is. 29:1, PL 181, col. 272.

¹⁵⁰ And also Rainald who not only evokes like Herveus the coming of the Antichrist but also connects it with the precise reference to Enoch and Elijah: the Jews will suffer *usque quo post antichristum per Heliam et Enoch reliquie eorum conuertantur ad Christum*: ms. Paris nat. lat. 494, fol. 13.

the Church a certain duration with a historical limit, set by a particular and observable event. The Church in this case does not have the last word even in history, and this goes together with Herveus' bitter criticism of the ecclesiastical abuses he observes and which are as condemnable as the offenses of the Jews¹⁵¹. In a way, Herveus accomplishes what St. Jerome had undertaken without succeeding, namely the distinction between the present Church and its eschatological dimension. On the other hand Herveus' distinction is not so much based on a difference of nature between spiritual and historical realities, than on the chronological succession of different stages, which can all be spiritual and historical at the same time.

Rupert of Deutz's commentary, part of his *de trinitate et operibus eius*, is very concise with respect to the others. But this is certainly not the reason why he completely eliminates the Roman Empire as well as the emperors, title, function and names, from all his ecclesiological interpretations – something Arnold of Bonneval probably hesitated to do, and Rainald of St. Eloi did not bother to, whereas Herveus brings in Rome in order to oppose it. Rupert rather ignores Rome; no more than Herveus does he allude to the Augustan peace, and he mentions the Roman emperors only as the avengers of Christ upon the Jews: that is, in a role exterior to the Church¹⁵². It might be significant moreover that he is not interested in a detailed interpretation of Is. 54:2: perhaps he wanted to avoid the Roman colour present in the Hieronymian interpretation of this verse. Rupert conserves the theme of Jewish narrowness, but instead of opposing it to the (Roman) expansion of the Church, he associates it with the conversion of the (single) nations: namely in his interpretation of Is. 60:3 and the following, where it is also combined with the theme of the submission of the – unspecified – kings¹⁵³. Similarly, in his commentary on 60:10 he maintains the

¹⁵¹ *Qui iam instante adventu antichristi usque adeo multiplicati sunt, et ceteros pestilentiae odore suo interfecerunt, ut raro nunc Christianus verus inveniatur. Unde et ex parte magna iam completum esse dolentes accipiamus. Ac magis implendum adhuc esse non dubitamus: PL 181, col. 57.*

¹⁵² Cf. VAN ENGEL (note 104), p. 287.

¹⁵³ *Nunc interim antequam oriatur ille Dominus, in angustiis Iudaeae nomen eius continetur, tunc autem cum velut lucerna super candelabrum posita fuerit, gentes quae in profundis erant tenebris, ambulabunt in illo lumine tuo, et reges quoque supplex oculos attollent ad splendorem luminis quod ortum est tibi: CCCM 23, p. 1548-1549.*

construction of churches and the laws promulgated against pagans and heretics, but the actors are only generic kings of the nations. These kings serve the Church *carnaliter*, whereas the spiritual service pertains, this time explicitly, to the "spiritual kings"¹⁵⁴. Thus Rupert accepts also the carnal service, but only those "who submit the flesh to the empire of the soul and who set an example of learning and sanctity to their subordinates, serve (the Church) and construct her walls in truth". We can observe how Rupert adapts an original Hieronymian formulation for his use; on the other hand in the transfer from the Roman emperors to the Church dignitaries he differs greatly from Bruno: while the latter shifted to the popes one of the "carnal" functions of the emperors, Rupert transfers what St. Jerome had presented as the emperor's spiritual service. It is characteristic of Rupert's spiritual view that the kings (of Is. 60: 3) do not so much submit to the Church as to Christ (we remember St. Jerome), who is "the light that has risen for thee (i.e. for the Church)"¹⁵⁵.

From St. Jerome to Haimo of Auxerre and to Bruno of Segni it is possible to draw a line of continuity, or more precisely of gradual change in the direction of a more historical image of the Church which at the same time becomes amalgamated with the latter's spiritual dimension. The commentators of the 12th century undertake to present a spiritual Church detached from temporal connections, but the conjunction of history (and/or institution) and the spirit persists as an implicit tendency. As for the image of Rome, it rather fluctuates from Jerome to Bruno, and definitely fades thereafter: here of course the geographical origin and the political affinities of the authors play a role, but one could also ask why, – after Hrabanus Maurus, – no "imperial" author ever produced a commentary on Isaiah¹⁵⁶, while we can almost speak of a proliferation

¹⁵⁴ *Peregrini quippe, id est populi nationum, qui prius erant hospites testamentorum promissionis spem non habentes, ipsi exstruent te in tantum ut reges quoque eorum ministrent tibi, siue carnaliter aedificando ecclesias expensis publicis et aduersus persecutiones gentium atque insidias haereticorum legum scita proponendo, siue spiritualiter reges spirituales animae imperio carnem subiugando eloquentiae et sanctitatis inferioribus exemplum dando quod ueraciter est ministrare tibi et aedificare muros tuos: ibid., p. 1551-1552.*

¹⁵⁵ See the text quoted in note 153.

¹⁵⁶ Rupert of Deutz belongs to the empire geographically, but not ideally, cf. VAN ENGEN (note 104), p. 3.

of such works in France. Otto, in any case, writes a chronicle and not a commentary, and it is probably from Eusebius' historical work that he retrieves the providential nature of the "Constantinian revolution". Still we have seen that the verses of Isaiah he uses to prove this providentiality, are similar to if not identical with those associated with the Roman emperors, Rome, or at least temporal government, by the exegetes, and not those quoted by Eusebius in his Church history. It seems that Otto's text echoes most if not all of the commentaries presented in this study, a certain number of which he was probably familiar with. In addition to the presence of the Roman emperors in general, from St. Jerome to Rainald of St. Eloi, and of Constantine in particular with Haimo and Bruno, we have found the transition of the Church from humiliation to glory in Haimo's interpretation of Is. 60:14-15, and the kings and mighty bowing their necks to the Church in Bruno's and Arnold's commentaries; we have also found, in Bruno's exposition of 54:2, an impressive connection between the Church and Rome¹⁵⁷. Two questions come to mind: why did Otto need to turn to the mediation of the exegetes, and: what is Otto's particular position in this context?

The answer to the first question is that for Otto the "Constantinian revolution" is a problem, because, unlike earlier and less "imperial" historians¹⁵⁸, he is aware of the matter of conflict it contains¹⁵⁹. Is it right, he asks, for the Church as a spiritual entity to possess the temporal riches and honours, which, at first, Constantine had bestowed on her? Especially since this transfer of rights and possessions to the Church has brought damage to the

¹⁵⁷ Otto alludes to Jerome's Isaiah commentary in *Chron.* VIII, 20, p. 423-424. Haimo's commentary had become quite a classic in the middle ages, cf. B. SMALLEY, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (London: Blackwell, 1983), p. 39. Bruno's writings are part of the Gregorian polemical literature Otto intended to discuss or to refute in his chronicle. A manuscript of Herveus' commentary existed in Heiligenkreuz where it might have been brought or sent by Otto who took part in the foundation of this monastery, other manuscripts existed or still exist in Garsten and Klosterneuburg, see STEGMÜLLER n. 3260. Arnold of Bonneval belongs like Otto to the Cistercian order. Rainald of St. Eloi on the contrary does not seem to have any affinities with Otto's milieu, and there are no known connections between Otto and Rupert of Deutz.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. MÉGIER (note 12), p. 508-509 on Hugh of Fleury who believes in a clear distinction between ecclesiastical and royal prerogative.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. MÉGIER (note 12), p. 527-528.

empire? Otto's answer, as a bishop of the empire and possessor of the *regalia*, is yes, and he had found a justification in presenting the terrestrial "exaltation" of the Church, and the corresponding decline of the empire, and of temporal government in general, as the sign and anticipation of her heavenly reign, that is, as a stage in the providential course of history from the preponderance of the earthly city to the full realization of the city of God¹⁶⁰. Yet this answer might not be convincing for everybody, and maybe Otto himself was in need of a reliable basis for his conviction; in this case exegetical works could offer a better authority than simple histories. Otto could find here more than a concordance of themes: by the correspondences between prophecies and fulfilments, whether or not they concern Constantine or his fellow emperors, the exegetes establish the context of anticipations and realizations in which he wanted to place the Constantinian Church. On the other hand Otto wishes to restore the specific role of the emperors, reduced if not eliminated by the recent commentators; so his turning to Isaiah and his interpretation may also have an apologetic if not polemical aim.

To be sure, and here we arrive at the second question, Otto returns to the centrality of the Roman empire – which is also a way of returning to St. Jerome, be it different from the exegetes'. This centrality is somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, it is Otto who most emphasizes the submission of the emperors; he does not mind showing the "Lords of the world" bowing before the Church who sits on her throne, like a king, or like God himself – while Jerome lets the emperors make the former persecutors bow, and even Bruno of Segni who first of all makes the temporal powers, including Rome, bow before the Church does not regard the *curvi* specifically as the emperors. But on the other hand, Otto's "bowed" emperors have a particular dignity as God's tools, and the exaltation of the Church actually consists in its union with the empire; moreover Otto implicitly restores Jerome's double fulfilment by the emperors by affirming the double character of Constantine's relation to the Church: interior by faith, and exterior by love which means deeds. And it is not impossible that Otto's choice of Is. 54:2 as a prophecy of the Church exalted by means of the emperors was meant to counter the "papist" interpretation of

the same verse proposed by Bruno, and maybe others, or Herveus's anti-imperial views.

However there is at least one feature by which Otto is nearer to the medieval commentators, in particular to Bruno, than to the Fathers: that is, by his perception of history and providence, or to say it in more exegetical terms, of history and the spirit. We have seen how Bruno justifies by a "mystical" understanding of Isaiah the establishment and the authority of the papal see of Rome; as for Otto, he justifies the exaltation of the Church by Constantine in a similar way. He does not speak of mystery, but he starts his argument by appealing to the wise men who from the visible pass to the invisible: the visible in this case is the course of history as announced by the prophet, and the invisible the plan of God which reveals itself as the spiritual sense of the historical events. So Otto participates, in his own particular way, in the spiritualization of history promoted by Bruno, ignored by the more strictly monastic authors, but still present in their works as one of the characteristic tendencies of the epoch. On the other hand, he also shares a certain relativism concerning the historical Church. For Jerome, the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies in the Church is a definitive accomplishment, which preserves part of the eschatological dimension it had with Eusebius. There is a *prius*, "before", and a *nunc*, "now"¹⁶¹, but this "now", once achieved, in a way cancels change and time. Instead, Bruno sees the Church advance by successive stages, and Herveus of Bourg-Dieu interprets Isaiah's polemical pronouncements as referring not only to the Jews but still more to the contemporary Church, which instead of being an ideal accomplishment will incur God's punishment for her abuses multiplying with the approach of the Antichrist. In a similar way, for Otto the present state of the Church is only one stage among others, following each other in the course of time – we have seen the importance of time, *tempus*, in his text – and it is perhaps happier, but certainly not better than the preceding one¹⁶². Still it is precisely this contingent and terrestrial history, distinct from the eschatological accomplishment, which can be seen as providential and become the object of spiritualization.

Cf. on Is. 12: 6, *CCSL* 73, p. 59.
Chron. IV Prol., p. 183.

Bengt Löfstedt's *Fragmente eines Matthäus-Kommentars*: Reflections and Addenda

by

Anthony J. FORTE

(Rome)

A recent publication by Bengt Löfstedt entitled *Fragmente eines Matthäus-Kommentars*¹ has provided the scholarly world with an *editio princeps* of two bifolia that are housed in Tokyo and in London.² As the editor of Frigulus' *Commentarium in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, Qu. Cod. 127, a ninth-century commentary that was discovered and catalogued by Jutta Fliege,³ it has become quite clear to me that many of Löfstedt's fragments are parallel to Frigulus' Matthew commentary and to another Matthew commentary, Orl. (65) 62.⁴ "Frigulus", transmitted in Qu. Cod. 127, is

¹ B. LÖFSTEDT, "Fragmente eines Matthäus-Kommentars," in *Sacris Erudiri*, (32) 1997, pp. 141-161.

² Bruce FERRINI (Rare Books, Akron, Ohio), *A Selection of Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts; Single Leaves* (Akron 1989), pp. 11sq. describes both bifolia. Martin Schøyen purchased this first bifolio which is now housed at the Bernard Quaritch Bookshop in London; it is known as part of the "Schøyen Collection, Ms 110." The International Christian University in Tokyo houses the second bifolio, now known as Number 1 of the University's "Palaeography Collection." cf. LÖFSTEDT, pp. 141-143 for further details.

³ *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Stifts- und Gymnasialbibliothek Quedlinburg in Halle*, Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Sachsen-Anhalt, 1982, 218-220. This writer has prepared the *editio princeps* of Qu. Cod. 127 for *Corpus Christianorum*.

⁴ Orl. (65) 62 (LAPIDGE & SHARPE, 764; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 1168). Dr. Jean Rittmueller's edition of the Ms will soon appear in *Corpus Christianorum*.

very likely the major source on which depend not only Orl. (65) 62, but also the fragments from Tokyo and London, and perhaps many other Matthew commentaries.⁵ The purpose of this paper is not only to improve upon Löfstedt's edition by resolving some of the lacunae of the fragments and to add various sources and parallels to Löfstedt's *apparatus*, but more importantly to suggest that what we have before us is a series of *recensiones* of a major commentary on Matthew's Gospel. The language is often identical and the sources (both patristic and biblical) are frequently the same.

The first Tokyo folio (2a I^r) of Löfstedt's edition begins with an exegesis of Matth. 4,3: *Si Filius Dei es*. Qu. Cod. 127 unfortunately lacks Frigulus' commentary on Matth. 4, 3-22. There are five folios missing from Qu. Cod. 127 at this point in the commentary on chapter four of Matthew's gospel.⁶ We do, however, have some information about the missing contents of Frigulus' commentary on Matthew from the fragments attributed to Frigulus that have been collected by Smaragdus of Saint-Michael in his *Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum*, PL 102.13 C - 552 D.⁷ Smaragdus states in his *praefatio* that he collected his sources 'de magnorum tractatibus prolatisque sermonibus patrum, id est, Hilarii, Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Augustini, Cypriani, Cyrilli, Gregorii, Victoris, Fulgentii, Ioannis Chrysostomi, Cassiodori, Eucherii, Tychonii, Isidori, Figuli, Bedae, Primasii et de caute legendis, Pelagii et Origenis'.⁸ Among the fragments collected by Smaragdus three passages concern Matthew 4.⁹ The Matthew fragments contained in Tokyo 2a I^r, Tokyo 2a I^v and the first part of London 2b I^r deal precisely with the fourth chapter of Matthew's gospel that

⁵ For example, London 2b I^r has parallels in two other Matthew commentaries, Vindob. 940, 40^v (Wendepunkte 17, I; LAPIDGE & SHARPE, 772) and Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 45 (Wendepunkte 22; LAPIDGE & SHARPE, 768). K. Köberlin's edition of 1891, *Eine Würzburger Evangelienhandschrift*, is presently being re-edited by Prof. Michael Cahill of Duquesne University, U.S.A. This writer has prepared the *editio princeps* of Vindob. 940 for *Corpus Christianorum*.

⁶ The bound Ms of Qu. Cod. 127 in the Halle University library reveals the absence of at least 30 folios.

⁷ Some of the many lacunae in Qu. Cod. 127 can be reconstructed from Smaragdus, from now on FRI-SM.

⁸ PL 102.13 C. Since Frigulus is the name used by modern scholars, in the pages that follow we shall refer to the author of Qu. 127 and the fragments collected in Smaragdus by this name.

⁹ PL 102.1120 C - 1121 A.

Qu. Cod. 127 lacks. The Tokyo and London fragments, as well as Orl. (65) 62, are most useful in providing us with an insight into what Frigulus' commentary on Matth. 4, 3-22 might have included. Although Orl. (65) 62 sometimes diverges significantly from Qu. Cod. 127, the exegetical commentary is generally very similar. The patristic sources are often identical and the language is frequently a paraphrase of Frigulus, if not an exact word for word rendering of Frigulus' text.

We shall examine the folios that Löfstedt has edited and compare them to Frigulus' Matthew commentary, Qu. Cod. 127, when possible, and to the pertinent parallel passages from Orl. (65) 62. The words or letters underlined in column II and later in column III below are exact parallels to Löfstedt's fragments. All lacunae are indicated by <...> and do not reflect the length of the lacuna nor the number of letters that are either missing or illegible. A short reflection or commentary on the various sources and parallels to Löfstedt's edition will be given after each section.

I (Tokyo) = 2a I'	Orl. (65) 62, ff. 52-54
1 regna mundi sibi ostendenti dixit: <u>Dominum Deum tuum adorabis</u> et reliqua. SI FILIUS DEI ES (Matth. 4, 3). Queritur <...>.	<u>Dominum Deum tuum</u> , reliqua. (Matth. 4,10) ... <u>SI FILIUS DEI ES</u> (4, 3). <u>Queritur</u> , qua causa coniecit [eum] Filium Dei.
2 tente Deo audiuit Patrem dicentem: <u>Hic est Filius meus</u> . Siue quia de eo profetatum nouerat. DIC UT LA (Matth. 4, 3) <...>	Nimirum permittente Deo audiuit Patrem dicentem: <u>Hic est filius meus</u> , reliqua (Matth. 3,17). <u>Siue quia</u> in profetis eum <u>profetatum nouerit</u> . <...> DIC. (Matth. 4,3).
3 enim, quia dicere Domini facere est, ut est <u>Fiat lux</u> et <u>quia ipse dixit et facta sunt</u> (Gen. 1,3). Congruenter de panib <...>.	Nouit enim, quod <u>facere Domini dicere est</u> , ut dixit Deus: <u>fiat lux</u> . <...> <u>Congruere</u> esurienti <u>de panibus</u> loquitur.
4 de humo neque foeno, sed tantummodo de lapidibus loquitur, suam duritiam ostendit. Non enim in h<...>.	Non <u>humum</u> . Non <u>fenum</u> . <u>Sed</u> apte durus <u>dura loquitur</u> .
5 cum hoc cotidie de seminibus in terram proiectis facit. Duobus ergo contrariis tenetur diabolus <...>.	<u>Cum hoc cotidie de seminibus in terram iactis facit</u> .
6 tat eum, qui tantae potentiae est. Si autem non, frustra Dei Filium suspicatur. NON IN SOLO (4,4) <...>.	

7 uerba potuisset mergere diabolum in abyssum, potentiam non ostendit, sed ideo sic reso<...>.	<u>Uerbo potuisset mergere diabolum in abyssum, potentiam non ostendit.</u>
8 tate diabolum uincere, ut nobis exemplum preberet, quod numquam a prauis hominibus lesi<...>.	<u>Ut nobis exemplum praeberet, quo numquam a prauis hominibus lesi ad uindictam nostri excitemur.</u>
9 "Non in solo pane", ut hominem se fuisse indicet, qui temptatur. Si quis ergo non uescitur ue<...>.	
10 nomio, quod interpre<tatur> secunda lex tria adsumpsit testimonia. Et apte dux secun<...>.	Dominus de Deuteronomio tria adsumpsit testimonia. Apte dux secunde legis.
11 exempla. In huius rei figuram Daud contra Goliad pugnans V lapides in peram sumpsit se<...>.	<u>Exempla. In huius (54) rei figuram Daud contra Goliad pugnans V lapides in peram accipit pastorem.</u>
12 diabolum superans pentatheum in carnem suscipit. Sed Deuteronomio specialiter <...>.	Sic Christus diabolum superans, pentateum in carnem suscepit. Sed Deuteronomio specialiter uicit diabolum.
13 de omni doctore. TUNC ADSUMPSIT EUM (4,5). Omnium igitur iniquorum ca<...>put est diabolus <...>.	Siue de omni doctore. TUNC ADSUMPSIT (4,5).
14 temptari, qui se permisit a membris suis <o>ccidi. Aptum est, ut qui mortem nostram sua mort<...>.	<u>Qui membris permitendus <...> Aptum est, ut qui uenit nostram mortem sua morte superare.</u>
15 tiones sua temptatione uinceret. Adsumptio ista non ex imbecillitate Domini, sed ex <...>.	Duobus modis adsumptio ista dicitur. Siue quia caro Domini diabolo circumferenda permissa est, quod non ex <im>becillitate Domini sed ex superbia diaboli fuit.
16 tem Domini necessitatem putabat. IN SANCTAM CIUITATEM (4,5), Hierusalem scilicet, quam euang<...>.	IN SANCTAM CIUITATEM (4,5), qui non dubium Hierusalem, ut abierunt in sanctam (Matth. 27, 53).
17 SUPER PINNACULUM (4,5), ut quem gula superare non poterat, temptet si possit uana gloria st<...>.	Statuit SUPER PINNACULUM (4,5). <...> Cum nunc in sancta ciuitate ponitur supra pinnam templi, quod non fieret, nisi ut uanam gloriam laus humana adferet.
18 in excelsioribus templi fuit. SI FILIUS DEI ES, M(ITTE) T(E) D(EOR-SUM) (4,6). Uox diaboli est, qua semper omnes cadere <...>.	Pinnaculum sedis doctorum in excelsioribus templi. SI FILIUS DEI ES (4,6).

19 suadere potest, precipitare non potest. QUIA ANGELIS SUIS (4,6). Male interpretatur Scrip<...>.	Hic notandum quod diabolus <u>persuadere potest</u> . <u>Praecipitare</u> uero <u>non</u> ualet.
--	--

I) ¹⁰ Tokyo 2a I'

Lines 1-2: Löfstedt's first line that begins with *Queritur* breaks off and is completed in line 2 with *nouerat*. *Quaeritur - nouerit* is found in both Tokyo 2a I' and in Orl. (65) 62. Löfstedt has correctly noted that this text is attested in Smaragdus' *Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia*.¹¹ Smaragdus attributed this text to no one author. This writer suggests that the text was probably that of Frigulus himself and that Smaragdus simply failed to identify its authorship in his collection of excerpts.¹²

Line 3: Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 are quite similar. The language is parallel and they both quote Gen 1:3. They also are most likely following Jerome's *In Mattheum*, where the exegesis of Matth. 4,3 begins with the words *esurienti congrue dicitur*.¹³ Since the Tokyo fragment follows Jerome below beginning at line 5, the last part of line 3 that breaks off is perhaps an echo from this same Jerome passage.

Line 4: Löfstedt attributes line 4 to Ps. 32,9. This is incorrect. Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 are obvious parallels, but there is no extant source.

Lines 5-6: *Cum - facit* are identical in both Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62. There is no extant source. Löfstedt is correct in seeing a parallel between *Duobus - diabolus* in line 5 and most of line 6 with Jerome.¹⁴ Orl. (65) 62 omits this passage from Jerome.

Lines 7-8: Löfstedt is incorrect in attributing lines 7 and 8 to Jerome.¹⁵ The texts from both Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 are taken from Gregory the Great,¹⁶ whose commentary on Matth. 4, 4 reads as follows:

¹⁰ In his edition Löfstedt notes the lacunae present in the Ms at the beginning of each folio. Concerning this first folio, the editor (p. 143) has provided the following information: "25 Buchstaben sind am Ende jeder Zeile abgeschnitten."

¹¹ PL 102.126 C-D

¹² The various lemmata of the *Collectiones* are usually preceded by the name of the author to whom the commentary of the lemma is attributed. For example, we often see "Ex Hieron.," "Ex Beda." and the like. In the case of Frigulus, we see FI or FRI in Cardinal Petra's collected excerpts, or "Ex Fulg." or "Ex Fulgentio" in the *Collectiones*. Cf. also Heiricus Autissiodorensis, *Homiliae per circulum anni*, Hom. I 28, CM 116, p. 231 and Haymo Autiss., Hom. I 21, PL 118.196 BCD.

¹³ HI Matth. 1 (20, 315)

¹⁴ HI Matth. 1 (20, 316-320)

¹⁵ Löfstedt suggests that HI Matth. 1 (20, 320sq.) is the source.

¹⁶ GR-M Ev 16, 3 (1136C)

"et qui eo verbo quod erat tentatorem suum mergere in abyssum poterat, virtutem suae potentiae non ostendit, sola divinae Scripturae praecepta dedit, quatenus suae nobis patientiae praeberet exemplum, ut quoties a pravis hominibus aliquid patimur, ad doctrinam excitemur potius quam ad vindictam."

Gregory was one of Frigulus' most important sources. It is fitting that Orl. (65) 62 should contain this passage, and one should not be surprised that Smaragdus' *Collectiones* also includes this text. Smaragdus rightly attributes the passage to Gregory.¹⁷

Lines 9-10: No parallel to the first part of line 9 has been found. Löfstedt rightly identifies *si - uescitur ue<...>* to Jerome.¹⁸ Tokyo 2a I', *nomio - testimonia*, a clear parallel with Orl. (65) 62, echoes Jerome's commentary on Matth. 4,4 which immediately follows: *testimonium de deuteronomio sumptum est*.¹⁹ The biblical allusion is to Dt 8, 3. Another parallel with line 10 of Tokyo 2a I' is found at Jerome's exegesis of Matth. 4,7: *testimonia de deuteronomio tantum protulerit ut secundae legis sacramenta monstraret*.²⁰

Lines 11-12: Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 are very similar in this section and there are no extant sources. For *David contra Goliad* (line 11), cf. 1 Rg 17; *quinque panes* (line 11) is most likely taken also from the David story, 1 Rg 21, 3.

Line 13: There is no extant source for *de omni doctore*, the common element between Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62. The exegesis of Matth. 4, 5 - *Tunc adsumpsit eum*, omitted in Orl. (65) 62, but transcribed and reconstructed by Löfstedt in Tokyo 2a I', must be from Gregory the Great: *Certe iniquorum omnium caput diabolus est, et huius capitis membra sunt omnes iniqui*.²¹

Line 14: Both Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 follow the same unknown source.

Line 15: Löfstedt rightly identifies this section with Jerome's Matthew commentary,²² but the sources at the beginning of line 15 of Tokyo 2a I' and of Orl. (65) 62 remain unknown.

Line 16: *Hierusalem* is the *sanctam ciuitatem* in both Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62. Pseudo-Jerome and Frigulus likewise identified the *sanctam ciuitatem* with Jerusalem.²³

Line 17: Löfstedt has rightly noted Jerome's identification of *super pinnaculum* (Matth. 4,5) with *uana gloria*. Orl. (65) 62 and FRI-SM PL 102.127 C do the same. The first two words after the lemma - *ut quem* - also appear at this same place in Jerome's Matthew commentary,²⁴ but *gula - temptet* are perhaps from

¹⁷ PL 102.123 D.

¹⁸ HI Matth. 1 (20, 332sq.)

¹⁹ HI Matth. 1 (20, 324)

²⁰ HI Matth. 1 (22, 362-363)

²¹ GR-M Ev 16, 3 (1135C)

²² HI Matth. 1 (21, 335-337)

²³ PS-HI Matth. PL 30.530 A; FRI-SM PL 102.127 C

²⁴ HI Matth. 1 (21, 340sq.)

Bede's commentary *In Lucam* which expands upon Jerome's text as follows: *ut quem gula uel auaritia superare non poterat temptet et uana gloria.*²⁵

Lines 18-19: The first section of this line was probably introduced by words similar to those that appear in Orl. (65) 62: *Pinnaculum sedis doctorum*. That would make Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 identical once again. Using the passage preserved in Smaragdus, Frigulus copies Jerome's exegesis of Matth. 4,6: *uox diaboli - cadere*,²⁶ and then comments as follows: *Pinnaculum ergo templi sedes erat doctorum in medio templi tabulata.*²⁷ The lacuna after *cadere* can be resolved by the addition of *desiderat*, which appears in Jerome, or by *vult*, which is attested by Smaragdus. Löfstedt has correctly identified line 19 with Jerome's *In Mattheum*²⁸ and the commentary after the lemma is indeed from Jerome.²⁹

II (Tokyo) = 2a I'	Orl. (65) 62, ff. 55-57
1 <...>inquit. Queritur, cur in ordine temptationum Mat(theus) et Luc(as) dissentiunt. In prima enim conueniunt	<u>Quaeritur, cur in ordine temptatio-num Matheus et Lucas dissentiunt, ut in prima conueniant.</u>
2 <...>umponit. Mat(theus) ordinem temptationum posuit secundum ordinem temptationum Adae	Secundam in Matheo Lucas nouissimam <u>ponit</u> . Idem <u>Matheus ordinem temptationum posuit secundum ordinem temptationum Adae.</u>
3 <...>quus est. UADE SATANAS (4,10). Non eodem sensu diabolo dicitur et Petro. Petro enim dicitur <i>Uade retro</i> (Marc. 8,33)	Lucas uero historiae ueritatem <u>secutus est. UADE RETRO SATANAS</u> (4,10). <u>Non eodem sensu diabolo dicitur et Petro. Petro enim dicitur Uade retro me</u> (Marc. 8,33).
4 <...>is mihi existas; diabulo autem non additur 'retro me', sed tantum "Uade" dicitur, subauditur 'in ignem'	<u>Zabulo autem non additur 'retro me'</u> , id est <u>uade in ignem</u> aeternum. Cum hoc dicitur 'retro me', id est ueni post me licet contrarius <u>existas</u> .
5 <...>C ET M(INISTRABANT) E(I) (4,11). Hic ostenditur unius persone utraque natura, quia homo est, qui temptatur	<u>Hic ostenditur</u> unius persone utraque natura, quo homo est, quem diabolus temptat. Deus est cui ab angelis
6 <...>r. Inuicto a malis ministratur a bonis, ut uictoris dignitas comprobetur	ministratur. <u>Inuicto a malis ministratur a bonis.</u>

²⁵ BED Lc 1 (3069)

²⁶ HI Matth. 1 (21, 346-347)

²⁷ FRI-SM PL 102.127 C.

²⁸ HI Matth. 1 (21, 347)

²⁹ HI Matth. 1 (21, 347)

7 <...>aditus esset. Nemo putet traditionem Ioh(annis) in carcerem statim post temptationem XL dierum	
8 <...> euangel(ium) Ioh(annis), et inueniet ante traditionem Ioh(annis), Iesum multa docuisse et miracula fecisse. Nam Ioh(annis)	
9 <...> exposita fuerant superioris temporis, antequam cluderetur in carcerem, gesta narrauit post	
10 <...>am Iohanne tradito, id est constricta et consummata lege in Iudeis. SECESSIT I(N) G(ALILEAM) (4,12), id est in populum gentium.	Iohannes significat <u>legem in Iudaeis constrictam</u> . IHESUS <u>IN GALI<E>A<M></u> (4,12), Christus ad <u>gentes</u> .
11 <...>s in lege florentibus, in qua flos, non fructus, erat. IN CAPHARNAUM MARITIMAM (4,13), quod interpretatur 'uilla'	NAZARETH (4,13), relictis Iudaeis <u>in lege florentibus</u> , siue ueteri lege <u>in qua flos, non fructus erat</u> . <u>IN CAPHARNAUM</u> (4,13) <u>interpretatur 'uilla pulcherrima'</u>
12 <...>tium huc usque amaram in peccatis, modo pulcrum in uirtutibus. IN FINIBUS ZABULON (4,13). Iuxta	significat <u>ecclesiam gentium</u> . Maritimam, <u>huc usque amaram in peccatis</u> <...> <u>IN FINIBUS ZABULON</u> (4,13). <u>Iuxta</u> historiam in Isaia sic legendum est:
13 <...> primo, inquit, tempore ele, t(empore) Z(abulon)et t(empore) N(eptalim), quia prius hae tribus principatum tenebant in Israel, adgrauata	<u>Primo</u> , inquit, <u>tempore eleuata est</u> , reliqua (Is 9,1), <u>quia prius hae tribus principatum tenebant in Israel</u> , <u>adgrauata est</u> (Is 9,1)
14 <...>et is ductae sunt. UIA MARIS (4,15), id est ecclesia gentium proxima peccatis. TRANS IORDANEN (4,15), id est post baptismum	quia primae in captiuitatem <u>ductae sunt</u> . <u>UIA MARIS</u> (4,15), <u>ecclesia gentium proxima peccatis</u> . <u>IORDANEN</u> (4,15), <u>baptismum</u> .
15 <...>olubilitas gentium, quia ibi primo Horrei, deinde Cananei, post quos Israelitae, inde Samaritani	GALILAE GENTIUM (4,15), ac si diceret <u>uolubilitas gentium, quia ibi primo Horrei, deinde Cananei, post quos Israelite, inde Samaritani</u>
16 <...>ucem magnum scilicet sub Zorobabel reuersionis. IN REGIONE ET UMBRA MORTIS (4,16). In regione Assiriorum	<u>lucem magnam</u> (Is 9,2) <u>scilicet reuersionis sub Zorobabel</u> , reliqua. <u>IN REGIONE ET UMBRA MORTIS</u> (4,16). <u>In regione Assiriorum</u> ubi captiui ducti sunt.

17 <...>xta mari. Hic sensus est: Duae tribus, quae primae in captiuitatem ductae sunt, meruerunt	Ceterum iuxta Matheum sensus est <...> <u>II tribus</u> <...> quia primae in captiuitatem ductae sunt.
18 <...> <TE>NEBRIS (4,16), id est in ignorantia. UMBRA MORTIS (4,16): delectatione peccatorum. LUX (4,16), id est fides Christi et prae	IN TENEBRIS (4,16), ignorantiae <...> UMBRA (4,16): in delectatione mundi et peccati. LUX (4,16), Christi, uidelicet praedicatio.
19 <...> de qua alii uadunt, alii ueniunt. EXINDE CEPIT IESUS (4,17). Tradito Iohanne incipit ipse predicare	Alii enim ecclesia ueniunt, alii ex ea uadunt. EXINDE CEPIT (4,17) heret ubi ait: cum audisset quod Iohannes traditus et reliqua (4,12). <u>PRÆDICARE ET DICERE</u> (4,17).

II)³⁰ Tokyo 2a I'

Lines 1-3: Löfstedt has found a parallel with these first three lines in Smaragdus:³¹ *Quaeritur, cur in ordine tentationum Matthaeus Lucasque discordant. Sine dubio Matthaeus ordinem tentationis Adae, Lucas vero historiae ordinem secutus est.* Smaragdus, however, was perhaps wrong in attributing this passage to Jerome.³² I suggest that we have a missing text which perhaps formed part of Frigulus' Matthew commentary. It was common for Frigulus to have reflected on the various "ordines" that the individual evangelists employed in their narratives. For the most part, Frigulus followed Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum* in order to relate some variation in the arrangement of the narrative, but the text that appears in Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 does not seem to be extant. Qu. Cod. 127 makes use of the *De consensu evangelistarum* at least seventy times.³³ It should be noted that at the beginning of line 2 in Tokyo 2a I', the letter *u* of Löfstedt's <...>umponit must be the letter *a* so as to concord with *nouissimam ponit* of Orl. (65) 62. The entire phrase *Matheus - Adae* in line 2 appears also in Hilary's *In Matheum*.³⁴

Lines 3-4: The Smaragdus quotation ends with *secutus est*. This same line 3 continues with *UADE SATANAS* (Matth. 4,10), a lemma which both Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 use to introduce a passage that echoes Jerome's *In Matheum*.³⁵

³⁰ LÖFSTEDT (p. 145): "25 Buchstaben sind am Ende jeder Zeile abgeschnitten."

³¹ SM coll. PL 102.128 C; cf. Matth. 4, 5-7 and Lc 4, 9-12

³² *Ex Hier.* precedes the passage in which the quotation in question appears.

³³ For example, Qu. Cod. 127 - 39^{ab} - contains the following passage from Augustine which Frigulus used as an exegesis of *et ascendite eo in nauim* (Matth. 8,23): *Hic Matheus historiae ordinem secutus est. Lucas enim aliquod postea factum narrat. Post haec designauit alios septuaginta duos et reliqua* (Luc 10,1). Cf. AUG Ev 2, 23, 54 (157, 1-2.156, 18-20)

³⁴ HIL Matth. 3, 5 (116.118,1-8)

Lines 5-6: Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65) 62 are quoting from Gregory the Great, whose text reads as follows:

*Notandum uero quod subditur, quia recedente diabolo, angeli ministrabant ei. Ex qua re quid aliud quam unius personae utque natura ostenditur? Quia et homo est quem diabolus temptat, et idem ipse Deus est cui ab angelis ministratur.*³⁶

There is no extant source to *Inuicto - bonis*, but the second part of line 6, *ut - comprobetur*, has been correctly identified by Löfstedt to be from Jerome.³⁷

Lines 7-8: Tokyo 2a I' preserves a text from Bede's *In Marcum*, which is lacking in Orl. (65) 62:

*Nemo autem putet traditionem Iohannis in carcerem statim post temptationem quadraginta dierum et ieiunium Domini factam. Quisque enim Iohannis euangelium legerit inueniet Dominum ante traditionem illius multa et docuisse et miracula fecisse.*³⁸

Line 9: Orl. (65) 62 does not include a passage from Jerome's *Liber de viris illustribus*, that appears in Tokyo 2a I':

*Praetermisso itaque anno cuius acta a tribus exposita fuerant superioris temporis antequam clauderetur Iohannes in carcerem gesta narrauit sicut manifestum esse poterit his qui euangeliorum diligenter quattuor uolumina legerint.*³⁹

Line 10: There is no extant source.

Line 11: There is an allusion to *Ps. Hier.* in both Tokyo 2a I' and Orl. (65):

*Relicta civitate Galilaea, venit in Cafarnaum: villa pulcherrima figurat Ecclesiam. Nazareth flos dicitur: quia de flore fructus fit; Cafarnaum villa pinguedinis.*⁴⁰

Line 12: Even though there is no extant source, the combination of *amaram* and *pulchram* evokes the passage in the Book of Ruth (1,20) concerning the name Noemi: *ne uocetis me Noemi, id est pulchram, sed uocate me Mara, hoc est amaram.*

Line 13: The beginning section of Tokyo 2a I' is a quotation from Is. 9,1: *primo tempore adleviata est terra Zabulon et terra Nephtalim et novissimo adgravata est via maris trans Iordanem Galileae gentium.* The incomprehensible *ele* in Tokyo 2a I' can be resolved to *eleuata* – as in Orl. (65) 62 – a variation of *adleviata*, or perhaps *alleuatae*, the reading which we find in the Matthew commentary from Würzburg⁴¹ which is an exact parallel to our text: *Iuxta* (last word of line 12) *historiam in Isaia, sic legendum est: primo, inquit, tempore allevatae sunt, i.e. quia prius hae tribus principatum tenebant in Israel.*⁴² Löfstedt's two resolutions of *tem-*

³⁵ HI Matth. 1 (22, 380-384)

³⁶ GR-M Ev 16, 4 (1136D)

³⁷ HI Matth. 1 (23, 392)

³⁸ BED Mc 1 (326-330)

³⁹ HI vir (13, 5-13)

⁴⁰ PS-HI Ev 542C

⁴¹ cf. footnote 5 above

pore should rather read *terra*, as above in Is. 9,1. The final word of line 13 - *adgrata* - is obviously part of the quotation from Is. 9,1.

Line 14: Since we have just had a quotation from Isaiah, it is possible that the words *ductae sunt* are taken from Jerome's *In Isaiam: Postea autem non solum duae tribus, sed et reliquae, quae habitabant trans Iordanem et in Samaria, ductae sunt in captiuitatem*.⁴³ The Würzburg Matthew commentary has an exact parallel to line 14: *via maris, i.e. ecclesia gentium proxima peccatis*.⁴⁴

Line 15: Perhaps <...>*olubilitas gentium* in Tokyo 2a I' and GALILAE GENTIUM (4,15)... *uolubilitas gentium* in Orl. (65) 62 are an echo of Jerome: *Galilaea uolubilis aut transmigrationis perpetrata*.⁴⁵

Line 16: The first words of this line are most likely from Is 9,2. *Lucem magnam* fit in with the Isaiah passage of line 13 above. For a reference to *reversionis sub Zorobabel*, cf. 1 Esr 2,2 and HI Ir 1, 58, 2 (36, 11-13).

Line 17: *mari* is probably incorrect. The parallel in Orl. (65) 62, folio 57, has the preposition *iuxta* followed by the accusative *Matheum*. At line 12 we had *iuxta* followed by the accusative *historiam*. The last part of this line, on the other hand, is perhaps another allusion here to Jerome's *In Isaiam: Postea autem non solum duae tribus, sed et reliquae, quae habitabant trans Iordanem et in Samaria, ductae sunt in captiuitatem*.⁴⁶

Line 18: There is no extant source for this line.

Line 19: The first part of the line remains unidentified, but Löfstedt has located the reference to Jerome's *In Matheum* after the lemma.⁴⁷

This next section of Löfstedt's *Fragmente eines Matthäus-Kommentars* has many parallels with Frigulus, Qu. Cod. 127. The above fragments and the first section (lines 1-7) of the following chart form a part of a commentary on the beginning of Matthew 4. Since Qu. Cod. 127 lacked the bulk of Frigulus' commentary on Matth. 4, 3-22, it is only at line 8 below that we have clear parallels with Frigulus. From the material available from Orl. (65) 62, we assume that Qu. Cod. 127 had also included parallel texts to the Tokyo and London fragments above, if not an almost identical exegetical commentary.

⁴² M.p.th., p. 55

⁴³ HI Is 3,9,1 (120,32)

⁴⁴ M.p.th., p. 55

⁴⁵ HI nom Lc 64, 25 (140)

⁴⁶ HI Is 3,9,1 (120,32)

⁴⁷ HI Matth. 1 (23, 399)

III (London) = 2b 1'	Orl. (65) 62, ff. 58-61	Qu. Cod. 127, 24 ^a - 24 ^b
1 adducit Andreas Petrum, fratrem suum, ad Iesum. Nunc <...>	Quomodo <u>Andreas adducit fratrem suum Petrum ad Iesum</u> . Nunc autem uocatos eos Matheus dicit in quo intellegendum est.	
2 uidisse, ut ei inseparabiliter inhererent, sed cognouisse, quis esset et ad sua <...>	Non sic eos primo <u>uidisse, ut ei inseparabiliter inhererent sed cognouisse, quis esset et ad meritos ad sua</u> remeasse.	
3 Ordinem mutauit, non officium tulit. Dictum est ergo, quod deinceps capturus esset homi<...>		
4 rus pisces. Unde datur intellegere eos ad capturam piscium ex more remeasse, ut postea f<...>		
5 quando eos binos uocauit et ipse iussit, ut eum sequerentur. Quem illi statim tamquam uocantem <...>		
6 alios duos, quos Lucas dicit 'adiutores', priusquam factum esset, quod bini uocarentur. Piscatores igitur et in <...>	<u>alios duos, quos Lucas dicit 'adiutores', quod prius factum est, antequam bini a Domino uocarentur.</u>	
7 praedicandum, ne fides credentium non in uirtute Dei, sed in eloquentia putaretur. RELICTIS RETIBUS (4,20) <...>		
8 Spiritualiter hi IIII significant) duas leges: Petrus et Iacobus Iudeos fideles, agnoscences Deum;	<u>Hii IIII significant duas leges: Petrus et Iacobus significant Iudeos fideles, agnoscences Dominum supplantantesque uitia.</u>	<u>Hii quattuor significant duos populos. Symon 'oboediens', Petrus 'agnoscens' significat Iudeos, qui prius Deo oboediebant et agnoscebant eius mandata uel</u>

		nunc pro parte <u>fide-</u> <u>lium</u> .
9 Andreas et Ioh(annes) gentes in Christum cre- dentes uiriliterque ope- rantes et gratia Dei saluatas <...>	<u>Andreas et Iohannes</u> significant <u>uiriliter cre-</u> <u>dentes Christum et gra-</u> <u>tia Domini saluatos</u> .	<u>Andreas</u> 'uirilis' signifi- cat 'populum gentium'. Iacob 'subplantator' Iu- dei, ut supra. <u>Iohannes</u> ' <u>gentes saluatae</u> per gra- tiam'.
10 et gentilium; pisces homines prudentes; rete sermo euangelii; portus finis seculi; Zebedeus, qui II<...>	II <u>eclesias Iudaeorum et</u> <u>gentilium</u> <...> Pisces ad portum homines ad mortem uel in infernum <...> <u>Pisces homines</u> <u>prudentes</u> . <u>Portus</u> , eccle- sia praesens. <...> <u>Za-</u> <u>cheus</u> , <u>qui</u> interpretatur fugitiuus diabolus.	<u>Pisces</u> : <u>homines pru-</u> <u>dentes</u> <u>Portus</u> : eccle- siam <...> Patrem <u>Ze-</u> <u>bedeum</u> , qui interpre- tatur 'fugitiuus', id est diabolus populi ha- bent.
11 Secundum mortali- tatem uero omnis homo ante baptismum siue penitentiam mittit rete desiderii<...>	Ita ut <u>moraliter. omnis</u> <u>homo ante baptismum</u> <u>siue penitentiam mittit</u> <u>rete desiderii</u> corpore constans anima	Nunc <u>moraliter</u> . Mit- tentes retia: <u>omnis</u> <u>homo ante baptismum</u> <u>siue paenitentiam</u> . <u>Rete</u> : <u>desiderii</u> sui corpore et anima constans.
12 de naue carnis in mare mundi, ut pisces operum ad portum mortis adferat, cui adue<...>	<u>De nauis: carnis. In</u> <u>mare: mundi, ut pisces</u> <u>operum ad portum</u> <u>mortis adferat, cui adue-</u> <u>niens Dominus</u>	<u>De nauis: carnis. In</u> <u>mare: mundi, ut pisces</u> <u>operum ad portum</u> <u>mortis adferat</u> . Mittit: unde <u>adueniens</u>
13 dis priora <...> motat instrumenta, ut iterum, id est rete boni desiderii in s<...>	per conpunctionem cordis <u>priora motat ins-</u> <u>trumenta. Ut iterum, id</u> <u>est rete: boni desiderii in</u> <u>seculi</u>	Christus per conpunc- tionem animi <u>priora</u> <u>mutat instrumenta. Ut</u> <u>iterum, rete: boni desi-</u> <u>derii in saeculi</u> .
14 bonarum uirtutum in nauis carnis ad por- tum uitae adferat, relin- quens fugitiuum diabo- lum <...>	Mare: iactat ut pisces <u>bonarum uirtutum. In</u> <u>nauis: carnis ad portum</u> <u>uitae adferat, relinquens</u> <u>fugitiuum diabolum</u>	Mare: iactans pisces <u>bonarum uirtutum. In</u> <u>nauis: carnis ad portum</u> <u>uitae adferat, relinquens</u> <u>fugitiuum diabolum</u> .
15 nomina in uno- quoque nostrum conti- nentur, ut sit Simon uel Petrus est Deo et per prudentiam agnoscit p<...>	Et hoc modo <u>iiii nomi-</u> <u>na in unoquoque conti-</u> <u>nentur, ut Simon</u> oboe- diendo <u>Deo</u> ; <u>Petrus</u> <u>agnoscendo peccatum</u> <u>suum</u>	Unde hoc modo haec quattuor <u>nomina in</u> moribus unius hominis <u>continentur. Simon</u> oboediendo <u>Deo</u> , <u>Petrus</u> <u>agnoscendo peccatum</u> <u>suum</u> ,

16 id est uirilis, cum uiriliter labores patiendo sustinet. Tunc Iacobus, id est supplantator, cum for<...>	Tunc <u>uirilis est cum</u> per <u>patientiam</u> <u>sustinet</u> . Tunc <u>subplantator cum</u> <u>fortitudine</u>	Tunc ' <u>uirilis est cum</u> <u>temperantiam</u> <u>sustinen-</u> <u>di labores adpraehende-</u> <u>rit</u> . Tunc ' <u>supplantator</u> <u>cum</u> <u>fortitudinem</u>
17 uincit uitia. Tunc Iohannes, id est gratia Dei, cum per iustitiam repulerit peccata et bona faciet op<...>	<u>uincit uitia</u> . Tunc <u>gratia Dei, cum per iustitiam</u> <u>inperat peccata</u> .	<u>uincendi uitia</u> receperit. <...> Tunc ' <u>Dei gratiam</u> ' <u>cum</u> <u>ueram iustitiam</u> <u>implendi mandata</u> <u>inuenerit</u> .
18 CIRCUIBAT IESUS (4,23). Quae omni doctori debentur, hic apparent; ut non sit piger, quia Iesus c<...>	CIRCUIBAT IIESUS (4,23). Sex <u>que omni</u> <u>doctore</u> <u>habentur hic</u> <u>apparent, ut non sit pi-</u> <u>ger, quam</u> " <u>Ihesus cir-</u> <u>cuibat</u> ",	CIRCUIBAT IESUS et reliqua (4,23). Septem <u>quae omni debentur</u> <u>doctori hic apparent, ut</u> <u>non piger sit, quia</u> " <u>Ie-</u> <u>sus circumibat</u> ";
19 <persona>rum accep- tor (Act. 10,34), quia Iesus PER TOTAM GALILEAM (4,23); ut non in uanum discurrat, quia Iesus ut DOCENS uen<...>	Ut non <u>acceptor persona-</u> <u>rum</u> , quod Ihesus " <u>to-</u> <u>tam Galileam</u> "; ut non <u>in</u> <u>uanum</u> <u>discurrat, quia</u> " <u>Ihesus docens</u> ";	ut non <u>acceptor persona-</u> <u>rum</u> , quia " <u>totam Gali-</u> <u>leam</u> "; ut non <u>in uanum</u> <u>discurrat, quia</u> " <u>docens</u> " dicitur;
20 gogis; ut nihil erroris habeat, quia Iesus euangel(izabat); ut non mirandas mundalium fabulas sequi<...>;	ut non paucis proficiat, quia Ihesus in sinagogis; <u>ut nihil erroris habeat, quia</u> Ihesus " <u>euange-</u> <u>lium</u> ", <u>ut non mirandas</u> <u>mundialium fabulas</u> <u>sequatur, quia</u> addit " <u>regni</u> ";	ut non paucis proficiat, quia in sinagogis ait; <u>ut nihil erroris habeat, quia</u> " <u>euangelium</u> "; <u>ut non</u> <u>mirabiles mundi</u> <u>confabulationes</u> <u>sequatur, quia</u> addidit " <u>regi</u> ";
21 ut uerbum Dei uirtutibus commendat uel exemplis, quia dicitur SANANS OMNEM LANGUOREM doce<...>	<u>ut uerbum Dei uirtuti-</u> <u>bus commendat, quia</u> <u>dicitur</u> " <u>sanans omnem</u> <u>languorem</u> ". Docens de praesentibus uidelicet	<u>ut uerbum uirtutibus</u> <u>commendat, quia dici-</u> <u>tur</u> " <u>sanans</u> " et reliqua. Docens de praesentibus uidelicet
22 datis, predicans de futuris promissis. "omnem languorem": 'languor' id est animarum, infirmus<...>	<u>mandatis, praedicans de</u> <u>futuris promissis</u> . " <u>Lan-</u> <u>guorem</u> " ad "infirmi- <u>tem</u> ", nomina dolorum, qua paulo post specia- <u>liater nominatur</u> . Siue <u>languor</u> per diabolum, <u>infirmi-</u> <u>tas</u> per naturam fit <...>.	rebus, <u>praedicans de</u> <u>futuris</u> , adnuntians " <u>lan-</u> <u>gorem</u> " et infirmitatem", appellatiua dolorum sunt, quae paulo post singillatim numerantur. Siue <u>languor</u> per diabo- <u>lum, infirmi-</u> <u>tas</u> uero per naturam fit.

23 ac si diceret, quia non solum in Iudeis fama eius magna fuit, sed in omnem Syriam diuulgata	IN TOTAM SIRIAM (4,24). <u>Ac si diceret: Non solum in Iudeis fama eius magna fuerit.</u>	IN TOTAM SIRIAM (4,24). <u>Ac si diceret: Non solum in Iudeis, sed in gentibus. Siue ut culpentur Iudaei, quod non in eis, sed in gentibus fama uidetur facta.</u>
24 causasque usque flumen Eufraten, id est Fenicia, Comagena, Siria, Palestina quoque omnes gen<...>		
25 OBTULERUNT EI et reliqua (4,24). Nimirum utrumque Dominus semper sanabat: et animam et corpus; et ut m<...>	OBTULERUNT EI (4,24). <...> <u>Nimirum utrumque Dominus semper sanabat. Siue ut magis praedicatio cresceret uirtutibus commendatur.</u>	OBTULERUNT (4,24). <...> <u>Nimirum utrumque semper sanabat, siue ut magis praedicatio cresceret uirtutibus commendata.</u>

III)⁴⁸ London 2b 1'

Lines 1-2: These lines present in an abbreviated form a passage from Augustine.

*Andreas, qui fratrem suum Simonem continuo adduxit ad Iesum, quando et nomen ut Petrus uocaretur accepit, quomodo ab aliis euangelistis dicitur, quod eos in Galilaea piscantes inuenerit adque ad discipulatum uocauerit, nisi quia intellegendum est non sic eos uidisse tunc Dominum iuxta Iordanen, ut ei iam inseparabiliter cohaererent, sed tantum cognouisse quis esset eum que miratos ad propria remeasse?*⁴⁹

Lines 3-5: The following text from Augustine is the point of departure for these lines.

*dictum est ergo, quod deinceps capturus esset homines; non dictum est, quod iam non esset capturus pisces. unde datur locus intellegere eos ad capturam piscium ex more remeasse, ut postea fieret quod Mattheus et Marcus narrant, quando eos binos uocauit et ipse iussit, ut eum sequerentur, primo duobus Petro et Andree, deinde aliis duobus filiis Zebedaei. tunc enim non subductis ad terram nauibus tamquam cura redeundi, sed ita eum secuti sunt, tamquam uocantem ac iubentem, ut sequerentur.*⁵⁰

Löfstedt's uncertainty expressed in the apparatus criticus concerning the reading *datur* in line 4 is thus resolved: *datur* is indeed the correct reading.

⁴⁸ LÖFSTEDT (p. 147): "Am Ende der Zeilen sind mehr oder weniger Buchstaben unleserlich oder abgeschnitten."

⁴⁹ AUG Ev 2, 17, 37 (138, 10-14)

⁵⁰ AUG Ev 2, 17, 41 (141, 10-18)

Lines 6-7: There is no source for line 6. Löfstedt has rightly pointed out the source for the end of line 6 and the beginning of line 7, *Piscatores - putaretur: piscatores et inlitterati mittuntur ad praedicandum ne fides credentium non uirtute Dei sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur*.⁵¹

Lines 8-9: For *Petrus agnoscens*, see Jerome's interpretation.⁵² It is very likely that London 2b 1' continues in the same way as do Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 with an explanation of the name *Iacobus* as *supplantator*.⁵³ The names *Andreas* and *Iohannes* are explained respectively as *uiriliter*⁵⁴ and *gratia Dei*.⁵⁵ Löfstedt gives the sources for *Andreas*, *Iacobus* and *Iohannes* below in his note to lines 16-17.

Line 10: London 2b 1' is very similar to both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. If London 2b 1' is indeed parallel to Orl. (65) 62, then we perhaps have an echo of a sermon of Augustine in *duae naues - gentilium*.⁵⁶ Orleans' *Zacheus* is probably *Zebedeus* as in London 2b 1' and in Frigulus. The interpretation of *Zebedeus* given in Orleans and in Frigulus is also attested in the ninth century Matthew commentary by W. Strabo.⁵⁷ It is possible that London 2b 1' included this interpretation of *Zebedeus'* name.

Lines 11-17: London 2b 1', Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 are almost identical here and there seem to be no extant sources, apart from the obvious etymologies from Jerome that Löfstedt has noted in his apparatus. This section offers an interpretation of the various elements of Matthew 4, 21-22. Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 often introduce their exegetical commentaries by the words *aliter*, *spiritualiter* or *moraliter*. For this reason, *mortalitatem* in London 2b 1', line 11, must be incorrect. Line 8 of London 2b 1' begins with *spiritualiter*. It is most probable, therefore, that at line 11 we should read *moralitatem* for *mortalitatem*. This is a clear parallel to what we have in Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. The lacuna noted by Löfstedt in line 13 is perhaps *per conpunctionem*, the reading attested in the parallel passages of Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. If the reading *est Deo* in line 15 is uncertain, as notes Löfstedt in his apparatus, the correct reading must be either *oboediendo* or *oboediendo Deo* in conformity with Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127.

Lines 18-25: The comparison between Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 with London 2b 1' is of importance in this section. The lacunae and partial sentences are now completed for the most part and the text is now intelligible. Löfstedt's *euangel(izabat)* in line 20 is probably incorrect. Both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 read *euangelium* from Matth. 4, 23, a continuation of the lemma which began at line 18. It is noteworthy that neither Orl. (65) 62 nor Qu. Cod. 127 contain the text of line 24 above: *causasque usque flumen Eufraten, id est Fenicia,*

⁵¹ HI Matth. 2 (23,405-407)

⁵² HI nom Matth. 65, 18 (141)

⁵³ HI nom Matth. 61, 27 (136)

⁵⁴ HI nom Act 66, 24-27 (142)

⁵⁵ HI nom Act 69, 16-17 (146)

⁵⁶ AUG s 137, 6 (757D)

⁵⁷ PL 114.88 B

Comagena, Siria, Palestina quoque omnes gen<...>. There is a parallel in Bede⁵⁸ which reads as follows:

*Syria, quae Hebraice dicitur Aran, regio est inter flumen Eufraten et mare magnum usque ad Aegyptum pertingens; habet maximas prouincias, Commagenam, Foeniciam, et Palestinam absque Sarracenis et Nabatheis quorum gentes sunt duodecim.*⁵⁹

IV (London) = 2b 1'	Orl. (65) 62, ff. 61-63	Qu. Cod. 127, 24 ^a -25 ^a
1<...> id est regio X ciuitatem. Deca enim X polis ciuitas dicitur. Spitualiter enim Galilea significat totum mundum, unde	DECAPOLI (4,25), regio X ciuitatum. " <u>Deca</u> " enim decem. " <u>polis</u> " ciuitas dicitur. <u>Spirit</u> aliter. " <u>Galilea</u> " significat totum mundum, unde	DECAPOLI (4,25), que <u>decem</u> ciuitates habet. " <u>Deca</u> " enim decem. " <u>polis</u> " ciuitas. <u>Spirit</u> aliter. " <u>Galilea</u> " totum mundum significat.
2 <...> De...aci pro omni uitio accipiuntur. Lunatici instabiles in bono, paralitici, qui gressibus iustitiae	dicitur: <u>Ite baptizate</u> , reliqua (Matth. 28,19). " <u>Qui demonia</u> ", quod pro omni uitio dicitur. " <u>Lunaticos</u> ", <u>instabiles in bono</u> . " <u>Paraliticos</u> ", qui gressibus iustitiae non ambulant.	"In totam Siriam", ut: <u>ite baptizate omnes gentes</u> et reliqua (Matth. 28,19) <...> " <u>Qui demonia</u> ", pro omni uitio dicitur. " <u>Lunaticos</u> ", <u>instabiles in bono</u> faciendo, siue diligentes terrena. " <u>Paraliticos</u> ", qui in operibus iustitiae non gradiuntur.
3 <...> id est ...bilitate seculi. Decapolis, qui X uerba legis implent. DE IUDEA (4, 25). De his, qui prius diabolo professi sunt ser	"A Galilea" a uolubilitate saeculi. <...> " <u>Decapoli</u> ", qui decem uerba legis implent <...> DE IUDEA (4,25). Confitentes diabolo hucusque nunc Christum confitentur.	"A Galilea" a uolubilitate mundi. <...> " <u>Decapoli</u> ", qui decem uerba legis implent <...> DE IUDEA (4,25). Confitentes diabolo. Nunc autem Christum confitentur.
4 <...>S IORD(ANEM), id est de his, qui iam baptizati sunt <...> Alii imperfecti, ut Pharisei; alii infirmi, ut leprosi;	TRANS IORDANEN (4,25). Qui baptizati sunt <...> imperfecti, ut Phariaei, infirmi ut leprosi.	DE TRANS IORDANEN (4,25). Qui baptizati sunt <...> imperfecti ut Farisaei, infirmi ut leprosi.

⁵⁸ Bede's source was perhaps Orosius. Cf ORO hist .,2,24)

⁵⁹ BED nom (176-177, 277-279)

5 <...>N MONTEM (5,1). Turba igitur non unius uoluntatis est; haec de diuersis congregata fuit. Alii fuerunt perfecti, ut apostli	TURBAS (5,1). <u>Turba non unius uoluntatis est. Haec</u> uero Christum sequebantur <u>perfecti ut apostoli</u> .	TURBAS (5,1). <u>Turba non unius uoluntatis.</u> Christum sequebantur <u>perfecti ut apostoli</u> .
6 <...>e gentes. Alii curiosi, tantum uerba audire et miracula uidere uolentes. Hanc praedicationem	Cibo et uestitu indigentes, <u>curiosi tamen uerba audire uolentes. Hanc praedicationem</u>	cibo et uestimento indigentes, Magi sermones <u>tantum audire uolentes.</u> Hunc sermonem
7 <...>dic(it), Luc(as) uero in campestri. Quod sic intelligitur: turbas Iesum uitare uoluisse et ideo in montem ascen	Matheus <u>dicit</u> in monte. <u>Lucas</u> (6,17) <u>uero in loco campestri. Intellegitur turbas uitare uoluisse et ideo in montem ascendit</u> ut oraret (Matth. 14,23)	Matheus in monte <u>dicitur</u> factum, <u>Lucas</u> (6,17) <u>uero in loco campestri</u> , in quo uidetur <u>turbas uitare uoluisse et ideo ascendit in montem orare</u> (Matth. 14,23)
8 <...>iisse sermonem ad apostolos, quod Lucas tacet; et cum descendisset, alterum habuisse ad turbas similem	et ibi habuisse <u>sermonem quem Lucas tacet, et cum descendisset</u> (Matth. 8,1) <u>alterum habuisse ad turbas similem</u> priori, quem Lucas narrat.	et ibi habuisse <u>sermonem, quem Lucas tacet, et cum descendisset</u> (Matth. 8,1) <u>alterum habuisse similem</u> priori ad turbas de quo Matheus.
9 <...> primo in aliqua excelsiore parte montis solis discip(ulis) loqueretur, quando ex eis XII elegit; deinde cum eis descende	Siue potest intellegi in <u>aliquo excelsiore</u> loco Dominum cum <u>discipulis</u> fuisse. Deinde <u>cum eis descendisse</u> non de monte, sed de montis celsitudine	Siue potest intellegi in <u>aliquo excelsiore</u> loco cum <u>discipulis</u> Dominum fuisse, deinde <u>cum eis descendisse</u> (cf. Lc 6,20-49)
10 <...> pestrem locum, id est in aliquam aequalitatem in latere ipsius montis, ubi multae turbae ad eum congrega	in aliquem <u>campestrum locum in latere montis</u>	in aliquem <u>campestrum locum in latere montis;</u>
11 <...>d se discipulis turbisque presentibus unum habuisse sermonem, quem Luc(as) et Mat(theus) narrarunt, quamuis non uno ordine.	ubi <u>turbae</u> esse poterant et ibi <u>habuisse sermonem quem Lucas tacet.</u> Et cum descendisset alterum <u>habuisse</u> ad turbas similem priori <u>quem Lucas narrat.</u>	ibi <u>turbae</u> esse poterant et ibi <u>habuisse sermonem, quem Matheus Lucasque narrant</u> (cf. Lc 6,20-49).

12 <...> hunc montem Oliueti putant, quod non ita est. Ex precedentibus enim et sequentibus in Galilea monstratur locus	Siue hic locus pro celsitudine praedicationis mons nominatur. Alii <u>hunc</u> locum <u>montem Oliueti putant, quod non</u> conuenit. In <u>Galilea</u> enim erat ante et post praedicationem	Siue mons pro altitudine praedicationis dicitur in <u>montem Oliueti</u> , ut multi, <u>quod nequam; in Galilea</u> enim ante erat et post
13 <...> uel quemlibet alium excels(um) mon(tem). Ad montana Dominus conscendit, ut turbas secum ad altiora trahat. Sed	Recte <u>Dominus ascendit in montem</u> , ut omnium animas in <u>altiora</u> ducat mandata, siue in caelum.	utrumque perfectum congruenter <u>Dominus ascendit</u> , ut omnium animos in <u>altiora</u> ducat mandata, siue in caelum.
14 <...>nt soli discipuli sequuntur. Quibus et ipsis non stans, sed sedens et contractus loquitur. Non enim intellegere po		
15 <...> fulgentem. Recte dicitur: Excelsus in locum excelsum uadit, ut hominibus excelsis excelsa predicet uerba	Recte Deus <u>excelsus in locum excelsum uadit, ut hominibus excelsis excelsa</u> praedicet uerba.	Recte Deus <u>excelsus in locum excelsum, ut hominibus excelsis</u> praedicaret excelsa, uadit.
16 <...>ium nos docet, cum in plana uenit, actualem monet. Sessio Iesu humilitatem et incarnationem eius	Cum Dominus in montem ascendit, theoricam docet. <u>Cum in plana uenit actualem monet.</u> <...> Cum sedisset in sede quattuor significantur: <u>humilitas</u> et iudicandi iudicium et <u>stabilitas</u> et <u>incarnatio</u> .	Aliquando Dominus in montem ascendit, aliquando in campestria regreditur, ut <u>nos actualem</u> et theoricam uitam contineamus. <...> In sedendo quattuor significantur: <u>humilitas</u> et iudicandi iudicium et <u>stabilitas</u> et <u>incarnatio</u> .
17 <...>re et deuotione. APERIENS OS (5,2). Oris apertio profundum significat sermonem; per os uerus designatur homo.	APERIENS (5,2). Oris <u>apertio profundum significat sermonem</u> . OS SUUM (5,2), quia prius ora prophetarum aperuit. <u>Per os uerus designatur homo.</u>	APERIENS OS (5,2). Ostendit <u>profundum</u> et occultum <u>sermonem</u> prolaturum suum, quia prius prophetarum ora aperuit et hic <u>uerus homo</u> ostenditur.
18 <...>trinae diuinam ostendit naturam..... BEATI PAUPERES SPIRITU	DOCEBAT (5,2). Auctoritas <u>doctrinae diuinam ostendit naturam</u> . BEATI	DOCEBAT (5,2). Altitudo <u>doctrinae diuinam ostendit naturam</u> . PAU-

(5, 3). Quod alibi legitur <i>Humiles spiritu saluabit</i>	<u>PAUPERES</u> (5,3) <...> ut et <u>humiles spiritu saluabit</u> (Ps 33,19).	<u>PERES SPIRITUM</u> (5,3), <...> iuxta illud: et <u>humiles spiritu saluabit</u> (Ps 33,19).
19 <...>tem, que sepe ex inopia et necessitate uenit, a Christo predicari, addidit 'spiritu', ut humilitatem intellege		
20 <...>per Spiritum sanctum uoluntate sunt pauperes, ut est <i>Uende omnia</i> . REGNUM CAELORUM. Euangelium siue Christus	<...> propter <u>Sanctum spiritum</u> <...> <u>REGNUM CAELORUM</u> . <u>Euangelium</u> siue ecclesia siue Christus	<...> id est propter <u>Spiritum sanctum</u> , qui propter Deum se <u>pauperes</u> faciunt <...>. <u>REGNUM CAELORUM</u> (5,3). <u>Euangelium</u> , siue ecclesia <...> siue ipse Christus, uel ipsum regnum.
21 <...>i proximis non inuident inferioribus, aequalibus et maioribus. POSSIDEBUNT TERRAM (5,4). Non illam, quae	BEATI MITES (5,4), id est spiritu mites sunt, qui <u>proximis non inuident inferioribus</u> et <u>aequalibus et maioribus POSSIDEBUNT</u> (5,4), non transibunt neque praeteribunt. <u>TERRAM</u> (5,4, <u>non illam quae</u>	BEATI MITES (5,4), id est spiritu mites sunt, qui <u>proximis non inuident inferioribus</u> et similibus et maioribus <...> <u>TERRAM</u> (5,4). <u>Non illam, quae</u>
22 <...>inat, sed de qua Psalm(us) dicit: <i>Credo uidere b(ona) D(omini)</i> et reliqua. Nemo enim terram istam per mansuetudinem, sed per su	spinas et tribulas germinat, sed illam de qua dicitur: <u>credo uidere reliqua</u> (Ps 26,13).	germinat, (Gn 3,18) sed illam de qua dicitur: <u>credo uidere bona Domini et reliqua</u> (Ps 26,13).
23 <...>QUI LUGENT (5,5) Hic luctus non commune lege naturae mortuorum, sed peccatis mortuorum. Sic fleuit Samuel	BEATI QUI LUGENT (5,5). Nunc <u>hic luctus non mortuorum communi lege naturae, sed peccatorum. Sic fleuit Samuhel</u> Saulem.	BEATI QUI LUGENT (5,5). Nunc <u>luctus hic non mortuorum communi lege naturae, sed peccatorum. Sic fleuit Samuel</u> Saulem
24 <...>eos, qui post inmunditiam non egerunt penitentiam Quattuor sunt planctus sanctorum: Cum pro propria pec	<u>Quattuor</u> modis fit <u>planctus sanctorum: cum propria peccata</u> deplorant,	Tria genera fletus <u>sanc-torum sunt: cum peccata sua propria</u> deplorant,

25 <...> fenum cadentes plangunt; cum in peccatis uiuentes flent; cum pro desiderio regni tristes sunt.	cum in infernum <u>cadentes</u> <u>plangunt</u> ; <u>cum in</u> <u>peccatis uiuentes flent</u> ; <u>cum pro desiderio regni</u> caelestis <u>tristes sunt</u> .	cum <u>decidentes in infer-</u> <u>num</u> sine paenitentia lugent, <u>cum uiuentes in</u> <u>peccatis</u> sine Domini uoluntate gemunt. <u>Cum</u> <u>propter regni</u> celestis <u>desiderium</u> toedio con- <u>tristantur</u> .
---	---	--

IV)⁶⁰ London 2b 1*

Line 1: It is clear from Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 that the lemma *Decapoli* from Matth. 4, 25 must have introduced the commentary that follows. There is an additional parallel for *Decapoli* - *decem ciuitatum* in Jerome's *De locis*.⁶¹ *Deca - ciuitas* is found likewise in Stabulensis' *Expositio in euangelium Matthaei*.⁶² The "spiritual" interpretation of *Galilea* in this first line of London 2b 1*, which appears both in Orl. (65) 62 and in Qu. Cod. 127, remains without a source.

Line 2: *Ite baptizate* from Matth. 28,19 probably appeared at the beginning of this line. *De...aci* of London 2b 1* should probably read *Demoniaci*, which is similar to *daemonia* in Orl. (65) 62 and *demonia* in Qu. Cod. 127.

Lines 3-4: The lemma *A Galilea* from Matth. 4, 25 probably introduced this line. In accordance with Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127, *Galilea* was defined as *uolubilitate saeculi/mundi*. Jerome has a similar entry: *Galilaei uolubiles uel rotabiles*.⁶³ The last three letters of line 3, *ser*, might possibly be an abbreviation of *sequebantur*. *Christum sequebantur* is a reading that appears in line 5 of our parallel texts. It seems that *Christum* might perhaps begin line 4 and that the lemma TRANS or DE TRANS preceded IORDANEN. The lacuna after *sunt* in line 4 remains problematic. Löfstedt's note in his apparatus indicates that nine letters are missing after *sunt*. If my conjecture concerning the reading *Christum sequebantur* above is incorrect, then it might be possible to suggest that *Christum sequebantur* or some abbreviation for these two words preceded *Alii imperfecti*.

Line 5: The unusual exegesis at Matth. 5,1 found in London 2b 1* and which is extant in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 - *non unius uoluntatis* - is preserved in two other Matthew commentaries, Vindob. 940,⁶⁴ 40^u and Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 45.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ LÖFSTEDT (p. 149) has noted that at the beginning of each line of this section there is a lacuna of 15-20 letters: "Am Anfang jeder Zeile sind 15-20 Buchstaben abgeschnitten."

⁶¹ HI loc 116, 29-30 (150)

⁶² PL 106.1301-1302

⁶³ HI nom Lc 64, 25 (140)

⁶⁴ Wendepunkte 17, I

⁶⁵ Wendepunkte 22

Lines 6-11: It is perhaps more correct to include the last two words of line 6 - *Hanc predicationem* - in the passages from Augustine's *cons. euang.* that follow.⁶⁶ Löfstedt's *quam* at line 11 should be corrected to *quem*.

Lines 12-15: Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 paraphrase Jerome's *In Mattheum* 5,1⁶⁷ very freely in lines 12 and 13, whereas London 2b 1^v follows Jerome more closely and includes a passage in line 14 that both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 lack.

Lines 16-17: The categories *actualem* and *theoricam* seem to have been commonly used in Matthew commentaries of the ninth century. If we compare London 2b 1^v to Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127, the term *theoricam* must have also been part of London 2b 1^v. For *actualem uitam* and *teoricam vitam*, cf. Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 30 and Vindob. 940, 17^u. Concerning *Sessio Iesu* in the second part of line 16, Cassiodorus likewise offers a similar interpretation: *Nam sessionem istam ad incarnationem Domini pertinere manifestum est, quae adhuc illo tempore non uidebatur effecta*.⁶⁸ Line 17 is very similar to what we read in Hrabanus Maurus: *Et aperiens os suum, fortassis ipsa mora commendat aliquanto longiorem futurum esse sermonem. Non ergo vacat quod nunc eum dictum est aperuisse os suum, qui in lege veteri aperire solebat ora prophetarum. Per os quoque verius designatur homo*.⁶⁹

Lines 18-23: The first part of line 18 also appears in Hrabanus: *Quod autem dicit, docebat eos, per auctoritatem doctrinae divinam ostendit naturam, quae humanam in se suscipere dignata est formam, per quam doceret*.⁷⁰ Löfstedt has noted that beginning with *BEATI PAUPERES SPIRITU* in line 18 we have a passage from Jerome's *In Mattheum* that continues up to *egerunt penitentiam* in line 24.⁷¹ I suggest that the lacuna of six letters after *naturam* that Löfstedt noted in his apparatus was probably *Aliiter*, a term for introducing the interpretation of another author. Sedulius Scottus introduced Jerome's exegesis of Matth. 5,3 with precisely this adverb.⁷² Both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 lack line 19 of London 2b 1^v. At line 20 a better reading for *per* might possibly be *propter*, the reading of Jerome that both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 transmit.

Lines 24-25, *Quattuor - tristes sunt* are indeed from Hrabanus: *Notandum autem quod quattuor modis fit planctus sanctorum, cum priora peccata deplorant, cum in infernum cadentes plangunt, cum in peccatis viventes, cum pro desiderio regni coelestis admodum tristes fiunt, et quattuor species lacrymarum natura continet*.⁷³ The lacuna of five letters after *penitentiam* is possibly *modis*, as in the text above from Hrabanus.

⁶⁶ AUG Ev 2, 19, 45 (145, 4-5.21-22 ; 146, 22-147, 3); AUG Ev 2, 19, 47 (147, 21-148, 4.7-8)

⁶⁷ HI Mt 5, 1 (23-24, 413-422)

⁶⁸ CAr Ps 9, 5 (98, 90-91)

⁶⁹ HRAB Mt 794 B

⁷⁰ HRAB Mt 794 B

⁷¹ HI Mt 5, 3 (24, 425-430); HI Mt 5, 4 (24, 434-437; 441sq.); HI Mt 5, 5 (24, 444 - 25, 448)

⁷² SED Mt 5,3 (132, 35)

⁷³ HRAB Mt 796 A

V (London) = 2 ^b II ^r	Orl. (65) 62, ff. 77 - 79	Qu. Cod. 127, 28 ^b - 29 ^a
1 tione<m> habet dubiam, sic<ut> iudicium, nec condemnati pena<m>, sic<ut> concilium, sed certa est et damnatio et pena damnati [Mora]	Gehennae uero ignis nec damnationis habet dubiam sicut iudicium nec condemnati poenam sicut concilium; sed certa est et damnatio et poenati et damnati. MORALITER.	Gehennae uero ignis nec dampnationem habet dubiam sicut iudicium nec condemnati poenam sicut concilium; sed certa est et damnatio et poena damnati. Moraliter.
2 IUDICIO (5, 22), id est penitentia. CONCILIO, ut qui coram multis male loquitur, coram multis corripiatur. GEHENNA, id est compunctione.	REUS ERIT IUDICIO (5,22), id est iudicabitur in poenitentia. <...> sic coram omnibus confutetur. GEHENNA compunctione cordis	REUS ERIT IUDICIO (5,22), id est iudicabitur paenitentia. <...> sic coram omnibus computetur. GEHENNA compunctione cordis
3 SI OFFERAS MUNUS TUUM et reliqua (5,23). Non dixit 'si tu aliquid habes aduersus fratrem', sed "Si frater habet aliquid aduersum te", ut dur<ior>	HABET ALIQUID ADEURSUM TE (5,23), id est ut durior	HABET ALIQUID ADEURSUM (5,23), id est si te in aliquo affecit, ut durior
4 reconciliationis inponatur necessitas. Tunc enim habes aliquid aduersus eum, si ille te lesit. In quo non opus est pergere ad reconcilian->	reconciliationis inponatur necessitas. Siue "aliquid habet", id est si tu illum in aliquo lesisti, tunc enim habes aliquid aduersus eum; si ille te leserit in quo non opus est pergere ad reconcilian-	reconciliationis tibi inponatur necessitas. Siue "aliquid habet", id est si tu illum in aliquo lesisti, tunc enim tu habes aliquid aduersum eum; si ille te laeserit in quo non opus est pergere ad reconcilian-
5 dum. Non enim ueniam postulabis ab eo, qui tibi fecit iniuriam, sed tantum dimittis, sicut dimitti cupis. UADE PRIUS RECONCILIARE et r<eliqua> (5,24)	dum; non enim ueniam postulabis ab eo, qui tibi fecit iniuriam, sed tantum dimittis sicut dimitti cupis. UADE PRIUS RECONCILIARE. (5,24).	dum; non enim ueniam postulabis ab eo, qui tibi fecit iniuriam, sed tantum dimittis, sicut et tibi dimitti cupis. UADE PRIUS (5,24).
6 Si ad litteram accipias, "Uade", si praesens fuerit frater tuus; diutius enim differri non potest, cum munus ante altare relinquere iub<earis>.	Si ad litteram accipias, "Uade", si praesens fuerit frater tuus; diutius enim differri non potest, cum munus ante altare relinquere iuberis.	Si ad litteram accipiatur, ita fieri oportet si praesens est frater tuus. Diutius enim deferri non potest "cum munus ante altare" relinquere iuberis.

7 Si uero absens et ultra mare constitutus, absurdum esse puto, ut munus relinquo et per terras mariaque ad querendum fratrem perg<as>.	<u>Si uero absens et ultra mare constitutus, absurdum esse puto, ut munus relinquo et ter<ra> mariaque ad querendum fratrem pergas.</u>	<u>Si uero absens fuerit frater et trans mare constitutus, absurdum est putare ut munus relinquo et terras mariaque ad querendum fratrem pergas.</u>
8 Itaque spiritaliter accipiendum est: Templum nostrum est interior homo, cuius altare fides. Munus doctrina uel oratio uel ps<almus>.	<u>Itaque spiritaliter accipiendum est: Templum nostrum est interior homo, cuius altare fides est. Munus doctrina uel oratio uel psalmus.</u>	<u>Itaque spiritaliter accipiendum est: templum nostrum interior homo est. "Altare" fides, "munus" doctrina, uel oratio, uel psalmus.</u>
9 "Uade", non gressibus corporis, sed animae motibus, "reconciliare", ut est <i>quod ex uobis est, cum omnibus hom(in)ibus pac(em) hab(ab)entes</i> ; non inflati superbia hoc<c facit>	<u>"Uade", non corporis gressibus, sed animae motibus, "reconciliare", ut est <i>quod ex uobis est cum omnibus</i>, reliqua (Rom 12,18). <u>Non inflatu spiritu superbiae hoc facit</u></u>	<u>"Uade" animi scilicet motibus. RECONCILIARE (5,24), ut: <i>quod ex uobis est, cum omnibus pacem</i> (Rom 12,18). <u>Non inflati superbiae spiritu, hi possunt hoc facere.</u></u>
10 unt, sed <i>pauperes spiritu</i> , ESTO CONSENTIENS A(DUERSARIO) T(UO) (5,25), non tantum Christiano, uerum etiam extraneo. Aduersarius iuxta historiam>.	<u>unt. <i>Beati enim pauperes spiritu</i> (Mt 5,3). ESTO CONSENTIENS ADUERSARIO TUO (5,25). Praedixit de fratre, nunc de aduersario dicitur, <u>non</u> cum baptizatis, <u>uerum etiam</u> cum <u>extraneis</u> beneficiamus. "Aduersario" <u>iuxta historiam</u></u>	<u><i>Beati enim pauperes spiritu</i> (Mt 5,3). ESTO CONSENTIENS ADUERSARIO TUO (5,25). Praedixit de fratre, nunc de aduersario dicit, ut <u>non</u> solum cum baptizatis, <u>uerum etiam</u> <u>extraneis</u> beneficiamus. "Aduersario tuo" <u>iuxta historiam aduersarius</u></u>
11 exactor Romanus est, cui seruire debemus, ut est illud: Secundum uero Hieronimum simpliciter intellegi debet, quod Dominus, cum	<u>exactor Romanorum est. DUM ES IN UIA CUM EO (5,25), id <u>seruis</u> ei.</u>	<u>exactor Romanorum est. DUM ES IN UIA CUM EO (5,25), id est dum <u>seruis</u> ei.</u>
12 istius seculi uia currimus, ad pacem nos et concordiam cohortetur. "Esto consen(tiens)", id est 'esto beniuolus diabolo', de <quo>	<u>"<u>Esto consentiens aduersario tuo</u>", id est <u>esto beniuolus diabolo, de quo</u></u>	<u>Aliter. "<u>Esto consentiens aduersario</u>", ut <u>quidam dicunt, esto beniuolus diabolo, de quo</u></u>
13 dic(itur): <i>aduersarius uester diabolus</i> et	<u>Apostolus ait: <i>aduersarius noster diabolus</i> (I</u>	<u>Apostolus dicit: <i>aduersarius noster diabolus</i> et</u>

reliqua. Et quomodo beniuoli diabolo esse possumus - ubi beniuolentia, ibi concordia -,	Petri 5,8). <u>Et quomodo beniuoli esse diabolo possumus. Ubi enim beniuolentia, ibi concordia,</u>	<u>reliqua</u> (I Petri 5,8). Sed quomodo beniuoli esse diabolo possumus. Ubi enim beniuolentia, ibi concordia,
14 cum illi in exordio bellum indicere iubemur? Tunc consentimus ei, cum nec facimus eum pro nobis penas sustinere, cum ipse	<u>cum illi in exordio bellum indicere iubemur? Tunc consentimus ei, cum nec facimus eum pro nobis penas sustinere, cum ipsa uita</u>	<u>cum illi in exordio bellum indiximus? Tunc consentimus ei, cum nec facimus eum pro nobis penas sustinere, cum ipse</u>
15 suadet. Uel aduers(arius) noster homo est; noli adfligere hominem. Uel aduers(arius) noster Dominus est, cum superbi sumus et impii; <i>Deus superbis resisti</i> <t>.	<u>suadet. Uel aduersarius homo est, id est noli adfligere hominem. Uel aduersarius noster Dominus est, cum superbi sumus et impii. Deus enim superbis resistit.</u> (Iac 4,6; I Petri 5,5)	<u>suadet. Aliter. "esto consentiens aduersario", id est aduersarius homo est, id est noli adfligere eum <...> Aduersarius noster Deus est, cum superbi sumus et impii. Deus enim superbis resistit.</u> (Iac 4,6; I Petri 5,5)
16 Item aduersarium dicimus uerbum Dei, quod aduersatur desideriis carnis nostrae. IN UIA (5,25), id est in presenti uita. IUDEX, id est Christus. M<INSTR>.,	<u>Aduersarius noster sermo diuinus est, qui aduersatur peccare uolentibus. Ipse autem consentit, qui diligit et seruat eum. "Dum es in uia" cum eo, id est quod ipse Dominus ubique est Iudici Christo. Pater enim non iudicat quemquam et reliqua (Io 5,22). "Ministro".</u>	<u>Aduersarius noster sermo diuinus est, qui aduersatur peccare uolentibus. Ipse autem consentit, qui diligit et seruat eum. "Dum es in uia" mandatorum. (Ps 118,32) "Iudicii". Iudicem intelligo Christum. Pater enim non iudicat quemquam et reliqua (Io 5,22). "Ministro".</u>
17 id est angeli. CARRER infernus. DONEC (5,26) hic pro 'semper' accipitur. NOUISSIMUM Q(UADRANTEM). Quadrans genus est nummi, in quo duo minut<a>.,	<u>Angeli accesserunt et ministrabant ei (Mt 4,11). "In carcerem", id est in poenas inferni. Siue de conscientia dicitur. DONEC REDDAS NOUISSIMUM (5,26). Quadrans genus est nummi, in quo duo minuta</u>	<u>Angelis uidelicet ut est: ecce angeli accesserunt et ministrabant ei (Mt 4,11). "In carcerem". In poenas uidelicet tenebrarum <...> "Donec" autem pro 'semper' dicitur <...> DONEC REDDAS NOUISSIMUM QUADRANTEM (5,26). Quadrans est genus nummi, in quo duo minuta.</u>

18 id est 'Non exies, donec etiam minima uel minuta peccata persoluas'. Siue "nou(issimus) quad(rans)" terrena peccata sunt. IIII enim pa<rtibus>	<u>'non exies' donec etiam minima uel minuta peccata persoluas. Siue 'nouissimus quadrans' peccata terrena sunt. Quattuor enim partibus</u>	Hoc ergo dicit: <u>'non exies'</u> (5,26) de carcere, <u>donec minima peccata persoluas. Siue 'nouissimus quadrans' peccata terrena</u> intelligantur. <u>Quattuor enim partibus</u>
19 mundus consistit: Terra igne aqua aere; ac si diceret: 'Semper lues terrenae uoluntatis peccata'.	totus <u>mundus consistit</u> , ut primo incipias in caelo. II <u>aerem</u> dicas; III <u>aquam</u> ; IV <u>terram</u> . "Donec" pro semper dicitur, <u>ac si diceret: Semper lues poenas terrenae uoluntatis.</u>	totus <u>mundus consistit</u> , ut incipias a caelo; secundum <u>aerem</u> dicas; tertiam <u>aquam</u> ; quartam <u>terram</u> . "Donec" autem pro semper dicitur, ut: <u>donec ponam</u> et reliqua (Ps 109,1), <u>ac si diceret: Semper lues poenas terrenae uoluntatis.</u>
20 QUI UIDERIT MUL(IEREM) AD C(ONCUPISCENDUM) E(AM) (5,28). Ergo qui uiderit mulierem et anima ... fuerit tit<il>-lata, hic propassione percussus est. Si uero <co->	Due uisiones sunt, id est oculorum et cordis, quae <u>propassio</u> passioque dicuntur.	IAM MECHATUS IN CORDE (5,28). Due uisiones sunt, id est oculorum et cordis, quae <u>propassio</u> passioque ab Hieronimo nuncupantur.
21 gitatione consenserit et affectum fecerit, ad passionem <tr>ansiuit; huic non uoluntas, sed occasio deest. Si aspex<erit>.		
22 ut concupiscat, ut facere disponat, recte dicitur MECHATUS EST EAM IN CORDE SUO. OCULUS DEXTER (5, 29) desiderium animae est, <cor->	Oculus enim dexter est quicquid cum mentis dilectione homo <u>concupiscit</u> . <...> Siue " <u>oculus dexter</u> " <u>desiderium animae est, cor-</u>	"Oculus dexter" est quicquid cum mentis delectatione <u>concupiscit</u> homo. Siue " <u>oculus dexter</u> ". <u>Desiderium animae "oculus dexter" est, cor-</u>
23 poris uero concupiscentia oculus sinister est. ERUE (5, 29), id est ut non exeat uidere mulierem ad concup(iscendum), ut per eam perspectus uisionis, in quo uitium..	<u>poris uero concupiscentia oculus sinister est. ERUE</u> (5,29). <u>Ne exeat etiam uidere mulierem. UT PEREAT UNUM</u> (5,29), <u>pereat profectus uisionis, in quo uitium</u>	<u>poris uero concupiscentia oculus sinister est. ERUE</u> (5,29). <u>Noli exire, ut uideas mulierem. UT PEREAT UNUM MEMBRORUM</u> (5,29), <u>ut pereat profectus uisionis tuae, ubi uitium</u>

24 citur. QUAM TOTUM C(ORPUS) (5,29), id est quam omnia bona tua pro uno uitio amittas. Si anima labitur, quanto plus corpus, quod procl<iuius>	nascitur. QUAM TOTUM CORPUS (5,29). Quam omnia opera bona tua pro uno uitio amittas.	nascitur. TOTUM CORPUS MITTATUR IN GEHENNAM (5,29). Quam omnia opera bona tua pro uno uitio perdantur.
25 "Si oculus tuus scand(alizat) t(e)", id est si magister tuus prauo exemplo uel doctrina seducere uelit, reiciendus est.		

V)⁷⁴, London 2b II'

Lines 1-8: Löfstedt's apparatus identifies the revelant passages from Augustine's *De sermone Domini* and Jerome's *In Matheum*. The last word of line 1, however, must be *moraliter*, as in Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. At line 2 both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 also explain *Iudicio* as *penitentia* and expand *Gehenna* to *compunctio cordis*, but there are no extant sources.

Lines 9-12a: *Non - pauperes spiritu* (9-10) is from Augustine.⁷⁵ The exegesis of *ESTO CONSENTIENS - Romanus est* (10-11) is very similar to that of Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. For *exactor Romanorum* in line 11, cf. Lc 12, 58. Löfstedt identified the text from Jerome that begins with *Dominus* in line 11 and ends with *cohortetur* in line 12.⁷⁶

Lines 12-16: Löfstedt's note on lines 12-16 is not exact. There are only echoes of Augustine's *De sermone Domini* in these 4 lines. For *esto - diabolus* (12-13), cf. HI Mt 1 (29, 570.581-82); *Et quomodo - iubemur* (13-14), cf. AUG s dni 1, 11, 31 (32, 689-96); *Tunc - suadet* (14b-15a), cf. HI Mt 1 (30, 584-86); *Aduersarius homo* (15), cf. AUG s dni 1, 11, 31 (32, 686.688.699). Löfstedt's note on line 16 is incorrect. For *desideriis carnis nostrae*, cf. Eph. 2,3. Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 59 glosses *in via* of Matt. 5,25 as *id est in vita huius mundi*, an interpretation which is similar to *id est in presenti vita* (line 16).

Lines 17-19: *Donec - semper* (17) is found in AUG s dni 1, 11, 30 (32, 679-680). For *Nouissimum - persoluas* (17-18), cf. HI Mt 1 (30, 598-99); For *terrena peccata* and *quattuor partibus* (18), cf. AUG s dni 1, 11, 30 (31, 660); *Mundus - peccata* (19), cf. AUG s dni 1, 11, 30 (31, 661-665).

⁷⁴ LÖFSTEDT (p. 152): "Am Ende der Zeilen fehlen bisweilen ein paar Buchstaben."

⁷⁵ AUG s dni 1, 10, 28 (30, 637-38)

⁷⁶ HI Marth. 1 (29, 564sq.)

Lines 20-23: After the Jerome passage that Löfstedt cites as a parallel to lines 20-22 – *Qui uiderit - corde suo*⁷⁷ – the remaining section of line 22 and the beginning of line 23, *Oculus dexter - sinister est*, is found in Sedulius.⁷⁸ Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 59 contains this same interpretation of Matth. 5,29. A marginal symbol in Würzburg indicates that Jerome is the author of this exegesis of *oculus*, but there seems to be no extant source.

Lines 23-25: Both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 offer very close parallels to *Erue - ammittas* in lines 23-24. The source is unknown. Löfstedt has identified *Si - procluius* to be from Jerome, cf. HI Mt 1 (31, 626sq.), but line 25 still remains sourceless. Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 lack this passage entirely.

VI (London) = 2b II ^r	Orl. (65) 62, ff. 79 - 82	Qu. Cod. 127, 29 ^b - 30 ^b
1 <stul>rus esto mundo, ut sis sapiens Deo. Petrus in libris Clementis loquitur de hoc testimonio dicens: "Si oculus tuus dexter	"Erue". <u>Stultus esto mundo, ut sis sapiens Deo</u> (1 Cor 3,18). <u>Petrus in libris Clementis loquitur de hoc testimonio dicens: "Si oculus tuus dexter</u>	<u>Stultus esto mundo, ut sis sapiens Deo</u> (1 Cor 3,18).
2 <sca>ndalizat te". Non dixit: 'Si scandalizauit te', ut posteaquam peccaueris, tunc abicias causam peccati, sed "Si scandalizat te", hoc est	<u>scandalizat te". Non dixit: 'Si scandalizauit te', ut posteaquam peccaueris, tunc abicias causam peccati, sed "Si scandalizat te", hoc est</u>	
3 <ut> antequam pecces, causam peccati prouocantis te et irritantis abicias. Ne quis autem putet, fratres, quod membrorum amputatio-	<u>ut antequam pecces, causam peccati prouocantis te et irritantis abicias. Ne quis autem putet, fratres, quod membrorum amputatio-</u>	
4 <n>em mandauerat Dominus, propositum in hoc uult resecari, non membra et causas, quae ad peccatum inliciunt. SI AUTEM DEXTERA MANUS (5, 30),	<u>nem mandauerat Dominus, propositum in hoc uult resecari, non membra et causas, quae ad peccatum inliciunt. DEXTERA MANUS (5, 30),</u>	

⁷⁷ HI Mt 1 (31, 609-617)

⁷⁸ SED Mt 5,29 (163, 55-56)

5 <....>ies, id est si frater uel amicus tuus TE SCANDALIZAT, id est si tibi impedimento est ad ueram beatitudinem, erue, id est huiusmodi portionem	<u>"Oculus dexter" frater uel amicus tuus</u> (est). <u>"Scandalizat te"</u> . Si tibi <u>impedimento est ad ueram beatitudinem</u> . <u>"Erue"</u> . <u>Huiusmodi truncare portionem</u>	<u>"Oculus dexter" frater</u> siue omnis <u>amicus</u> est. <u>"Scandalizat te"</u> . Si tibi <u>impedimento est ad ueram beatitudinem</u> . <u>"Erue eum"</u> . Truncare <u>istius modi portionem</u>
6 <....> debet, qui uice membri te administrat. TOTUM CORPUS, id est quam tu per consensionem pereas. Melius est enim solitariam uitam ducere	<u>Debes</u> . "Unum membrorum". Qui <u>uice membri te amministrat</u> . <u>"Totum corpus" quam tu per consensionem pereas</u> . <....> <u>Melius est</u> , id est <u>solitariam uitam ducere</u>	<u>debemus</u> . "Unum membrorum". Qui <u>uice membrorum te administrat</u> . <u>"Totum corpus" quam tu per consensionem perdaris</u> <....> DEBILEM (18,8). <u>Melius est enim uitam solitariam ducere</u>
7 <qu>am ob uitae praesentis necessaria aeternam uita<m> perdere, DICTUM EST ANTIQUIS et reliqua (5, 31). Moyes libellum dari iussit propter duritiam	<u>quam ob uitae praesentis necessaria aeternam uitam perdere</u> . DICTUM EST (5,31), non dicit <u>antiquis</u> (Mt 5,21), <....> Sed <u>Moyse</u> permisso ad incredulos <....>	<u>quam ob uitae praesentis necessaria aeternam uitam perdere</u> . DICTUM EST (5,31), non dicit <u>antiquis</u> (Mt 5,21), quia <u>Moyse</u> permisit <u>propter incredulitatem populi ut libellus repudii daretur</u> .
8 <co>rdis eorum, non discidium concedens, sed auferens homicidium. In ueteri lege multas ob causas uxor dimittebatur; si leprosa, si sterilis	DET LIBELLUM REPUDIUM (5,31). <u>Non discidium concedens, sed auferens homicidium</u> <....> QUI DIMISERIT UXOREM EXCEPTA FORNICATIONIS CAUSA (5,32). <u>Multis causis in ueteri uxor dimittebatur: si leprosa si sterilis</u>	DET LIBELLUM REPUDIUM (5,31). <u>Non discidium concedens, sed auferens homicidium</u> <....> QUI DIMISERIT UXOREM EXCEPTA FORNICATIONIS CAUSA (5,32). <u>Multe cause erant in ueteri pro quibus liber repudii daretur: si leprosa, si sterilis</u> .
9 <si> fornicaria. In nouo uero fornicationis tantum causa excipitur. Quaeritur, quomodo abiecta manebit. Paulus ait: <i>His, quae</i>	<u>si fornicaria</u> reliqua (Sir 9, 10). <u>In nouo uero fornicationis tantum causa excipitur</u> . <u>Quaeritur, quomodo abiecta uxor manebit</u> . Paulus ait: <u>eis quae</u>	<u>si fornicaria</u> (Sir 9, 10). <u>In nouo uero una tantum fornicationis ponitur causa</u> . <u>Quaeritur, quomodo abiecta uxor manebit</u> . Apostolus Paulus ait: <u>eis quae</u>
10 <nu>ptae sunt praecipio, non ego, sed Dominus, uxorem a u(iro)	<u>nuptae sunt praecipio, non ego, sed Dominus, mulierem a uiro non discede-</u>	<u>nuptae sunt praecipio, non ego, sed Dominus, mulierem a uiro non discede-</u>

<i>non d(iscedere); m(ane- re) i(nnupta) aut uiro reconcil(iari). Sed quae- ritur, si alia causa habe- tur, qua licet</i>	<i>re; quod si discesserit, manere innuptam aut uiro reconciliari (1 Cor. 7,10sq.). Sed queren- dum, si alia causa habe- tur, qua liceret</i>	<i>re; quod si discesserit, manere innuptam aut uiro suo reconciliari (1 Cor. 7,10sq.). Iterum quaeritur, si alia causa habetur, qua liceret</i>
11 <u>xorem alteri uiro coniungi uiuente pri- mo. Nimirum III. Pri- mo necessitas per uim matrimonium non separat alicuius causa, sicut	<u>uxorem alteri uiro coniungi uiuente pri- mo. Nimirum III. Pri- mo necessitas per uim matrimonium non separat. Alicuius causa sicut</u>	<u>uxorem alteri uiro coniungi uiuente pri- mo. Tres habentur. Pri- mo: necessitas per uim matrimonium non separat; secundo: ali- cuius profectus causa, sicut</u>
12 <Sa>rra fecit, ne Abraham a rege iniquo occideretur. Uel etiam in nouo, ubicumque libido, sed magna cari- tas apparet sistere,	<u>Sarra fecit, ne Abraham a rege iniquo occideretur. Uel etiam in nouo, ubicumque libido, sed magna caritas apparet</u>	<u>Sarra, ne Abraham a rege iniquo occideretur fecit; tertio: sicut in Nouo, <...> ubi libido nulla et magna mariti caritas erat.</u>
13 sicut de Isaac et Iacob legitur. Quae tamen exempla non ad uiuendi regulam usur- panda sunt. Quaeritur quoque, quomodo non dimit-	<u>si sterilis sicut de Abraham et Iacob legi- tur. Quae tamen exem- pla non ad uiuendi re- gulam usurpanda sunt. Quaeritur quomodo Dominus non dimit-</u>	<u>Siue si sterelis esset, sicut de Abraham et Iacob legitur. Quae tamen exempla non ad uiuendi regulam usur- panda sunt. Item quae- ritur quomodo non dimit-</u>
14 <ti> uxorem iobet, cum alibi ait: <i>Qui uenit ad me et non odit patrem</i> et reliqua. Id est debet diligere in ea, quod homo eiusdemque na- turae est, odire uero quod	<u>ti uxorem iubet, cum alibi ait: <i>Qui uenit ad me et non odit patrem et matrem et uxorem</i> (Luc 14,26), id est diligere in ea, quod homo huius- dem naturae est, odire uero quia</u>	<u>ti uxorem Dominus iubet, cum alibi dicit: <i>qui uenit ad me et non odit patrem et uxorem et reliqua</i> (Luc 14,26). Hoc est diligere in ea quod homo eiusdem naturae est. Odire uero quod</u>
15 <u>xor est, scilicet corruptibilem morta- lemque copulationem; siue, quod sublimius est, sequi Deum quam matronam. Quaeritur, si similis causa sit	<u>uxor est, scilicet corrup- tibilem mortalemque copulationem adferens. Siue quod sublimior est, sequi Deum quam matronam. Quaeritur, si similis causa</u>	<u>uxor est, scilicet corrup- tibilem mortalemque copulationem adferens. Siue quia sublimius est sequi Deum quam matronam. Item quae- ritur si similis est causa</u>

16 <mu>lieris euntis et uiri adsumentis. Similis causa est horum IIII, id est uiri proicientis propriam et mulieris uenientis postea ad eum	<u>mulieris euntis et uiri adsumentis</u> aliam. <u>Similis causa IIII</u> , id est <u>uiri proicientes propriam et mulieris uenientis postea ad eum</u>	<u>mulieris euntis</u> ad alterum uirum <u>et uiri adsummentis</u> mulierem in adulterium. <u>Similis est causa trium</u> eicientis et euntis et adsumentis.
17 <e>t uxoris euntis ad alterum uiuente uiro et uiri adsumentis eam in adulterium. ITERUM AUD(ISTIS) NON PERIURABIS (5,33). Hic quasi quidam com-	<u>et uxoris euntis ad alterum uiuente primo et uiri adsumentis eam in adulterium</u> <...> <u>ITERUM AUDISTIS: NON PERIURABIS</u> (5,33). <u>Hic quasi quidam con-</u>	<...> <u>ITERUM AUDISTIS: NON PERIURABIS</u> (5,33). <u>Hic quasi quidam con-</u>
18 <mi>xtus ordo uerborum. Hic este ordo: "Non periurabis" NEQUE PER CAELUM et reliqua (5,34). Putabant enim Iudei non teneri iure iurando, si per	<u>mixtus ordo uerborum</u> est. <u>Hic est autem ordo. "Non periurabis" NEQUE PER CAELUM et reliqua</u> (5,34). <...> <u>Putabant enim Iudei non teneri iure iurando, si per</u>	fessus, sermo <u>est "non periurabis"</u> . <u>NEQUE PER CAELUM et reliqua</u> usque NIGRUM (5,34-36) <...> <u>Putabant enim Iudei non teneri iure iurando, si per</u>
19 <cr>aturas iurarent. Audierant enim: REDDES DOMINO IURAMENTA TUA (5,33). Ideo Dominus docet nihil esse tam uile in creaturis, ut per eas quisque	<u>creaturas iurarent. Audierant enim "reddes Domino iuramenta tua"</u> . <u>Ideo Dominus docet nihil esse tam uile in creaturis, ut per eas quisque</u>	<u>creaturas iurarent. Audierant enim "reddes Domino iuramenta tua"</u> . <u>Ideo Dominus docet nihil esse tam uile in creaturis, ut per eas quisque</u>
20 <periu>randum arbitretur; cuncta etenim Domino adtinent. Cum enim iurat, aut ueneratur aut diligit aut timet, per quod iurat. Ideo ne	<u>periurandum arbitretur. Cunctae enim Domino attinent, <...> Qui iurat, aut ueneratur aut diligit aut timet per quod iurat. Ideo ne</u>	<u>periurandum arbitretur. Cunctae enim Domino attinent, <...> Qui iurat, aut ueneratur aut diligit aut timet [per quod timet] per quod iurat. Ideo nec</u>
21 creaturae uenerarentur, per ipsum Dominum praeceptum fuit iurandi.... caelum non Deus, sed sedes eius est, terra non Deus, sed scabellum, Hierusalem non Deus,	<u>creaturae uenerarentur, per ipsum Dominum praecipitur iurandum. "Caelum" enim non Deus sed sedes eius est. "Terra" non Deus, sed "scabellum". "Hierusalem" non Deus</u>	<u>creaturae uenerarentur obsequio Dei per ipsum Deum iurandum. "Caelum" enim non Deus sed cathedra eius est. "Terra" non Deus, sed "scabellum". "Hierusalem" non Deus</u>
22 <sed> ciuitas regis, caput non Deus, sed principale membrum	<u>sed ciuitas regis, caput non Deus, sed eius colores. Colores prouult</u>	<u>sed ciuitas regis. "Caput" uerticem capitis</u> (Is 1,6). Alii adorant

.....est. EGO AUTEM DICO TIBI NON IURARE (5,34). Sicut loqui falsum non potest, qui non lo-	motat. " <u>Ego autem dico</u> ecce apex. " <u>Non iurare</u> ". <u>Sicut loqui falsum non potest, qui non lo-</u>	quod <u>non Deus</u> est. Non enim ipsum colores mutat, sed Deus. " <u>Ego autem dico uobis</u> " ecce apex. " <u>Non iurare</u> ". <u>Sicut falsum loqui non potest, qui non lo-</u>
23 <qu>itur, sic periurare non potest, qui non iurat. EST, EST, NON, NON (5,37). Ideo autem iteratur, ut firmitus fiat; siue ut ostenderet idem ore	<u>quitur, sic periurare non potest, qui non iurat. EST, EST, NON, NON</u> (5,37). Sufficiat dicere est quod est, non est quod non est.	<u>quitur, sic periurare non potest, qui non iurat. EST, EST, NON, NON</u> (5,37). Sufficiat uobis dicere <est> quod est, non est quod non est. Bis dicitur pro corde et ore pro duobus testibus, prout <u>firmius fiat</u> pro sermone et <u>ore</u> .
24 <et c>orde. HIS ABUNDANTIUS A MALO (5,37), id est cum ore, aliud corde loquens, quod a demone instituitur. Siue "his abundantius"	<u>HIS ABUNDANTIUS A MALO</u> (5, 37). <...> Aliud ore, aliud corde loquens, quia a <u>daemone instituitur</u> . Siue " <u>his abundantius</u> ", si	<u>HIS ABUNDANTIUS A MALO</u> (5, 37). <...> Aliud ore, aliud corde dicendo, quod sine dubio a <u>daemone</u> agitur. Siue " <u>his habundantius a malo</u> ", id est si
24 <q>uid plus exigitur, quia hoc a malo auditoris increduli est, siue a malo confirmantis, cuius sermoni nemo credit. Non enim dicit	<u>quid plus exigitur, quia hoc a malo auditoris increduli est, siue "his abundantius a malo" confirmantis, cui sermoni nemo credit. <...> Non enim dicit</u>	<u>quid plus exigitur, quam hoc "a malo" auditoris est</u> , qui non facile credit quod ei dicitur. Siue "his habundantius a malo est": a malo dicentis, cui non facile <u>creditur. Non dicit</u>

VI)⁷⁹ London 2b II*

Lines 1-4: London 2b II* and Orl. (65) 62 faithfully transmit a passage from Rufinus' *Prologus in Clementis Recognitiones*; Löfstedt has identified the passage as *Clem.* 7, 37, 4 (ed. REHM, GCS 51, p. 215, 10-15). Qu. Cod. 127 entirely omits the passage. The reading *abicias* (as opposed to Clement's *abscidas*) appears in both Mss.

⁷⁹ LÖFSTEDT (p. 154): "Ein paar Buchstaben sind am Anfang jeder Zeile abgeschnitten."

Lines 5-9: For *erue - debet* (5-6), cf. HI Mt 1 (31-32, 630-31) There is no source for *qui vice - pereas*, which also appears in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. For *melius - perdere* (6-7), cf. HI Mt 3 (159,555-57); *in ueteri - si sterelis* (8), cf. AUG s dni 1, 16, 49 (54, 1152-56); cf. IS off 2, 20, 12 (94, 119-120); cf. Dt 24, 1. For *sterelis* (8), cf. also Gn 16, 1-3 and SED Mt 5,32 (165, 17); A close parallel to *si leprosa - si fornicaria* (8-9) is found in Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 60.

Lines 9-17: For *in nouo - causa*, cf. AUG s dni 1, 14, 39 (42, 908-10); *Paulus - reconciliari*, cf. AUG s dni 1, 14, 39 (42, 914.919-21); *quaeritur - Abraham* (10-12), cf. CCH 46, 7 (186-87);⁸⁰ *Sarra* (12), cf. Gn 12, 10-20; *Abraham* (12), cf. Gn 16, 1-3; *tres - usurpanda sunt* (11-13), cf. SED Mt 5,32 (169-170, 50-62); cf. AUG s dni 1, 16, 50 (55, 1169-92). Löfstedt's note concerning line 13sq. is incomplete. For *quaeritur - reliqua* (13-14), cf. AUG s dni 1, 15, 40 (43, 937-38.941). The source for *id est - copulationem* (14-15) is AUG s dni 1, 15, 41 (45, 977-979). There are no known sources for *quod sublimius sqq. - adulterium* (15-17), even though the exegesis preserved in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 is a faithful parallel. *Hic quasi - ordo* (17-18) remains sourceless, but the lacuna before *ordo* must be *autem*.

Lines 18-22: Löfstedt has identified *Putabant - arbitretur* to be from Augustine.⁸¹ *Cuncta - adtinent* is attested in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127 as an introductory comment to Augustine's reflection that follows *arbitretur*. Löfstedt has identified Jerome as the source of *cum - quod iurat* (20)⁸². Much of the language of lines 21 and 22 comes from this same section of Jerome, lines 648sqq:

In lege praeceptum est ut non iuremus nisi per Dominum Deum nostrum. Iudaei per angelos et urbem Hierusalem et templum et elementa iurantes, creaturas resque carnales uenerabantur honore et obsequio Dei. Denique considera quod hic Saluator non per Deum iurare prohibuerit, sed per caelum et terram et Hierosolimam et per caput tuum.

I suggest that Löfstedt's *iurandi*.... should read *iurandum* in conformity with Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127, and that a full stop be placed immediately after *iurandum*. The following sentence should then read: *Caelum non Deus <est>, sed sedes eius est. Terra non Deus <est>, sed scabellum. Hierusalem non Deus <est>, etc.*

Lines 22-24: A possible remedy to the lacuna (22) that Löfstedt noted is *corporis*. In Haymo Halberstatensis, *Homiliae*, we read the following: *Quia sicut a capite membra corporis reguntur, ita et mente cogitationes discernuntur. Et sicut caput principale membrum est corporis, ita et mens principatus cordis.*⁸³ For *Sicut - non iurat* (22-23), Löfstedt has noted Augustine⁸⁴ and for *idem ore et corde* (23-24), he has identified the passage from Pseudo-Jerome.⁸⁵ For *aliud ore aliud corde*, line 24, cf. AUG Ps 57, 5 (712, 4-5).

⁸⁰ *Collectio Canonum Hibernensium*. Hermann Wasserschleben, 2nd. Ed., Leipzig (1885).

⁸¹ AUG s dni 1, 17, 51 (59, 1273-1275; 1278-60, 1280)

⁸² HI Mt 1 (32, 647-648)

⁸³ PL 118.22 C

⁸⁴ AUG s dni 1, 17, 51 (57, 1226-28)

⁸⁵ PS-HI Ev 547 A

<p>VII (Tokyo) = 2a II'</p> <p>1 malum est, sed "a malo", id est ab infidelitate seu mendacio. OCULUM PRO OCULO (5,38). Qui enim dicit "oculum pro oc(ulo)", non unum uult auferre, sed utrumque</p>	<p>Orl. (65) 62, ff. 82 - 84</p> <p><u>"malum est" sed "a malo"</u> ut supra diximus. <u>OCULUM PRO OCULO</u> (5,38). <...> <u>"Oculum"</u> inquit <u>"pro oculo"</u>, non utrumque <u>uult auferre, sed utrumque</u></p>	<p>Qu. Cod. 127, 30^b - 30^b</p> <p><u>"malum est" sed "a malo"</u> ut supra diximus. <u>OCULUM PRO OCULO</u> (5,38). Hieronimus ait: <u>"Oculum pro oculo"</u>, non utrumque <u>uult auferre, sed utrumque</u></p>
<p>2 seruare. Dominus noster uicissitudinem <tollen>s truncat initia pec<cat>orum. In lege retributio est, in euangelio gratia; ibi culpa emendatur, hic</p>	<p><u>seruari.</u></p>	<p><u>seruari.</u></p>
<p>3 peccatorum auferuntur exordia. MALO (5,39), id est homini. SI QUIS TE PERCUSSE<RI>T IN D(EXTERAM) M(AXI-MILLAM)(5,39). Imitare iubemur eum, qui dixit: <i>Discite a me, quia mitis s(um)</i> et <reliqua>.</p>	<p><u>MALO</u> (5,39), <u>id est homini. SI QUIS TE PERCUSSE<RI>T</u> (5,39) heret NON RESISTERE (5,39). <u>Discite a me, quia mitis sum</u> reliqua (Matt. 11,29).</p>	<p><u>MALO</u> (5,39), uidelicet homini siue operi. <u>SI QUIS TE PERCUSSE<RI>T IN DEXTERAM</u> (5,39). Ac si diceret: <u>Discite a me, quia mitis</u> (Matt. 11,29).</p>
<p>4 Mistico uero intellectu percussa dextera nostra non iubemur sinistram prebere, sed ALTERAM, hoc est alteram dexteram. Iustus enim sinistram non habet.</p>		
<p>5 Si nos hereticus in disputatione percusserit et dextrum dogma uoluerit uulnerare, opponatur ei aliud de Scripturis testimonium,</p>	<p><u>Si quis te percusserit, si te hereticus</u> in Scriptura percutit, PRAEBE ILLI ALTERAM (5,39), id est <u>aliud</u> ex <u>Scripturis</u> diuinis ei <u>inpone</u>.</p>	<p><u>Si te hereticus in disputatione</u> canonis percutit, PRAEBE ILLI ALTERAM (5,39), id est <u>aliquid de Scripturis</u> testimonium <u>opponere</u>.</p>
<p>6 et succedentibus dextris mitigetur ira inimici. Et aliter: Si homo exterior affligatur, ignoscat homo interior.</p>	<p>Si quis te percusserit in dextera maxilla, cum <u>homo exterior affligitur</u>, sed altera, id est <u>ignoscat homo interior</u>.</p>	<p>Siue "dextera maxilla". Cum <u>homo exterior affligitur</u>, "praebe alteram", id est <u>homo interior ignoscat</u>.</p>
<p>7 QUI UULT TECUM IUD(ICIO) CONTENDRE (5,40), id est non</p>	<p><u>QUI UULT TECUM IUDICIO</u> (5,40), <u>id est non solum</u> praebere debes</p>	<p><u>Lucas</u> (6,29) <u>autem uersa uice</u> sic ait: <u>qui aufert</u></p>

solum prebere debes alteram, sed etiam sustinere iudicantem te. Lucas autem uersa uice sic ait: <i>Qui aufert</i>	<u>alteram, sed etiam sustine<re> iudicantem te.</u> <u><...> Lucas autem uersa uice sic ait: <i>Qui aufert</i></u>	
8 <i>tibi uestimentum, tunicam ne prohibueris.</i> Tonica enim uestis interior, pallium uero exterior, id est ut nemo honestatem uel frigus excus-	<u><i>tibi uestimentum, tunicam ne prohibueris.</i></u> <u>"Tonica" enim uestis interior. "Pallium" uero exterior est, id est ut nemo honestatem uel frigus excus-</u>	<u><i>tibi uestimentum, tunicam ne prohibueris.</i></u> <u>"Tonica" uestimentum interius est. "Pallium" uero exterius, id est ut nemo honestatem uel frigus excus-</u>
9 aret, ut uestimentum suum alterius esset; sed hoc de homine siue seruo. Qui hoc de necessariis imperat, quid de superfluis faciemus?	<u>aret, ut uestimentum suum alterius esset; sed hoc de homine siue seruo,</u> quem faciendum imperare non audeo, cum eum Domino subdendum potes. Et si haec <u>de necessariis imperat, de superfluis quid faciemus?</u>	<u>aret, ut uestimentum suum de iure suo in alterius ius transiret. Sed de homine, quem habes, siue seruo</u> sic faciendum imperare non audeo, cum eum Domino subdendum putes. Sed cum haec <u>de necessariis imperet, de superfluis quid faciemus?</u>
10 Aliter. Tunicam omnis doctor aufert, cum a te interiora peccata deposcit, et tunc exteriora peccata deposcit, et tunc exteriora confiteri delicta. Aliter. Qui a te exi-	<u>Aliter. "Tunicam". Omnis doctor aufert, cum ab eo interiora peccata confiteri deposcit et tunc exteriora confiteri delicta. Aliter. Qui a te exi-</u>	<u>Aliter. "Tunicam". Omnis doctor aufert tunicam hominis, cum ab eo interiora peccata confitenda deposcit. "Pallium", id est tu exteriora confitere peccata.</u>
11 git animam tuam, DIMIT(TE) EI ET PALLIUM (5,40), id est corpus in martirii passione. QUI TE ANGARIAUERIT (5,41), id est: Non solum dimitte uestimenta.	<u>git animam meam DIMITTE EI PALLIUM TUUM (5,40), id est corpus in martyrii passionibus.</u> QUI TE ANGARIAUERIT (5, 41), <u>non solum dimitte uestimenta</u>	Siue tunica <u>anima</u> intelligitur, <u>pallium</u> corpus. " <u>Dimitte</u> ", ut <u>martyrium</u> patiatur. QUI TE ANGARIAUERIT MILLE (5,41).
12 sed et te ipsum concede ei. UADE, non tam pedibus quam animo sis paratus. ALIA DUO (5,41), id est II tantum milia fiant, siue II super unum, ut III	<u>sed et te ipsum concede ei. UADE, non tam pedibus quam animo sis paratus. ALIA DUO (5,41), id est ut duo tantum milia fiant, siue duo super unum, ut tres</u>	Hoc <u>non</u> tam <u>pedibus</u> , quam ut <u>paratus animo sis. ALIA DUO (5,41)</u> , id est ut <u>duo fiant, siue duo super unum</u> adde, <u>ut tres</u>

13 sint. Sicut enim tria exempla perfectionis enarrauit, sic et hoc nouissimum trino concludit numero: "Si quis te percusserit et q(ui)	<u>sint. Sicut enim tria exempla perfectionis enarrauit, sic et hoc nouissimum trino concludit numero</u> , id est "Si quis te percusserit et ei	fiant. <u>Sicut enim perfectionem tribus exemplis enarrat, sic nouissimum uerbum trino numero concludit</u> , qui <u>numerus perfectus est</u> , id est <u>si quis te percusserit, et ei</u>
14 qui uult et qui angari(auerit)" Quaeritur, cur tria milia specialiter ad iter posuit, cum facilius sit solummodo pergere quam percuti et nudari.	<u>qui uult, et qui te angarizauerit</u> (Mt 5,39-41). Quaeritur, cur tria milia specialiter ad iter posuit, quod <u>facilius solummodo pergere percuti et nudari</u> .	<u>qui uult, et qui te angarizauerit</u> et reliqua (Mt 5, 39-41).
15 Iste duobus milibus pergit, qui corpore et anima angariantem comitatur; tertium autem uadit, cum isdem addito spiritu, hoc est martirii	Siue iste duobus milibus pergit, qui corpore et anima angarizantem comitatur; tertium autem uadit, cum hisdem addito spiritu, hoc est martirii	Cum autem duo milia fiunt, duobus milibus <pergit>, qui corpore et animo angariantem comitatur.
16 genere, delectatur. QUI PETIT A TE, DA EI (5,42). Si hoc de elymosina intellegimus dictum, in plerisque pauperibus stare non potest. Sed et	genere, delectatur. QUI PETIT, DA EI (5,42) heret QUI UULT TECUM reliqua (5,40) Nunc leuiores docet <u>si de elemosina intellegatur stare non potest</u> .	QUI PETIT A TE, DA EI (5,42). <u>Si de elemosina intelligatur, stare non potest</u> .
17 diuites si semper dederint, semper dare non poterunt. Sed de sapientia dicitur, quae cum data fuerit, numquam deficit. <i>Gratis enim accepistis,</i>	Diuites enim si semper dederint, semper dare non poterint. Sed de scientia dicitur, qui cum data fuerit, numquam deficit.	Diuites enim <u>si semper dederint, semper dare non poterunt. Sed de sapientia dicitur, quae cum data fuerit, numquam deficit</u> .
18 ait, <i>gratis date</i> . Siue "Qui petit", tribue, si potes, tribue quod petitur; si autem iniuste petit, corripe, ut non uacuuus a te uadat.	Siue "Qui petit", si potes, tribue quod petitur; si non autem iniuste petit, corripe, ut non uacuuus a te uadat.	Si potes quod petit, da. Si non, etiam iniuste petentem corripere.
19 UOLENTI MUTUARE (5,42), id est non solum gratis tribuas petita, sed ne mutuari rennuas. DELIGES PROXIMUM ET	UOLENTI MUTUARE A TE (5,42), non solum gratis tribuas petita, sed ne mutuari rennuas. DELIGES PROXIMUM (5,43)	UOLENTI MUTUARE A TE NE AUERTARIS (5,42). <...> DELIGES PROXIMUM TUUM (5,43)

ODIO HAB(EBIS) INIMI- CUM (5,43). Non	14-28 H. 53 (2A) H. 50	41-22 (6,40) H. 51
--	------------------------	--------------------

VII) Tokyo 2a II'

Lines 1-3: The last element of line 25 above from London 2b II' - *Non enim dicit* -, is obviously connected to the beginning of Tokyo 2a II' - *malum est sed "a malo"*. This text is an echo of a reflection in from Augustine.⁸⁶ *Qui - exordia* is from Jerome's *In Matheum*, as Löfstedt has noted in his apparatus.⁸⁷

Lines 4-6: Löfstedt has identified *mistico - inimici* (4-6) to be from Jerome.⁸⁸ The last section of line 6, *Si - interior*, is attested in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127. There is another parallel in Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 61: *dextera maxilla cum homo exterior affligitur, praebere illi alteram, i.e. homo interior noster ignoscat*.

Line 8: For a reference to *id est - excusaret*, see the passage in the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*.⁸⁹

Line 9: Löfstedt has identified the last section of line 9, *Qui - faciemus*, to be a reference to Bede.⁹⁰ Bede, however, is quoting Augustine.⁹¹

Line 10: In his apparatus Löfstedt indicated his uncertainty concerning the reading *et tunc*. The very same reading is attested in Orl. (65) 62.

Line 11: For an further echo of *animam - martirii*, see the parallel in W. Strabo's commentary on Matthew: *Vel, tunica est anima, quam si quis perdere noluerit, dimittat pallium, id est, corpus ad martyrium*.⁹²

Lines 12-14: *Non - paratus* (12) is clearly a reference to AUG s dni 1, 19, 61 (70, 1526-27), as Löfstedt has noted. *Alia duo - angarizauerit* (12-14) is likewise echoed in Augustine.⁹³ Löfstedt's comment concerning line 13 that the final *q(ui)* ought to be deleted is perhaps unnecessary. It is more likely that the reading should be *ei*, as in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127.

Lines 16-17: *Si - poterunt* is indeed from Jerome, as Löfstedt has noted.⁹⁴ For *numquam deficit*, see the very same paragraph of Jerome.⁹⁵

Line 18: For an echo of this passage in Augustine, cf. AUG s dni 1, 20, 67 (76-77, 1672.1677-1680).

⁸⁶ AUG s dni 1, 17, 51 (59, 1261-65)

⁸⁷ HI Mt 1 (33, 662-666)

⁸⁸ HI Mt 1 (33, 679-34, 685)

⁸⁹ CAN Hib 42, 4 (163)

⁹⁰ BED Lc 6,29 (144, 1728sq.)

⁹¹ AUG s dni 1, 19, 59 (69, 1495-96)

⁹² PL 114.97 B

⁹³ AUG s dni 1, 19, 61 (70-71, 1532-41)

⁹⁴ HI Mt 1 (34, 687-88)

⁹⁵ HI Mt 1 (34, 692)

<p>VIII (Tokyo) = 2a II^r</p> <p>1 QUI SOLEM SUUM ORIRI FACIT (5,45). Ita superioribus iungendum est: Sequimini Dominum, qui amicos inimicosque simili creaturarum officio diligit.</p>	<p>Orl. (65) 62, ff. 85 - 87</p> <p><u>QUI SOLEM SUUM ORIRI</u> reliqua (5,45). Ita <u>superioribus iungendum</u>: <u>Sequimini Domi-num</u> (Deut. 13,4), <u>qui amicos inimicosque simili creaturarum officio diligit</u>.</p>	<p>Qu. Cod. 127, 30^{ab} - 31^{aa}</p> <p><u>QUI SOLEM SUUM</u> (5,45). Sicut <u>superioribus iungit sequimini Deum</u>, (Deut. 13,4) <u>qui amicos inimicosque simili creaturarum officio diligit</u>.</p>
<p>2 Per duo nos decet, id est solem et pluuiam, in quibus tres naturae habentur, ut frigidi b....., calidi compassionem, humidi praedicamento</p>	<p><u>Per duo nos decet, id est solem et pluuiam, in quibus tres naturae habentur, ut frigidi malis, calidi compassionem, humidi praedicando</u></p>	<p><u>Per duas res nos docet, id est solem et pluuiam, in quibus tres naturae abentur, ut frigidi malis, calidi compassionem, humidi praedicando</u></p>
<p>3 simus, et ut simus siccari a uitiis et impleamus illud ...deris malum et reliqua et Si sitierit inimicus tuus et reliqua. QUAM MERCEDEM HABEBITIS? (5,46),</p>	<p><u>simus et siccari a uitiis et impleamus illud: cum uideri[mu]s nudum, reliqua</u> (Is 58,7) <u>et Si sitierit inimicus tuus, reliqua</u> (Prv 25,21). <u>QUAM MERCEDEM</u> (5,46),</p>	<p>auarissimis inimicis nostris, <u>et impleamus illud: cum uideris nudum et reliqua</u> (Is 58,7) <u>et Si sitierit inimicus tuus et reliqua</u> (Prv 25,21). <u>QUAM MERCEDEM</u> (5,46).</p>
<p>4 id est nullam in futuro, quia in praesenti ab hominibus recepi(stis). NONNE ET PUPRICANI (5,46). Hoc nomine Iudaei exactores Romanos uocant, qui de re publi-</p>	<p><u>ET PUPRICANI</u> (5, 46). <u>Hoc nomine Iudaei exactores Romanos uocant, qui de re publi-</u></p>	<p><u>PUPRICANI</u> (5,46). <u>Exactores Romanorum a Iudaeis hoc nomen acceperunt, qui de re publi-</u></p>
<p>5 ca curam habent siue qui a Publio rege ordinati sunt. Publicani autem sunt, qui sectantur lucra, exigunt uectigalia per ne-</p>	<p><u>ca curam habent siue quia a Publio rege ordinati sunt. Publicani autem sunt, qui sectantur lucra, exigunt uectigalia per ne-</u></p>	<p><u>ca curam habent, siue qui a Publio rege ordinati sunt. Publicani autem sunt, qui sectantur lucra, exigunt uectigalia per ne-</u></p>
<p>6 gotiationes et fraudes et furta scelerataque periuria. SALUTAUERITIS (5,47), dicentes Aue uel Pax tecum. ETNICI (5,47) G(rece), 'gentilis' Latine.</p>	<p><u>gotiationes et fraudes et furta scelerataque periuria. SALUTAUERITIS</u> (5, 47), <u>dicentes Aue uel Pax tecum. etnici</u> (5, 47) <u>grece, gentilis, ethna enim gens.</u></p>	<p><u>gotiationes et fraudes et furta scelerataque periuria. SALUTAUERITIS</u> (5,47), <u>dicentes 'aue' uel 'pax tecum'. ETHNICI</u>(5,47), <u>gentiles, ethna gens.</u></p>

7 ESTOTE ERGO PERFECTI (5,48). Subauditur: si perfectam cupitis habere mercedem. ADTENDITE, NE IUSTITIAM U(ESTRAM) F(ACIATIS) (6,1). Quaeritur, quomo(do) praedixit	<u>ESTOTE ERGO (5,48). Si magnam cupitis mercedem. <...> ADTENDITE <...> NE IUSTITIAM UESTRAM (6,1). Quaeritur, quomodo praedixit</u>	<u>ESTOTE ERGO (5,48), id est si cupitis mercedem. IUSTITIAM UESTRAM. <...> (6,1) <...> Sed quaeritur, quomodo praedixit</u>
8 <i>Sic luceat lux uestra et reliqua</i> ; id est Non ibi finem propositi colloce-mus uel ideo recte aga-mus, ut uideamur ab hominibus, sed ut glori-ficetur Deus.	<u><i>sic luceat uester et reliqua (Mt 5,16). Id est non ibi finem propositi colloce-mus, ut ideo recte aga-mus, ut uideamur ab hominibus, sed ut glori-ficetur Deus.</i></u>	<u><i>sic luceat uester et reliqua (Mt 5,16). Id est non ibi finem propositi colloce-mus, ut ideo recte aga-mus, ut uideamur ab hominibus.</i></u>
9 CUM ERGO FACIS ELY-MOSINAM (6,2). EL MUCINA G(rece), 'miseri-cordia' Lat(ine). NOLI TUBA CANERE (6,20), id est noli uelle hominibus innotescere, quia non	<u>CUM ERGO <...> ELMO-SINA (6,2), misericordia. NOLI TUBA CANERE (6,20), noli sic uelle homi-nibus innotescere.</u>	<u>ELEMOSINA (6,2), Grece 'misericordia'. NOLI TUBA CANERE (6,2). "Noli" sic uelle homini-bus innotescere.</u>
10 uirtus, sed causa uir-tutis habet apud Deum mercedem. HYPOCRITAE G(rece) 'simulatores', qui quodlibet faciunt, ut ab hominibus	<u>HYPOCRITAE (6,2), Grece 'simulatores'.</u>	<u>HYPOCRITAE (6,2), Grece 'simulatores'.</u>
11 uideantur et glorifi-centur. NESCIAT SINIS-TRATUA (6,3). Sinistra dilectio est laudis huma-nae, dextera uero imple-tio praecep-	<u>NESCIAT SINISTRATUA (6,3). <...> "Sinistra" delectatio laudis huma-nae; "dextera" uero impletio praecep-</u>	<u>NESCIAT SINISTRATUA QUID FACIAT DEXTERA (6,3). "Sinistra" delecta-tio laudis humanae intelligitur; "dextera" uero impletio praecep-</u>
12 ti diuini intellegitur, id est Noli commiscere impletioni precepti di-uini laudis humanae concupiscentiam. Siue sinistra car-	<u>ti diuini intellegitur, id est Noli commiscere impletioni precepti di-uini laudis humanae concupiscentiam. Siue sinistra car-</u>	<u>ti diuini. Hoc est non misceas impletioni prae-cepti diuini laudis hu-manae concupiscentiam. Aliter. "Sinistra" car-</u>
13 nalis fragilitas, dexte-ra uero mentis intentio, ut quicquid boni mens uoluerit, fragilitas hu-mana non impediatur.	<u>nalis fragilitas, dextera uero mentis intentio, ut quicquid boni mens uoluerit, fragilitas hu-mana non impediatur.</u>	<u>nis fragilitas, "dextera" uero mentis intentio, id est quicquid boni mens uoluerit, fragilitas hu-mana non impediatur.</u>

14 Siue sinistra uita presens, dextera uita futura, ut quicquid boni ad futurae uitae profectum uolueris parare, propter lucrum	<u>Siue sinistra uita presens, dextera uita futura, ut quicquid boni ad futurae uitae profectum uolueris parare, propter lucrum</u>	
15 presentis seculi non perdas. IN ABSCONSO (6,4), id est qui potentia diuinitatis suae cuncta latentia cernit. IN ANGULIS PLATEARUM (6,5), id est quae in	<u>presentis seculi non perdas. IN ABSCONSO (6,4) <...> IN ANGULIS PLATEARUM (6,5). "Anguli platearum" sunt quae in</u>	<u>IN ANGULIS PLATEARUM (6,5). "Anguli platearum" sunt quae in</u>
16 medio urbis, in quadriuiis fiunt. STANTES (6,5) consuetudine orandi, siue in id stat animus, ut uideantur ab hominibus. RECEPERUNT	<u>medio urbium (Ez 29,12) in quadriuiis fiunt. STANTES (6,5) consuetudine orandi, siue in id stat animus, ut uideantur ab hominibus (6,5).</u>	<u>medio urbium (Ez 29,12) in quadriuiis fiunt. STANTES (6,5) consuetudine orandi, siue in id stat animus, ut uideantur ab hominibus (6,5).</u>
17 MERCEDEM SUAM (6,5), id est non Dei mercedem, sed "suam"; laudati sunt enim ab hominibus, quorum causa exercuerunt uirtutes. TU AUTEM CUM	<u>TU AUTEM (6,6).</u>	<u>TU AUTEM (6,6).</u>
18 ORABIS (6,6). Ad omnem ecclesie cetum loquitur. IN CUBICULUM (6,6), id est iuxta historiam; siue in cordis secretum. CLAUSO HOSTIO (6,6), id est iuxta historiam;	<u>Ad omnem ecclesiae coetum loquitur. IN CUBICULUM (6,6), id est iuxta historiam; siue in cordis secretum. CLAUSO HOSTIO (6,6), iuxta historiam;</u>	<u>Ad omnem aecclesiae communionem loquitur. IN CUBICULUM (6,6) iuxta historiam; siue in cordis secretum. CLAUSO HOSTIO (6,6), iuxta historiam;</u>
19 siue ore clauso corde ad Deum loquere, sicut de Anna legitur; siue hostium cordis claudendum, ut nihil carnalis laudis	<u>siue ore clauso ore corde ad Dominum loquere, sicut de Anna dicitur: labia eius, reliqua (I Reg. 1,13); siue hostium cordis claudendum, ut nihil carnalis laudis desiderio cor tuum ingrediatur.</u>	<u>siue ore clauso et corde a<d> Dominum loquere. Sicut de Anna dicitur: labia eius et reliqua (I Reg. 1,13). Siue hostium cordis cludendum, ut nihil carnalis desiderii laudis ingrediatur.</u>

VIII) Tokyo 2a II*

Line 1: There is another parallel in Würzburg, M.p.th., p. 61: *Sequimini Deum, qui amicos et inimicos pari creaturarum officio exercet*. For *Sequimini Deum*, cf. Deut. 13,4.

Line 2: The lacuna in Löfstedt's text is probably *malis*, as in both Orl. (65) 62 and Qu. Cod. 127: *frigidi malis, calidi compassione*, etc.

Line 3: The first Biblical text in this line should read *uideris nudum* et reliqua (Is 58,7).

Lines 4-6: For *de re publica curam habent. qui - negotiationes* (4-6), cf. IS ety 9, 4, 32 (4-6). There is a parallel for *Publicani - ordinati* (4-5) in W. Strabo's Matthew commentary.⁹⁶ The section *Publicani - periuria* (5-6) comes from Jerome.⁹⁷ The etymology *etnici - gentiles* can be found in Isidore.⁹⁸

Line 8: *Id est - hominibus*, cf. AUG s dni 2, 1, 2 (93, 54-57).

Lines 9-10: *Misericordia*, cf. AUG s 207 PL 38.1043 A. For *noli - innotescere*, cf. AUG s dni 2, 2, 5 (95, 89-90). Löfstedt has identified *non - mercedem* as a passage from Jerome.⁹⁹ *Hipocritae Grece simulators*, cf. IS ety 10, H, 118 (10-11).

Lines 11-12: *Sinistra - concupiscentiam*, cf. AUG s dni 2, 2, 8 (99, 179-86).

Line 14: *Sinistra uita - futura*, cf. AUG Ps 136, 15 (1973, 12-13).

Line 16: *Ut uideantur ab hominibus*, Matt. 6,5, should be written as a lemma.

Line 17: This text from Jerome is included in Löfstedt's apparatus.¹⁰⁰

Line 18: For *cubiculum - secretum*, cf. Vindob. 940, 50'; *cubiculum cordis secretum*, cf. AUG Io 10, 1 (100, 24-26); cf. AUG s dni 2, 3, 10 (101, 234). For a biblical echo, cf. Ps. 4,5: *quae dicitis in cordibus uestris in cubilibus uestris concupiscimini*.

Line 19: *Anna*, cf. HI Mt 1 (36, 738). The biblical reference to 1 Reg. 1,13 has been identified by Löfstedt.

⁹⁶ PL 114.98 B

⁹⁷ HI Mt 3 (161-162, 625-627)

⁹⁸ IS ety 8, 10, 3 (14-16)

⁹⁹ HI Mt 1 (35, 721 sq.)

¹⁰⁰ HI Mt 1 (35, 730 sq.)

Summary

Bengt Löfstedt's *Fragmente eines Matthäus-Kommentars*, an editio princeps of two bifolia housed in Tokyo and in London, has allowed the author to compare the fragments edited by Löfstedt with parallels from Frigulus' Matthew commentary, Qu. Cod. 127, and with another Matthew commentary, Orl. (65) 62. The author has attempted not only to improve upon Löfstedt's edition by resolving some of the lacunae in the fragments, and to add various patristic and biblical sources and/or parallels to Löfstedt's apparatus, but more importantly has suggested by his study that the two bifolia edited by B. Löfstedt form part of a series of recensiones of a major commentary on Matthew's Gospel.

Das Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris in der Handschrift Angers B. M. 303

von
C. WOLLIN
(*Buchholz in der Nordheide*)

Reinhold Wolff zum 6. 5. 2003

1. Matthäus von Vendôme, der mutmaßliche Verfasser des *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris*

Das alttestamentliche Buch Tobit, eine altorientalische Variante des Märchens vom dankbaren Toten, berichtet uns vom Schicksal des im assyrischen Exil in Ninive lebenden Israeliten Tobit und seines Sohnes Tobias. Der gesetzestreue Tobit erfüllt seinen verstorbenen Landsleuten gegenüber die Begräbnispflicht, wobei er sein eigenes Leben gefährdet und sich der Verfolgung durch die Assyrer aussetzt. Nach seiner Erblindung durch Špatzenkot schickt Tobit seinen Sohn Tobias zu seinem Geschäftsfreund Gabaël in der medischen Stadt Rages, der schon seit Jahren für ihn sieben Zentner Silberstücke in Beuteln aufbewahrt. In Begleitung des Engels Rafaël, der Menschengestalt annimmt und sich ihm gegenüber als sein Landsmann Asarja ausgibt, macht Tobias sich auf den Weg nach Medien. Der Engel übernimmt hier die Funktion des Toten, der seinen Wohltäter begleitet und ihm durch Ratschläge hilft. Auf der Reise fängt Tobias im Tigris einen großen Fisch, dessen Galle, Herz und Leber er auf die Anweisung des Engels hin aufbewahrt. Mithilfe des Fischherzens gelingt es ihm, Sara, die Tochter seines Verwandten Raguël in Ekbatana, vom Dämon Aschmodai zu befreien und zu heiraten. Nachdem der Engel während der Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten das bei Gabaël hinterlegte Silber abgeholt hat, reisen Tobias, Sara und Rafaël nach Ninive zurück. Dort heilt Tobias die erblindeten Augen seines Vaters mit der Fischgalle.

Schließlich gibt sich auch Rafaël als Engel Gottes zu erkennen und nimmt Abschied. Im letzten Kapitel des Buchs stehen die Abschiedsworte Tobits und der Bericht von seinem Tod. Nachdem einige Zeit später auch seine Mutter gestorben ist, verlässt Tobias mit seiner Frau Sara Ninive und zieht zu seinem Schwiegervater Raguël nach Ekbatana. Dort stirbt er selbst nach dem Tod der Schwiegereltern im hohen Alter von 117 Jahren (nach der Vulgata sind es nur 99 Jahre).

Die Nachricht vom Tod des Tobias, die in der Vulgata nur einen Satz einnimmt (*Tob. 14, 16 Et completis annis nonaginta nouem in timore Domini cum gaudio sepelierunt eum.*), hat im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts der mittellateinische Dichter Matthäus von Vendôme in seinem *Tobias*, einer umfangreichen epischen Bibeldichtung von 2226 Versen, zu einem langen und rhetorisch ausgefeilten *planctus* ausgeweitet (Z. 1961-2030). Der Dichter versucht, den Tod des Tobias als Ende des irdischen und zugleich Beginn des himmlischen Lebens darzustellen. Das Mittel dazu findet er in den rhetorischen Figuren der *interpretatio* und *correctio*: jede Aussage über das Sterben des Tobias wird sogleich im Hinblick auf das ewige Leben verbessert. Aus dem *planctus* sei ein längerer Ausschnitt (Z. 1983-2002) zitiert¹:

Tobie sunt plura necis solatia: lumen perpetuum, iugis uita, iocosa quies.	
Non moritur, sed mutantur fluitantia certis, terra polo, gemitus pace, salute dolor;	1985
ad solem radius, ad patrem filius, exul ad patriam, uictor ad diadema redit;	
iustus obit, nec obit, sed abit; sed ab hospite migrans carne petit patriam deliciasque patris;	1990
iustus obit, nec obit: obit orbe, renascitur astris, et iocunda nouum sidera sidus habent;	
magnus erat, modo maior erit, sed maximus orbe, orbe bonus, melior, optimus astra petit;	
doctrina Moyses, alter Daud, alter Helyas, orbe Iacob, celis Israel, astra colit;	1995
exul erat, modo ciuis erit, nec obit, sed obedit patri, dum patrie, dum patris optat opes;	

¹ Hrsg. von Franco MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* I-III (Storia e letteratura 144, 152, 171; Roma 1977 / 1982 / 1988); der *Tobias* steht in Bd. 2, 159-255.

quippe pater patrie, pater et patriarcha, patronus,
 immo patrociniū legis obire nequit; 2000
 non moritur: poteritne mori, cui fama perorat,
 laus loquitur, redolet fructus, habundat honor?

Interessant ist gerade diese Stelle, weil sie bemerkenswerte sprachliche Übereinstimmungen mit einem *Epitaphium Bernardi Silvestris*² aufweist, die allerdings Franco Munari, dem verdienten Herausgeber des Matthäus von Vendôme, entgangen sind, da das *Epitaphium* bis heute unveröffentlicht geblieben ist. Überliefert ist es einzig in der Handschrift 303 (294) der Bibliothèque municipale in Angers (= A). Dort steht auf fol. 127v von einer Hand des (frühen?) 13. Jahrhunderts geschrieben folgendes Distichon:

Epitaphium Bernardi Silvestris.

Non Bernardus obit, sed abit; non interit, i<m>mo
 incipit; hospes erat, amodo ciuis erit.

Leider bietet uns das *Epitaphium* keine neuen Nachrichten oder Daten über das Leben des Bernardus Silvestris. Hinsichtlich des biographischen Informationswerts kann es sich auch nicht entfernt mit dem zeitgenössischen Grabgedicht auf Thierry von Chartres, den Kollegen und Freund des Bernardus, vergleichen lassen³. Weiterhin bleiben Geburts- und Todesjahr des Bernardus Silvestris für uns völlig im Dunkeln. André Vernet hat zwar vermutet, dass Bernardus um 1160, mit Sicherheit aber vor 1178 gestorben sei, da in den Jahren 1178-1184 Gerbert Bonceau, ein Neffe des Dichters, als Erbe und Eigentümer des Hauses des Bernardus in Tours urkundlich auftritt⁴. Für die Literaturgeschichte hilfreich sind solche vagen Daten jedoch kaum.

² Inc. *Non Bernardus obit, sed abit; non interit, immo*; WIC 11981; vgl. Hans WALTHER, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina* I/1. *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen 1969).

³ Inc. *Dignus Aristotilis successor Teodericus*; WIC fehlt; hrsg. André VERNET, *Une épitaphe inédite de Thierry de Chartres*, in: *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* II (Paris 1955) 660-670; wieder in: ID., *Études Médiévales* (Paris 1981) 160-170; ein Faksimile des einzigen Textzeugen (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 923) bietet Édouard JEAUNEAU, *L'âge d'or des écoles de Chartres* (Chartres 1995) 64.

⁴ Leider war mir die Thèse von André VERNET, *Bernardus Silvestris et sa Cosmographie* (Paris, École nationale des chartes 1937) unzugänglich; ich kenne nur den Auszug in *École nationale des chartes, Positions des thèses 1937* (Nogent-

Weit interessanter ist hingegen die Frage, in welchem literarischen Verhältnis das hier zum ersten Mal edierte *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris* zum eingangs zitierten *Tobias* des Matthäus von Vendôme steht. Es lässt sich nämlich beinahe jedes Wort des *Epitaphium* im *Tobias* nachweisen. Um die Texte bequemer vergleichen zu können, nummeriere ich zunächst die drei Sätze des Distichons:

2
Non Bernardus obit, sed abit; non interit, i<m>mo
3
incipit; | hospes erat, amodo ciuis erit.

Der 1. Satz entspricht hinsichtlich der Formulierung und der Stellung im Vers weitgehend der Zeile 1989 des *Tobias*:

iustus obit, nec obit, sed abit; ...⁵

Ebenso stimmt der 3. Satz, d. h. der Versschluss des Pentameters, mit der Zeile 1997 des *Tobias* überein, wobei nur unwesentliche lexikalische Ersetzungen stattfinden (*hospes* statt *exul*, *amodo* statt *modo*):

exul erat, modo ciuis erit, ...

Allein der 2. Satz des *Epitaphium* hat keine wörtliche Entsprechung im *Tobias*. Doch auch er entspricht ganz und gar der Ausdrucksweise des Matthäus, wie wir sie kennen, denn sowohl der syntaktische Einschnitt vor dem Ende des Hexameters und das daraus resultierende Enjambement⁶ als auch der Beginn der *correctio*

le-Rotrou 1937) 167-174. Vgl. auch Peter DRONKE (Hrsg.), *Bernardus Silvestris, Cosmographia* (Textus minores 53; Leiden 1978) 2.

⁵ Das Wortspiel *obire* / *abire* liegt in Epitaphien wohl nahe. Ich fand noch AUSON. *epitaphia heroum* 28, 1-2 "In Diogenis cynici sepulcro in quo pro titulo canis signum est" (Peiper S. 82):

*Dic, canis, hic cuius tumulus? – Canis. – At canis hic quis? –
Diogenes. – Obiit? – Non obiit, set abit.*

⁶ Diese in der Schule des Bernardus Silvestris (vermutlich nach dem Vorbild Hildeberts von Lavardin) verbreitete Besonderheit des Versbaus erhebt Matthäus von Vendôme später geradezu zur Regel, vgl. *ars uers.* 4, 34 ... *uersum siquidem cum sententia numquam uolo uel raro terminari, nisi ibi sit generalis sententia; immo sententia exametri usque ad pentametrum protendatur uel clausule pentametri ab exometro incipiant*. Vgl. dazu auch MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* II (Anm. 1) 42.

mit dem Wort *immo* am Versende⁷ gehören zu den charakteristischen Eigentümlichkeiten seines Stils.

Der Zusammenhang der beiden Stellen lässt sich mit Händen greifen. Doch wie kann er erklärt werden? Wie ich meine, bieten sich zwei Möglichkeiten an:

(1) Ein Schüler oder Nachahmer des Matthäus hat zum Ende des 12. oder noch in den ersten Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts dem *Tobias* Formulierungen und Versteile entnommen, aus denen er das *Epitaphium* zusammenstellte. Gegen diese Erklärung spricht allerdings, dass der *Tobias* erst nach der Publikation der *Alexandreis* Walters von Châtillon, das heißt nach ca. 1179-1180 geschrieben wurde⁸, und damit ein Grabepigramm für den ca. 1160, das heißt gut zwanzig Jahre zuvor verstorbenen Bernardus nicht mehr aktuell gewesen wäre. Zwar ließe sich in diesem Fall an eine Schulübung denken, doch ist nur schwer zu verstehen, warum man dazu nicht eine erst jüngst verschiedene Persönlichkeit wählte.

(2) Matthäus zitiert im *Tobias*, wie so oft, aus eigenen früheren Werken. Da wir aus seinen Selbstaussagen im Prolog zu den metrischen *Epistule* wissen, dass er bei weitem mehr Gedichte geschrieben hat, als uns erhalten sind, und seine Vorliebe für Selbstzitate in den erhaltenen überall sehr ausgeprägt in Erscheinung tritt, weist die Übereinstimmung zwischen beiden Texten auf die Verfasserschaft des Matthäus hin. Hierfür spricht außerdem, dass es nicht einsichtig ist, warum Matthäus gerade dieses, nach Ausweis der Überlieferung seltene und literarisch nicht gerade bedeutende *Epitaphium* eines Zeitgenossen, oder gar eines Schülers, imitiert haben sollte, als er in fortgeschrittenem Alter versuchte, mit seinem

⁷ Die zahlreichen Stellen verzeichnet beinahe vollständig Bruce HARBERT, *Matthew of Vendôme*, in: *Medium Aevum* 44 (1975) 225-237, hier 231.

⁸ Über die Datierung des *Tobias* handeln Edmond FARAL, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1924; Reprint Genf 1982) 11-13 und MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* II (Anm. 1) 24: die Widmung des Gedichts an den Erzbischof Bartholomäus von Tours (pont. 1174-1206) bildet den zeitlichen Rahmen; der Verweis auf die *Alexandreis* in *Tobias* 2109-2110 gibt den ungefähren terminus post quem ca. 1179-1180. Zwar vermutet Munari, dass das Gedicht wahrscheinlich noch vor der Schlacht von Hattin und der Eroberung Jerusalems im Jahr 1187 abgefasst worden sei, doch vermögen die zu diesem Zweck angeführten Indizien kaum zu überzeugen.

Tobias ein episches Gedicht zu schaffen, das sogar der berühmten *Alexandreis* Walters von Châtillon gleichkommen sollte⁹.

Da mir aus den genannten Gründen die zweite Möglichkeit bei weitem plausibler erscheint, möchte ich Matthäus von Vendôme als mutmaßlichen Verfasser des *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris* ansehen. Damit besitzen wir ein neues Zeugnis für die persönliche Verbundenheit des Matthäus mit seinem verehrten Lehrer, der er in seinen *Epistule* (1, 3, 69-72) in den bekannten Zeilen über seine Studien beredten Ausdruck verliehen hat¹⁰:

Me docuit dictare decus Turonense magistri
 Siluestris, studii gemma, scholaris honor.
 Dictando didici, quid scribat amicus amico,
 subiectus domino, mancipioque potens.

2. Das *Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri* des Petrus Riga

An dieser Stelle hatte der Aufsatz ursprünglich ein zufriedenstellendes Ende finden sollen, doch führte mir die Fortuna das *Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri* aus dem *Floridus Aspectus* (A 76) des Petrus Riga (*Pierre la Rigge*) in die Hand, einer Gedichtsammlung, die dieser vermutlich zu Beginn der sechziger Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts angelegt hat¹¹. In dem Gedicht des Petrus weisen die Zeilen 9-10 eine weitgehend wörtliche Übereinstimmung mit unserem *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris* auf¹²:

⁹ Diese Absicht äußert Matthäus in seinem *Tobias* 2109-2110:

*Vobis exametrum desit Galteridos: uti
 pentametris elegis Vindocinensis amat.*

Vgl. MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* II (Anm. 1) 24 und dort die Anm. 11

¹⁰ In dem Gedicht spricht allerdings nicht Matthäus selbst, sondern eine literarische *persona* (ib. 1-2):

*Clericus emeritus studiis ad presulis aures
 dirigit affectu sedulitatis "aue".*

¹¹ Für Texte, Gedichtzählung und Einzelheiten möchte ich hier auf meine in Vorbereitung befindliche Neuausgabe des *Floridus Aspectus* verweisen.

¹² WIC fehlt (*Flor. Asp.* A 76); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1136 (s. 12/13) fol. 55r; hrsg. von BOUTEMY, *Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus* III (Anm. 13) 297 Nr. 7.

Richtungen ist denkbar (die Möglichkeiten 1 und 3). Zudem bleibt auch die genaue Entstehungszeit des Gedichts des Petrus Riga ungewiss. Wie ich vermute ist die Fassung A des *Floridus Aspectus* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1136), in der das *Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri* überliefert ist, eine spätere Aufschwelung des *Floridus Aspectus* O/E (St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 115; London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 2951) durch andere, schon früh entstandene Einzelstücke des Petrus Riga. Dafür spricht unter anderem, dass uns in dem Sondergut von A die frühesten datierbaren Gedichte des Petrus Riga überliefert sind (über den Heiratsvertrag zwischen Heinrich II. von England und Ludwig VII. von Frankreich 1157, über das Papstschiisma 1159).

Die Beurteilung des sich an dieser Stelle neu ergebenden Zusammenhangs wird durch das beinahe vollständige Fehlen von gesicherten Daten zur Biographie der beiden genannten Dichter und vor allem durch die desolate Editionsfrage des *Floridus Aspectus*¹³ erschwert. Um hier klarer sehen zu können, habe ich zunächst einmal das Material durchgesehen und versucht, zuverlässige Anhaltspunkte für eine Erklärung zu finden. Unter Berücksichtigung der enormen Unsicherheiten möchte ich hier einen ersten Versuch unternehmen, das literarische Verhältnis des Petrus Riga zu seinen Zeitgenossen mithilfe einiger gesicherter Daten genauer zu bestimmen.

Jürgen Stohlmann, der unser biographisches Wissen über Petrus Riga in übersichtlicher Form zusammengestellt hat, nennt als

¹³ Teilausgaben von Antoine BEAUGENDRE, *Venerabilis Hildeberti ... Opera* (Paris 1708) 1310-1329 etc. (= PL 171, 1381-1402 etc.); Charles FIERVILLE, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer nos. 115 et 710*, in: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 31, 1 (1884) 49-156; André BOUTEMY, *Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus de Pierre la Rigge [I]. Prolégomènes à une édition de cette anthologie*, in: *Le Moyen Age* 54 (1948) 89-112; ID., *Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus II. Analyse du manuscrit 1136 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, in: *Latomus* 8 (1949) 159-168; ID., *Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus III. Pièces inédites ou peu connues du ms. 1136 de l'Arsenal*, in: *Latomus* 8 (1949) 283-301; Paul E. BEICHNER, *The Floridus Aspectus of Peter Riga and some Relationships to the Aurora*, in: *Classica et Mediaevalia* 30 (1969) 451-481 mit ausführlichen Literaturangaben; einzelne Gedichte sind in verstreuten Aufsätzen publiziert.

Lebensdaten ca. 1145-1209¹⁴. Er vermutet zudem, dass Petrus Riga mit finanzieller Unterstützung des Erzbischofs von Reims und des Grafen Heinrich I. (*le liberal*) der Champagne in Paris, vielleicht in St. Viktor studiert haben könnte. Einen Aufenthalt in Paris im Jahre 1165 bezeugt uns sicher des Petrus Gedicht über die Geburt des französischen Thronfolgers Philipp II. (Augustus) am 21. August desselben Jahres¹⁵. Da Petrus Riga jedoch schon einige Jahre vor diesem Pariser Studienaufenthalt zwei formvollendete Preisgedichte und ein Epitaph¹⁶ auf den Reimser Erzbischof Samson Mauvoisin (pont. 1140-1161) verfasst hat, muss man damit rechnen, dass neben Reims und Paris durchaus noch weitere Studienorte in Frage kommen könnten. Außerdem erscheint mir das Geburtsdatum um 1145 von Stohlmann zu spät angesetzt zu sein. Selbst wenn die Preisgedichte auf den Reimser Erzbischof Samson erst um das Jahr 1160 entstanden sind, möchte ich dennoch im Anschluss an Paul E. Beichner für ein früheres Geburtsdatum um 1140¹⁷, besser noch zwischen 1130 und 1140 plädieren. Ein hohes Lebensalter von siebzig, sogar von über achtzig Jahren ist unter den Autoren des 12. Jahrhunderts durchaus keine Seltenheit; man denke für Frankreich nur an Alanus de Insulis (ca. 1116-1202/03) oder Peter von Blois (ca. 1135-1211/12). Nimmt man ein frühes Geburtsdatum (ca. 1130-1140)

¹⁴ Jürgen STOHLMANN, *Magister Simon Aurea Capra. Zu Person und Werk des späteren Kanonikers von St. Viktor*, in: *Hommages à André Boutemy* (Collection Latomus 145; Bruxelles 1976) 343-366, hier 361-362.

¹⁵ *Flor. Asp.* A 73; *Inc. Regi, regine, regioni gaudeo gaudens*; WIC fehlt; hrsg. H.-François DELABORDE, *Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga sur la naissance de Philippe-Auguste*, in: *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France* 73 (Paris 1884) 121-127; vgl. dazu auch STOHLMANN, *Magister Simon Aurea Capra* (Anm. 14) 360 und Anm. 54.

¹⁶ (1) *Flor. Asp.* A 21; *Versus de laude Sansonis archiepiscopi*, *Inc. Illum qui roseis scintillat ubique tropheis*; WIC 8739; hrsg. Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte*, in: *Neues Archiv* 17 (1892) 349-384, hier 382-383. – (2) *Flor. Asp.* A 20; *Inc. Tange, manus, calamum, Sansonis pinget triumphos*; WIC 19009; (PL 171, 1388 C-1389 B). – (3) *Flor. Asp.* A 77; *Epitaphium Sansonis Archipresulis*, *Inc. Sansonem decuit triplex insigne: uigoris*; WIC fehlt; hrsg. BOUTEMY, *Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus III* (Anm. 13) 297-298 Nr. 8.

¹⁷ Paul E. BEICHNER (Hrsg.), *Aurora, Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata I-II* (Publications in Mediaeval Studies 19; Notre Dame Ind. 1965) XIII.

für Petrus Riga an, so zeigt er sich als Altersgenosse eines Matthäus von Vendôme, Peter von Blois und Walter von Châtillon.

Wie dem auch sei, Petrus Riga benutzt schon vor 1161 in dem eben erwähnten Preisgedicht *Tange, manus, calamum, Sansonis pingue triumphos* (*Flor. Asp.* A 20), den noch vor 1153 vollendeten *Mathematicus* des Bernardus Silvestris, aus dem er hier und auch an anderer Stelle einen Halbvers zitiert¹⁸. Zwar darf man aus der Kenntnis des *Mathematicus* wohl noch nicht auf ein Studium des Petrus Riga in Tours schliessen, doch waren ihm offensichtlich nicht nur die Gedichte Hildeberts von Lavardin, sondern auch die neuesten Dichtungen des Bernardus Silvestris wohlvertraut.

Für ein frühes Geburtsdatum oder zumindest für eine frühe literarische Tätigkeit des Petrus Riga spricht weiterhin, dass Peter von Blois und Matthäus von Vendôme, zwei direkte Schüler des Bernardus Silvestris, schon früh, vermutlich sogar noch vor der ersten Veröffentlichung des *Floridus Aspectus*¹⁹ aus seinen Gedichten zitieren.

¹⁸ *Flor. Asp.* A 20; Inc. *Tange, manus, calamum, Sansonis pingue triumphos* (PL 171, 1388 C-1389 B). Das Schicksal (*sors*) hat den Erzbischof Samson mit soviel Reichtum bedacht, dass es selbst beinahe mittellos zurückbleibt (Z. 19-20):

*Sors equidem uultu sincero candida uenit,
tot succincta bonis pene remansit inops.*

Das Vorbild für den topischen Gedanken (*Natura creatrix*) und die Formulierung des Pentameters bietet die freigebige *Natura* im *Mathematicus* des Bernardus Silvestris (Z. 507-508):

*utiliusque nichil in postera secla reseruans,
prodiga donatrix pene remansit inops.*

Derselbe Halbvers begegnet bei Petrus Riga noch ein zweites Mal in *Flor. Asp.* A 13, 10 (*De uenditione Ioseph*; PL 171, 1384 A; = *Aurora*, *Genesis* 1070). Weitere Anklänge an das Werk des Bernardus werde ich in meiner Neuausgabe des *Floridus Aspectus* (Anm. 11) nachweisen.

¹⁹ STOHLMANN, *Magister Simon Aurea Capra* (Anm. 14) 362 hat die interessante Vermutung aufgestellt, dass der Prosaprolog des *Floridus Aspectus* (PL 171, 1381-1382) nicht, wie man früher allgemein annahm (seit Jean-Barthélemy HAURÉAU, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* [Paris 1882] 3-14), an Erzbischof Samson von Reims (pont. 1140-1161), sondern an den berühmten Reimser Erzbischof Wilhelm *aux blanches mains* (pont. 1176-1202) gerichtet sei. Doch wird sich diese Vermutung sicherlich nicht mit der Frühdatierung der Hs. E (BL Ms. Egerton 2951) vereinbaren lassen. Es ist vielmehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Prosaprolog für den Reimser Erzbischof Heinrich von Frankreich (1162 - 1175) bestimmt war.

Der früheste bekannte Beleg findet sich in den *Flores rethorici* (*Summa Floribus*)²⁰, einer anonym überlieferten *Ars dictandi*, die ich – wenn auch unter Vorbehalt – Peter von Blois zuweisen möchte²¹. Da das Kolophon der ältesten Handschrift das Werk in die Zeit vor 1171 datiert und deutliche Zitate den Einfluss des *Mathematicus* des Bernardus Silvestris erweisen, hat der Herausgeber Martin Camargo die Entstehungszeit der Schrift in dem Jahrzehnt 1160–1170 angesiedelt. Wenn meine Zuschreibung zutrifft, dann überliefern uns die *Flores rethorici* den Stoff, den Peter von Blois in den Jahren 1167–1168 während seiner Tätigkeit als Lehrer des jungen Königs Wilhelm II. von Sizilien (vgl. *epist.* 66) und wenig später, um 1170, als Lehrer der Neffen des Bischofs Jocelin von Salisbury in Paris (vgl. *epist.* 51) benutzt hat. Allein schon die Tatsache, dass Stephan von Perche, ein Neffe des Erzbischofs Rotrou von Rouen, den ungefähr dreißig- bis fünfunddreißigjährigen Peter von Blois im Jahr 1167 als Prinzenenerzieher nach Sizilien mitnahm, lässt darauf schließen, dass sich dieser schon zu Beginn der sechziger Jahre einen guten Ruf als Lehrer und Dichter erworben hatte. Und genau in diesen Zeitraum fällt die Entstehungszeit der *Flores rethorici*. Sie gehören also neben der 1169 an der Kurie im Auftrag Papst Alexanders III. geschriebenen *Instructio fidei catholice ad Soldanum Iconii missa*, den frühen Briefen²² und den 1170–1173 verfassten

²⁰ Hrsg. Martin CAMARGO, *A Twelfth-Century Treatise on Dictamen and Metaphor*, in: *Traditio* 47 (1992) 161–213; vgl. dazu auch Franz Josef WORSTBROCK / Monika KLAES / Jutta LÜTTEN, *Repertorium der Artes dictandi des Mittelalters. Teil I. Von den Anfängen bis um 1200* (Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 66; München 1992) 164–167 Nr. 45 unter dem Titel *Summa Floribus*.

²¹ Vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 128; Turnhout 1998) 106–108. Im Gegensatz zu meinen dortigen Ausführungen wird der aus dem authentischen *Libellus de arte dictandi rhetorice* (Z. 243–244) zitierte Verweis Peters von Blois auf eine früher von ihm verfasste *Summa rethorica* mit Sicherheit nicht auf die *Flores rethorici* bezogen werden können, da diese keine systematische Behandlung der rhetorischen Figuren und Tropen beinhalten. Trotzdem möchte ich angesichts der engen Beziehungen zwischen den *Flores rethorici* und Peters Gedichten an meiner vorgeschlagenen Zuschreibung festhalten.

²² Da die Briefe Peters in der Regel nicht datiert sind, muss jeder Datierung eine nicht zu beseitigende Unsicherheit anhaften bleiben. Rolf KÖHN, *Magister Peter von Blois. Eine Studie zur Bildungsgeschichte der Geistlichkeit in der höfischen Gesellschaft* (Diss. Konstanz 1973) 42–45 nennt, unter Berücksichtigung aller methodischen Bedenken, folgende Briefe: aus dem J. 1169 stammen *epist.* 90 und 93; aus dem J. 1170 die *epist.* 22, 51, 94, 101; aus dem J. 1171 die *epist.* 10, 46, 72, 128.

Preisgedichten auf König Heinrich II. von England (*carm.* 1, 9 *Post dubiam*) und auf den Erzbischof Wilhelm von Sens (*carm.* 1, 10 *Nec mare flumini*) zu den frühesten erhaltenen Werken Peters von Blois. In den *Flores rhetorici* zitiert der Verfasser anlässlich der Beschreibung eines Lustortes einen Vers aus der schon früh berühmten *Descriptio cuiusdam nemoris* (*Flor. Asp.* A 19) des Petrus Riga²³. Diese Passage mitsamt dem Zitat übernimmt Peter von Blois später beinahe wörtlich in seinen zwischen 1181 und 1185 geschriebenen *Libellus de arte dictandi rhetorice*²⁴.

Matthäus von Vendôme zitiert in seiner vielleicht in den Jahren vor 1175 noch in Orléans²⁵ entstandenen *Ars uersificatoria* (3, 9) ein Distichon aus den *Versus de Susanna* (*Flor. Asp.* A 27)²⁶ des Petrus Riga als Beispiel für die rhetorische Figur der Paronomasie:

Paronomasia [!] est dictionum in principio uel in fine conuenientium cognata denominatio. ... uel sic de monachis superstitiosis, quorum fuscata malignitas false religionis sepelitur indumento, qui in uentris ergastulo multiphariis dapibus incarceratis pigmentatas gracios eructant Altissimo, de quibus quidam sic:

²³ *Flor. Asp.* A 19; Inc. *Dirige* [*Erige*], *Clio, stilum, cultum sermonis inaura*; WIC 4512 *Dirige* [WIC 5513 *Erige*]; (PL 171, 1235-1238) Zeile 8.

²⁴ Zu vergleichen sind die *Flores rethorici* Z. 372 (CAMARGO, *A Twelfth-Century Treatise* [Anm. 20]) und Peter von Blois, *Libellus* c. 31 *Descriptio loci* Z. 1105 (hrsg. Martin CAMARGO, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition. Five English Artes Dictandi and Their Tradition* [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 115; Binghamton NY 1995] 37-87; zu Peters *Libellus* vgl. WORSTBROCK, *Repertorium der Artes dictandi* [Anm. 19] 90-92 Nr. 18); beide Stellen sind synoptisch abgedruckt bei WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 21) 640-641.

²⁵ Dieses mehr als unsichere Datum hat FARAL, *Les arts poétiques* (Anm. 8) 3 und 14 in die Diskussion eingebracht.

²⁶ *Flor. Asp.* A 27; Inc. *Hactenus arrisit Susanne gratia fame*; WIC 7450 (PL 171, 1287-1292); besser bei Jean-Barthélemy HAURÉAU, *Notice sur un manuscrit de la Reine Christine à la bibliothèque du Vatican*, in: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 29 (1880) 231-362, hier 352-358; Z. 127-128 (= WPS 17224):

*Non "Alleluia" ructare, sed allia norunt:
plus in salmone quam Salomone legunt.*

In überarbeiteter Form werden die *Versus de Susanna* später dann Bestandteil der *Aurora* (*Liber Danielis* 573-574). Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte des Distichons vgl. Paul E. BEICHNER, *Non Alleluia Ructare*, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1956) 135-144. – Die verschiedenen Fassungen und spätere Imitationen der *Versus de Susanna* behandelt und ediert John Henry MOZLEY, *Susanna and the Elders: Three Medieval poems*, in: *Studi Medievali* II 3 (1930) 27-52.

Non "Alleluia" ructare, sed allia norunt:
plus in salmone quam Salomone legunt.

In beiden Fällen ist die literarische Abhängigkeit eindeutig: Sowohl der Verfasser der *Flores rethorici* als auch Matthäus von Vendôme zitieren wörtlich aus den Gedichten des Petrus Riga. Handelte es sich bei literargeschichtlichen Fragen um ein naturwissenschaftliches Experiment, sozusagen *in vitro*, dann dürfte man annehmen, dass Matthäus von Vendôme wie in der *Ars uersificatoria* so auch im Fall des *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris* der Nehmende gewesen sei. Man könnte dann ferner vermuten, dass Matthäus in gleichem Maße wie von seinem Lehrer Bernardus Silvestris so auch von einem älteren Kommilitonen oder Freund beeinflusst worden sei. So jedenfalls hat sich André Boutemy das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Dichtern zu erklären versucht²⁷:

L'étude approfondie des procédés de composition de Pierre rapprochés de l'*Ars uersificatoria* du professeur tourangeau, l'étude des relations directes qui existent entre leurs poésies éclaireront, je crois, l'histoire de l'enseignement de l'art d'écrire au XII^e siècle d'un jour nouveau et feront voir sans doute Pierre la Rigge comme un professeur et peut-être comme un devancier de Matthieu.

Doch befürchte ich, dass die Verhältnisse in der Realität sicherlich nicht so einfach und eindeutig gewesen sind. Vermutlich müssen wir sogar mit einer regen Kommunikation und dem Austausch von Schriften zwischen den drei genannten, ungefähr gleichaltrigen Dichtern Petrus Riga, Matthäus von Vendôme und Peter von Blois rechnen²⁸. Die Möglichkeit dazu hätte sich angeboten, wenn alle drei in den Jahren zwischen 1160 und 1170 in Paris gewirkt hätten, oder sich sogar schon von ihrer gemeinsamen Studienzeit in Tours bei Bernardus Silvestris her kannten, doch lässt sich ein Studium in Tours für Petrus Riga (noch) nicht nachweisen. In diesem Fall aber wären die genauen Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse innerhalb dieser Dichterschule nicht mehr rekonstruierbar; ein literarischer Einfluss hätte dann in jeder Richtung stattfinden können.

²⁷ BOUTEMY, *Recherches sur le Floridus Aspectus* I (Anm. 13) 103.

²⁸ Auffällig ist, dass Matthäus, der seinen Lehrer Bernardus Silvestris häufig namentlich nennt, seinen Zeitgenossen Petrus Riga als *quidam* bezeichnet. Ob dahinter Unwissen oder Nachlässigkeit stehen, wissen wir nicht. Vielleicht hatte Matthäus sogar Gründe, den wirklichen Verfasser des Distichons zu verschweigen.

Daher ist das Ergebnis der vorangehenden Überlegungen negativ: Die oben gestellte Frage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen dem *Epitaphium Bernardi Silvestris* und dem *Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri* des Petrus Riga kann mithilfe des heutigen Wissensstands nicht eindeutig beantwortet werden. Doch vielleicht werden genauere Untersuchungen an anderen Texten helfen können, das Problem zu klären oder sogar zu lösen. Meine Überlegungen möchte ich abschließend in folgender, die wirklichen Verhältnisse sicherlich vereinfachenden Skizze zusammenfassen. Matthäus zitiert in seinem *Tobias* aus dem früher von ihm selbst verfassten *Epitaphium Bernardi Silvestris*; das Verhältnis zwischen Matthäus und Petrus Riga hingegen lässt sich nicht so überzeugend klären. Auch wenn vieles dafür spricht, dass Matthäus hier das *Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri* des Petrus Riga imitiert, könnte doch der Einfluss genauso gut in der entgegengesetzten Richtung stattgefunden haben.

Petrus Riga	— ? →	Matthäus von Vendôme (?)
<i>Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri</i>		<i>Epitaphium Bernardi Silvestris</i>

↓

Matthäus von Vendôme
Tobias

Das *Epitaphium Bernardi Silvestris* sowie seine Vorbilder und Imitationen zeigen uns deutlich die enge Verflechtung der Dichtergeneration eines Petrus Riga und Matthäus von Vendôme, deren Erforschung vor vielen Jahren Edmond Faral und André Boutemy mit großem Enthusiasmus begonnen hatten, die aber in der letzten Zeit merklich erlahmt ist. Das Verständnis der Dichtungen dieser *moderni* aber bleibt die unverzichtbare Voraussetzung, um die Meisterwerke eines Archipoeta, Walter von Châtillon und Peter von Blois sowohl historisch als auch hinsichtlich ihrer künstlerischen Bedeutung ins rechte Licht zu rücken und um schließlich einmal eine Literaturgeschichte des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts schreiben zu können. Eine solche Geschichte der lateinischen Dichtung des Hochmittelalters wird der Entwicklung einer eigenen Dichtersprache im Umkreis Marbods von Rennes oder Gottfrieds von Reims, der Ausstrahlung der Werke Marbods und Hildeberts von Lavardin, dem Einfluss der Schule des Bernardus Silvestris in Tours, den Dichtungen der *moderni* des 12. Jahrhunderts, und schließlich der Kodifizierung des neuen Stils in

den Poetiken, wie der *Ars uersificatoria* des Matthäus von Vendôme oder der *Poetria noua* Galfrids von Vinsauf nachgehen müssen, wenn sie die Entwicklung verstehen und darstellen will, die zu den Klassikern des so reichen und vielgestaltigen 12. Jahrhunderts geführt hat.

3. Die Gedichte der Handschrift Reserve Ms. 303 (294) der Bibliothèque municipale in Angers

Da bis heute eine vollständige und detaillierte Beschreibung der kleineren Gedichte auf fol. 127v-128r des Ms. 303 (294) der Bibliothèque municipale in Angers fehlt²⁹, möchte ich diese an dieser Stelle nachholen. Die Pergamenthandschrift von 174 Folien (296 x 194 mm) stammt aus dem Kloster St. Aubin in Angers, wo sie wahrscheinlich noch am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts geschrieben wurde. Die Gedichte auf fol. 127v-128r sind von zwei späteren Händen des 13. Jahrhunderts nachgetragen worden; fol. 128v ist blank.

fol. 1ra-5vb	Hildebert von Lavardin, <i>Vita beate Marie Egiptiace</i>
fol. 5vb-8vb	Marbod von Rennes, <i>carm.</i> 60, 93, 92, 79, 12, 31, 101, 83, 78, 84 [Zählung nach der <i>editio princeps</i>]
fol. 9-72	eine Sammlung von Predigten
fol. 73-127v	ein Auszug aus der <i>Historia Scholastica</i> des Petrus Comestor
fol. 127va-128rb	die unten edierten Gedichte
fol. 128v	blank
fol. 129-168	eine zweite Sammlung von Predigten
fol. 169ra-173ra	ein Physiologus in Prosa
fol. 174ra-174vb	ein Lapidarium in Prosa über die zwölf Edelsteine der Apokalypse (PL 171, 1771-1774)

Nach dem Explicit der *Historia Scholastica* folgt auf fol. 127va ohne Unterbrechung die kleine Gedichtsammlung. Die erste Hand hat sukzessive die Nr. 1-20, die zweite Hand die Nr. 21-22 einge-

²⁹ Vollständig beschrieben in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements*, Bd. 31 (Paris 1898) 292-294. Zu einzelnen Werken vgl. André WILMART, *Le florilège de Saint-Gatien*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936) 3-40, 147-181, 235-258, hier 245; Joseph VAN DER STRAETEN, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers* (Subsidia hagiographica 64; Bruxelles 1982) 238; Antonella DEGL'INNOCENTI, *L'opera agiografica di Marbodo di Rennes* (Spoleto 1990) 38-39.

tragen. Die unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen der ersten Hand resultieren sicherlich aus größeren zeitlichen Abständen zwischen den Einträgen. Neben den beiden ersten Stücken hat eine moderne Hand am linken Rand *Epitaphe de Pierre Comestor* und *Epitaphe de Bernard de Chartres* nachgetragen. Darunter steht mit verblasster Tinte geschrieben der Nachtrag *C'est Bernard Sylvester* ³⁰.

³⁰ Für die freundliche Erteilung der Druckerlaubnis möchte ich an dieser Stelle Mme. Defchere von der Bibliothèque municipale in Angers danken; die Kopien der Handschrift besorgte das IRHT (Paris).

Epitaphium Petri Comestoris.

[fol. 127va]

¶ Petrus eram, quem petra tegit; dictusque "Comestor"
 Nunc comedor. Viuus docui, nec cesso docere
 Mortuus, ut dicat, qui me uidet incineratum:
 "Quod sumus, iste fuit. Erimus quandoque, quod hic est."

5

2) Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris.

Non Bernardus obit, sed abit; non interit, i<m>mo
 Incipit; hospes erat, amodo ciuis erit.

- 3) Veruex et pueri, puer unus, sponsa, maritus,
 Cultello, limpha, fune, dolore cadunt.

[fol. 127vb]

10

- 4) ¶ Luci pretendor, ne ledat lumina splendor,
 Hoc michi debetur, quod pagina munda tenetur.

Item.

Sum, ne lux lumen uiolet, ne cera uolu<men>:

De condicione hominis.

15

Vnde superbit homo, cuius concepcio culpa,
 Nasci pena, dolor uita, necesse mori?
 Vana salus hominis, uanus decor, omnia uana:
 Inter uana nichil uanius est homine.
 Post hominem uermis, post uermem fit cinis, heu, <heu>
 Sic in non hominem uertitur omnis homo!

20

(7 A) Item de eodem.

Dic, homo, responde, quid sit homo, cur sit, et unde!
 Dic, homo, quid sit homo, sed prius an sit homo!

- (7 B) Puluis, humus, cineresque sumus, quid homo nisi fumus!
 Vita breuis, nec pena leuis, que durat in euis!

25

- (8) Si moriatur ouis, multum ualet illa ruina:
 Detrahitur pellis et scribitur intus et extra.
 Si moriatur homo, moritur caro, pellis et ossa.

8 incipit *Wollin*] Incipit *A* 9 sponsa *A*] nupta *Sterzing* 10 Cultello *A*] Cutello *Sterzing* 17 dolor *A*] labor *PL* 21 Sic in non hominem uertitur omnis homo *A*] Sic redit in cinerem gloria nostra suum *PL*

- (9) **Item de eodem.** 30
 Aurea tempora, primaque robora preteriere.
 Secula ferrea, seclaque testea iam subiere.
 Hec quoque talia, qualia [qualia] secula nulla fuere.
 Cur, homo, diligis miser et eligis hec retinere?
 A probo tultus es, et male fultus es, hec faciendo. 35
 Tendis ad infera, perdis et ethera, uana sequendo. [fol. 128ra]
 Dulcia pocula, grataque fercula, serica uestis
 Sunt cupientibus hisque fruentibus horida pestis.
 Scilicet omnia sunt quasi somnia, sunt quia uana,
 Sunt pereuntia, pretereuntia, sunt male sana. 40
- (10) ¶ Cur, homo, miraris? Morte ne[c] tu moriaris,
 Abluit hic sanguis, quod in Eua polluit anguis.
 Testes sunt clauis, per quos tua uulnera laui.
- (11) ¶ **De eodem.**
 Penitet, erraui, redeo (miserere!), paraui 45
 Colla iugo, bellis animum, corpusque flagellis.
- (12) ¶ Denigrat meritum dantis mora, captaque raptim
 munera nil laudis nilque fauoris habent.
- (13) Vt cito promissum reddatur, amice, labora!
 Gracius accipitur, quod datur absque mora. 50
- (14) ¶ Vrit amor Paridem, nuptam rapit, armat Atridem
 Vltio, pugnatur, fit machina, Troia crematur.
- (15) Tunc fieri cineres gemmas, ebur, ostra uideres.
 Tunc Danaos [s]celeres in scelus aspiceres.
 Aspiciens fleres tot paruos, tot mulieres, 55
 Tot perimi proceres, totque uiros ueteres.
- (16) ¶ Ver laxat, quod stringit hyens; quod decoquit estas,
 Colligit autumnus; automno cedit egestas.
- (17) ¶ Dispono leges, regnant me preside reges,
 Ac teneo dextra, quidquid depingitur extra. 60

44 eodem *dubians Wollin*] .m. A 47 captaque A] factaque *edd.* 48 nil lau-
 dis nilque A] plus laudis plusque *edd.* 57 laxat *Wollin*] lapsat A 57 decoquit
Wollin] dequoquit A

- (18) ¶ Rex sedet in cena, turba cinctus duodena:
Se tenet in manibus, se cibat, ipse cibus.
- (19) ¶ Ara crucis, tumulique calix, lapidisque patena,
Syndonis officium candida byssus habet.
- (20) ¶ Virgo, puella, Deus, grex, pastor, stella, Sabeus, 65
Fert, parit, irrorat, stupet, audit, ducit, adorat.

21 ¶ Commonitio mortalitatis humane.

O mortalis homo, mortis reminiscere casus:
Nil pecude distas, si tantum prospera captas!
Omnia, que cernis, uanarum gaudia rerum 70
Vmbra uelut tenuis ueloci fine recedunt!
Precaue, non felix, ne te, dum nescis et audes,
Quassans precipiti dissoluat turbine finis!
Porrige poscenti uictum, uel contege nudum,
Et te post obitum sic talia fa<c>ta beabunt! 75
Dilige pauperiem, mordaces effuge gazas,
nam reddunt cupidis post carnis dulcia flammæ!
Quamuis per<s>picius auro gemmisque nitescas,
Pauper <et> exiguus ibis et nudus ad humbras!
Id solum tecum post mortis fa<c>ta manebit, 80
Quod bene, quod iuste, quod recte feceris ipse.

(22) De mentis humane stabilitate.

[Nescia mens loqui]

Nescia mens nostri fixum seruare tenorem:
Nolumus et uolumus, non unum semper amamus. 85
Displicet ante placens, atque olim, <con>placet horrens.
Nunc rectum sequimur, nunc prauum corde tenemus,
Nunc sancti castique sumus, nunc scorta fouemus,
Nunc pollent sobria, nunc marcent ebria corda.
Semper in ambiguo uoluuntur pectora cursu. 90
Quid iam plura loquar? Quot lucent sidera celi,
Quot punctis hore, quot currunt secla momentis,
Tot nostra faciem mutat sententia formis.

68 mortis *Vollmer*] mortas *A* 73 dissoluat *Vollmer*] dissoluet *A* 75 Et *Vollmer*
Vt *A* 80 manebit *Vollmer*] manebunt *A* 82 stabilitate *A*] mutabilitate *Vollmer*
86 ante placens *Vollmer*] atque places *A* conplacet *Vollmer* 90 ambiguo
Vollmer] ambiguum *A*

Kommentar

(1) WIC 14050 (und Nachträge). Das berühmte Epitaph des Petrus Comestor (Manducator, † 1179) ist sowohl im Kontext der *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1048 B) als auch einzeln häufig überliefert; weitere Handschriften verzeichnen Ludwig BERTALOT, *Die älteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung*, in: FS Leo S. Olschki (München 1921) 1-28, bes. 13 Nr. 14 (wieder in: ID., *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus I* [Storia e letteratura 129-130; Rom 1975] 269-301); Arthur George RIGG, *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1968) 83 Nr. XXXVI; WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 21) 54-55; Martin RÖDEL (Hrsg.), *De generatione Christi. Ein typologisches Lehrgedicht des hohen Mittelalters (Inc. Prima luce deum)* (Frankfurt am Main 1999) 41; Agneta SYLWAN, *Petrus Comestor, Historia Scholastica: une nouvelle édition*, in: *Sacris erudiri* 39 (2000) 345-382, hier 372-373 Anm. 32.

(2) WIC 11981.

(3) WIC 20263. Das Distichon wird in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 59 (s. 13) fol. 120v als Werk des Alexander Neckam überliefert (*Versus Alexandri nequam*), vgl. Carleton BROWN, *A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript from Llanthony Priory*, in: *Speculum* 3 (1928) 587-595, hier 593 (zum Inhalt der Hs. vgl. auch Margaret T. GIBSON / Nigel F. PALMER, *Manuscripts of Alan of Lille, Anticlaudianus in the British Isles*, in: *Studi Medievali* III 28 [1987] 905-1001, hier 990-992 Nr. 27). Auch Richard William HUNT, *The Schools and the Cloister. The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)*, hrsg. Margaret GIBSON (Oxford 1984) 57 erwähnt das Distichon, weiß aber nichts Genaueres über die Herkunft und die Zuschreibung an Alexander Neckam zu sagen. Eine Neuausgabe der *Suppletio defectuum* und der kleineren Gedichte Alexander Neckams – einschließlich unseres Epigramms – werden wir von Peter Hochgürtel (Universität Halle/Saale) erwarten dürfen. Der dritte Textzeuge, die verschollene Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift, überliefert das Epigramm anonym, vgl. Eugen THURNHER / Manfred ZIMMERMANN (Hrsg.), *Die Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift* (Litterae 61; Göttingen 1979) Faksimile fol. 29v.

Berichtet wird in äußerster Kürze die Erzählung "Kinder spielten Schweineschlachten" (AaTh 2401 "The Children Play at Hog-killing" bei Antti AARNE / Stith THOMPSON, *The Types of the Folktale* [FFC 184; Helsinki 1961]), die vom Spätmittelalter an (das lateinische Epigramm und eine niederdeutsche Prosaerzählung stehen nach Bolte/Pöhlke im "Großen Seelentrost" [1484] Bl. 194; – in der Neuausgabe von Margarete SCHMITT [Hrsg.], *Der große Seelentrost. Ein niederdeutsches Erbauungsbuch des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* [Niederdeutsche Studien 5;

Köln 1959] konnte ich die Erzählung jedoch nicht finden) bis ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein in Nordeuropa weit verbreitet ist. Nach der singulären Bezeugung der Erzählung bei dem antiken Schriftsteller Claudius Aelianus (*Historia varia* 13, 2; ähnlich 5, 16) ist unser Epigramm m. W. das erste mittelalterliche Zeugnis. Über die Wege der mündlichen Überlieferung in den gut tausend Jahren zwischen Aelian (ca. 170-235) und dem 12. Jh. wissen wir nichts. Schließlich haben im Jahr 1812 Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm die Erzählung in die Erstauflage ihrer "Kinder- und Hausmärchen" als Nr. 22 I-II aufgenommen, sie in späteren Auflagen jedoch wegen der Grausamkeit des Erzählten wieder gestrichen. KHM 22 a II erklärt auf schönste Weise unser Epigramm (nur wird der Hammel durch ein Schwein ersetzt) und sei deshalb hier vollständig zitiert (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm*, hrsg. Heinz RÖLLEKE [Frankfurt am Main 1985] 809-810):

Einstmals hat ein Hausvater ein Schwein geschlachtet, das haben seine Kinder gesehen; als sie nun nachmittag miteinander spielen wollen, hat das eine Kind zum andern gesagt "du sollst das Schweinchen und ich der Metzger sein", hat darauf ein bloß Messer genommen, und es seinem Brüderchen in den Hals gestoßen. Die Mutter, welche oben in der Stube saß und ihr jüngstes Kindlein in einem Zuber badete, hörte das Schreien ihres anderen Kindes, lief alsbald hinunter, und als sie sah, was vorgegangen, zog sie das Messer dem Kind aus dem Hals und stieß es im Zorn dem andern Kind, welches der Metzger gewesen, ins Herz. Darauf lief sie alsbald nach der Stube und wollte sehen, was ihr Kind in dem Badezuber mache, aber es war unterdessen in dem Bad ertrunken; deswegen dann die Frau so voller Angst ward, daß sie in Verzweiflung geriet, sich von ihrem Gesinde nicht wollte trösten lassen, sondern sich selbst erhängte. Der Mann kam vom Felde, und als er dies alles gesehen, hat er sich so betrübt, daß er kurz darauf gestorben ist.

Weitere Nachweise unseres Epigramms (auch mit den Initien *Hircus cum pueris* ... und *Sus, pueri bini*, ... überliefert, aber weder in WIC noch WPS nachgewiesen) und der Erzählung bieten Johannes BOLTE (Hrsg.), *Georg Wickrams Werke* III (Tübingen 1903; Reprint Hildesheim 1974) 383-386 zum "Rollwagenbüchlein" cap. 74 [Nachtrag *Werke* VIII 346]; Johannes BOLTE, *Die indische Redefigur Yatha-samkhya (d. h. der Zahl, der Reihe nach) in europäischer Dichtung*, in: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 112 (1904) 265-276, hier 270 Nr. 27; Johannes BOLTE / Georg POLÍVKA, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* I (Hildesheim ¹1963) 202-204; Dieter RICHTER, *Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben (AaTh 2401)*, in: *Fabula* 27 (1986) 1-11; Dieter RICHTER, s. v. *Kinder spielen Schweineschlachten*, in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 7 (1993) 1264-1267.

Eine verwandte und bisher noch nicht beachtete Fassung der Familientragödie berichtet ein im 13. Jh. anonym aufgezeichnetes Gedicht (Inc. *Tres habuit natos iam quedam femina caros*; WIC 19389; gedruckt bei Hermann HAGEN, *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita* [Bern 1877 / Reprint Hildesheim 1975] 204 Nr. CXXX).

Die oben genannte Oxforder Handschrift überliefert im Anschluss an das Distichon Alexander Neckams noch *Versus W. Walding* (in WIC und WPS nicht nachgewiesen), die in drei Variationen eine ähnliche Geschichte nacherzählen:

Versus W. Walding.

*Fur cruce furta luit ueruecis, sponsaque fune,
Ense duo pueri [puori ms.], tercius amne puer.*

Item. id.

*Fur perit furca furto ueruecis, et uxor
Cultello periunt pueri [puori ms.] duo, tercius amne.*

Item id.

Fur cum prole parens furce periere bidentes

...

(4) WIC 10413. In der Handschrift der Stiftsbibliothek Vorau Nr. 33 (olim 111), fol. 50r stehen Nr. 4 und 5 als ein Gedicht (Text nach Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Bericht über eine Reise durch Steiermark*, in: *Neues Archiv* 2 [1877] 383-425, hier 403):

*Luci pretendor, ne ledat lumina splendor.
Sum, ne lux lumen uiolet, ne cera uolumen.*

Wattenbach gibt zu den Versen folgende Erklärung: "Am Rande steht roth in jüngeren Schriftzügen 'güseinmich'. Es muss eine Lichtmanchette gemeint sein."

Ms. Digby 53 (s. 12/13) der Bodleian Library in Oxford bietet im Haupttext (fol. 15r) folgende Fassung:

*¶ Sustineo lumen, uiolet ne cera uolumen.
Et michi debetur, quod pagina munda tenetur.*

Derselbe Schreiber und mutmaßliche Besitzer der Hs. hat später auf dem rechten Rand drei Zeilen hinzugefügt:

*¶ Sum, ne lux lumen, ne ledat cera uolumen.
Et michi debetur, quod pagina munda tenetur.
¶ Luci pretendor, ne ledat lumina splendor.*

(5) In WIC und WPS nicht nachgewiesen. In der Vorauer Handschrift gehört der Vers offensichtlich als Fortsetzung zu Nr. 4; doch findet er sich auch in dem Epigramm *Hec sunt officia laterne* (inc. *Officio triplici tueor*

tria, sunt peritura; in WIC und WPS nicht nachgewiesen), das unter den meist fragmentarischen Gedichten aus der "Schule" des Matthäus von Vendôme in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Misc. Lat. D 15 (s. 13) fol. 13v-r (!) Nr. 8 überliefert wird, vgl. John Henry MOZLEY, *Some unprinted fragments of Matthew of Vendôme (?)*: A Description of the Bodleian MS Misc. Lat. D 15, in: *Studi Medievali* II 6 (1933) 208-238, hier 229 (zum Inhalt der Hs. vgl. auch MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* I [Anm. 1] 81-83):

Hec sunt officia laterne.

Officio triplici tueor tria: sunt peritura

me sine lux, oculus, liber, aura, luce, litura.

Vis mea procurat, quod lux, quod pagina durat,

sum, ne lux lumen uiolet, ne cera uolumen.

(6) WIC 19639, WPS 32163 (32899, 22005); in dieser gekürzten Form gedruckt in PL 184, 538 C; Jakob WERNER, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau 1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1979) 191 mit weiteren Nachweisen; vgl. Johanne AUTENRIETH, *Einige Bemerkungen zu den Gedichten im Hortus deliciarum Herrads von Landsberg*, in: FS Bernhard Bischoff (Stuttgart 1971) 307-321, hier 316 Nr. 22.

Es handelt sich um einen weitverbreiteten Auszug (Z. 3-6, 9-10) aus dem berühmten Epitaph Adams von St. Victor († 8. Juli 1192 ?) *Heres peccati, natura filius ire* (WIC 7722), vgl. Léon GAUTIER, *Oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de St.-Victor* (Paris 1858-9, XC-XCIV; Paris 1894, 230-231); PL 196, 1422 C-D. Die ersten 10 Verse stehen auf einer Kupferplatte, die in St. Viktor das Grab des Dichters bedeckte; in den Zeiten der französischen Revolution wurde die Platte gerettet und befindet sich heute im Besitz der Bibliothèque Mazarine. Die im 16. Jh. ergänzten Z. 11-14, und damit die Namensnennung Adam, stammen nicht aus der Feder des Viktoriners Jean Corrad, wie Gautier behauptet, sondern sind handschriftlich schon im 13. Jh. belegt, vgl. Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Beschreibung einer Handschrift der Stadtbibliothek zu Reims*, in: *Neues Archiv* 18 (1893) 491-526, hier 507.

Eine auf 18 Verse erweiterte und m. W. unveröffentlichte Fassung steht in folgenden Hss.: London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vespasianus B.XIII (s. 13) fol. 123vc-124ra "*De misero stulti (?) hominis primo, medio uel ultimo.*"; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 53 (s. 12/13) fol. 10rb; St. Omer, BM, Ms. 115 (s. 12 ex.) fol. 87r.

Zu der jüngst aufgeworfenen Frage, ob der berühmte Sequenzdichter Adam mit dem in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jh. bezeugten Praecentor von Notre-Dame und späteren Kanoniker von St. Viktor identisch ist, trägt das Epitaphium nur wenig bei (vgl. Margot E.

FASSLER, *Who Was Adam of St. Victor ? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts*, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 [1984] 233-269, bes. 236 und Anm. 16). Immerhin spricht die frühe Überlieferung im *Hortus deliciarum* der Herrad von Landsberg mit Sicherheit gegen das Todesjahr 1192.

Der vollständige Text des Epitaphs lautet nach PL 196, 422 C-D "*Aliud epitaphium quod ipse de se composuit*"):

*Heres peccati, natura filius ire,
exiliique reus, nascitur omnis homo.
Vnde superbit homo, cuius concepcio culpa,
nasci pena, labor uita, necesse mori ?
Vana salus hominis, uanus decor, omnia uana :
inter uana nichil uanius est homine.
Dum magis alludit, presentis gloria uite
preterit, immo fugit, non fugit, immo perit.
Post hominem uermis, post uermem fit cinis, heu heu !
Sic redit in [ad Wattenbach] cinerem gloria nostra suum ! 10
Hic ego, qui iaceo, miser et miserabilis Adam,
unam pro summo munere posco precem.
Peccaui, fateor, ueniam peto, parce fatenti,
parce, pater ; fratres, parcite ; parce, Deus !*

Die Z. 3-4 und 9-10 (*Vnde superbit homo ...*) hat Alexander Neckam in die *Corrogaciones Noui Promethei* 1199-1202 eingeschaltet, vgl. Hans WALTHER, *Eine moral-asketische Dichtung des XIII. Jahrhunderts: Prorogaciones noui Promethei des Alexander Neckam*, in: *Medium Aevum* (1962) 33-42, hier 39. Wie der Wortlaut der Z. 10 (*Sic in non hominem uertitur omnis homo*) beweist, hat Alexander die Kurzfassung benutzt.

Die Z. 3-4 zitiert Alanus de Insulis in seiner Predigt *De caelo descendit Gnotis eliton*, vgl. Bruno SANDKÜHLER (Hrsg.), *Alanus ab Insulis. Predigten zum Jahreslauf* (Stuttgart 1998) 144.

Unter Voranstellung der Z. 3-4 (*Vnde superbit homo ...*) hat ein unbekannter Verfasser ein *Contemptus mundi*-Gedicht in Distichen geschrieben (66 Verse), das unter den *Iuuenilia* des Giraldus Cambrensis abgedruckt ist (*Symbolum electorum* II 30, p. 371-373 "*De miseria conditionis consilioque remediabili data*").

(7 A) Chevalier 25480, WIC 4364, WPS 5560; stimmt überein mit PL 171, 1442 A-B (Ps. Hildebert, *carm. misc.* 138; 12 Zeilen!).

(7 B) Die Zeilen weichen formal und inhaltlich von den vorausgehenden Versen ab, ließen sich jedoch in WIC und WPS nicht nachweisen.

(8) WPS 28682 a (verweist auf Paris, BN lat. 8247 [s. 14/15] fol. 129v).

Eine vollständige Fassung in vier Versen (WIC 20331, WPS 33353) überliefert die Handschrift Zürich C. 58/275 (s. 12 ex.) fol. 4rb, gedruckt bei Jakob WERNER, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau 1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1979) 18 Nr. 21:

*Vilior est humana caro quam pellis ouina:
si moriatur homo, moritur caro, pellis et ossa.
Si moriatur ouis, nimium ualet ipsa ruina:
extrahitur pellis et scribitur intus et extra.*

Eine etwas abweichende Fassung findet sich im *Fasciculus morum* 1, 13 (Siegfried WENZEL [Hrsg.], *Fasciculus Morum. A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* [University Park Pa. 1989] 98).

Bisher unbekannt war eine zweizeilige Fassung in Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. 42 (s. 13) fol. 6v (gedruckt bei Peter ORTH, *Hilberts Prosimetrum De Querimonia und die Gedichte eines Anonymus* [Wiener Studien Beihefte 26; Wien 2000] 24):

*Si moriatur ouis, remanet caro, pellis et ossa.
Si moriatur homo, moritur caro, pellis et ossa.*

(9) WIC 1817 (1810); das Gedicht beginnt mit der 1. Zeile des zweiten Buchs des *De contemptu mundi* des Bernardus Cluniacensis (hrsg. Ronald E. PEPIN, *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's De Contemptu Mundi* [East Lansing, Michigan 1991] 76); die folgenden Verse sind zwar im selben Versmaß (*tripertiti dactylici*) geschrieben, stammen aber wohl von einem anonymen Nachdichter.

(10) Chevalier 25208, WIC 3922; gedruckt PL 171, 1283-1284 Nr. XXXV, XXXVI, XXX (Ps. Hildebert), vgl. dazu WILMART, *Le florilège de Saint-Gatien* (Anm. 29) 31 Nr. 178. Arwed ARNULF, *Versus ad picturas. Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter* (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 72; München / Berlin 1997) 275; Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN, *Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (MS. XVI Q 14)*, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002) 61-109, hier 105 Nr. 93. Aus Wilmarts Ausführungen geht hervor, dass die im 2. Weltkrieg zerstörte Hs. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 890 einen ähnlichen Text bot wie A. Eine andere Fassung bietet André WILMART, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris 1932; Reprint Paris 1971) 414:

De passione Christi.

*Cur, homo, miraris? Morior, ne tu moriaris.
Mors mea pena michi, mors mea uita tibi.*

(11) In WIC und WPS nicht nachgewiesen.

(12) WPS 5376; ein in Proverbiensammlungen und Florilegien oft zitiertes Distichon aus dem *Mathematicus* (673-674) des Bernardus Silvestris. Die Abweichungen von A gegenüber dem gedruckten Text sind in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung sonst nicht belegt.

(13) WPS 32340 (mit Verweisen auf ähnliche Proverbien); das Distichon ist auch in einer Londoner Handschrift von Primas-Epigrammen (als Nr. 16) überliefert (vgl. dazu Carsten WOLLIN, *Die Epigramme des Primas in der Handschrift London BL Cotton Vespasianus B.XIII*, in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 39/1 [2004]); weiterhin in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 53 (s. 12/13) fol. 31v. In Wilhelm Meyers nachgelassenen Notizen fand ich noch den Hinweis auf Florenz, Ms. Laur. 20.41 fol. 139r *Quod cito promissum soluatur ... [non uidi]*.

Vielleicht wurde das Distichon in Anlehnung an die Verse 695-698 (und 673-674, vgl. Nr. 12) des *Mathematicus* des Bernardus Silvestris verfasst:

*Turpe super donis dubitabitur inter amicos,
et mora donandi non leue crimen habet.
Occupet orantem placituri muneris auctor,
officio celeri gratia maior erit.*

Zum Gedanken vgl. August OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890; Reprint Hildesheim 1964) Nr. 248; *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* (Bd. 4, 199 ff.) s. v. geben, Nr. 260 ff.

(14) WIC 19746, WPS 32266; eine Kurzfassung des Troianischen Krieges abgedruckt bei Otto SCHUMANN (Hrsg.), *Carmina Burana, I. Band: Text, 2. Die Liebeslieder* (Heidelberg 1941) 145 (aus Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 8491 [s. 14] fol. 70r). Das Epigramm wird schon früh (um 1199) zitiert von Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* 2625-2626. Eine ähnliche Kurzfassung bietet Petrus Riga in seinen *Colores rhetorici* § 80 im 2. Buch des *Floridus Aspectus* O/E (s. o. Anm. 11) als Beispiel für die Figur der *breuitas* (= CB 99a; nach *Rhet. Her.* 4, 68):

*Vrit amor Paridem, uult Tindaridem, rapit illam,
res patet, hostis adest, pugnatur, Pergama cedit.*

(15) WIC fehlt, WPS fehlt; die Verse stammen aus dem berühmten und häufig abgeschriebenen Troiagedicht *Viribus, arte, minis Danaum data Troia ruinis* 77-80 (WIC 20582; PL 171, 1451-1453) des westfranzösischen Dichters Petrus von Saintes (*Sanctonensis*), der in den vierziger Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts den jungen Heinrich von Anjou, den späteren König Heinrich II. von England unterrichtet hat; vgl. HAURÉAU, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert* (Anm. 19) 164-165; Edmond FARAL, *Le*

manuscrit 511 du Hunterian Museum de Glasgow, in: *Studi Medievali* II 9 (1936) 18-121, bes. 46-47; André BOUTEMY, *Un éloge métrique inédit de la ville de Saintes attribué à Pierre de Saintes*, in: Festschrift René Crozet II (Poitiers 1966) 705-710.

(16) WIC 20130 [*Ver lapsar!*] (nur A); ein Beispiel für die zahlreichen Jahreszeitenverse, vgl. Wolfgang ADAM, *Descriptio quatuor temporum anni. Tradition und Deutung des Jahreszeitentopos in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, in: *Euphorion* 72 (1978) 121-132; Barbara MAURMANN-BRONDER, *Tempora significant. Zur Allegorese der vier Jahreszeiten*, in: *Verbum et signum. Beiträge zur mediävistischen Bedeutungsforschung Friedrich Ohly überreicht* I (München 1975) 69-101.

a) Die Gestaltung der Merkverse geht zurück auf Ovid, *met.* 2, 27-30 (1, 116-118):

*Verque nouum stabat cinctum florente corona,
stabat nuda Aestas et spicea sarta gerebat,
stabat et Autumnus, calcatis sordidus uuis,
et glacialis Hiems, canos hirsuta capillos.*

Die reiche mittelalterliche Tradition von Jahreszeitenversen, die in den Aufsätzen von Adam und Maurmann-Bronder nur am Rande erwähnt wird, möchte ich durch eine Auswahl aus den wichtigsten Autoren ergänzen, doch ohne einen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

b) Zunächst sei Boethius, *cons.* 4, *carm.* 6, 25-29 genannt:

*His de causis uere tepenti
spirat florifer annus odores,
aestas cererem feruida siccant,
remeat pomis grauis autumnus,
hiemem defluus inrigat imber.*

c) Eugenius Toletanus, *carm.* 54 *De temporibus anni.*

*Ver gignit flores, pinguescit messibus aestas,
autumnus uuas, bruma succidit oliuas.*

d) Adelardus Bathoniensis, *De eodem et diuerso* (S. 14, vgl. Hildeb. *carm.* min. 22, 3-4)

*Ver, autumnus, hiems cur pingat, compleat, artet,
prata, domos, latices, gramine, farre, gelu.*

e) Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia* 2, 8, 17-18 (beruht auf Boeth. *mus.* 1, 2 [Friedlein S. 188] *Nam quod constringit hiems, uer laxat, torret aestas, maturat autumnus ...*; nachgewiesen von Franco MUNARI, *Mediaevalia I-II*, in: *Philologus* 104 [1960] 279-292, bes. 281):

*Cur constringat hyemps, uer laxet, torreat estas,
autumpnique metant tempora, mente uides.*

ib. 2, 10, 39-40

*Viderit, unde uices rerum, cur estuat estas,
siccitat autumpnus, uer tepet, alget hyemps.*

f) Anonymus Reginensis, *carm.* 5 (wichtig der Kommentar von Orth auf S. 110-111. 122-123):

*Quatuor nominibus temporum naturali positus ordine unicuique repetito
competencium ablatiuus dictionum eodem assignans ordine, resumtis iterum
nominatiuis et ablatiuus congruentia superaddens ordine uerba, proprietatem
ipsorum describit temporum:*

*Ver, estas, autunnus, hiems: uer floribus, igne
estas, fructibus autunnus, sed hiems glacie: uer
floribus exultat, calet estas igne, superbit
fructibus autunnus, sed hiems glacie horrida.*

g) Arnulfus Lexouiensis hat mit zwei Gedichten von 40 und 20 Versen die umfangreichste Darstellung des Hochmittelalters geschaffen (*carm.* 3 "De innouatione uernali"; *carm.* 4 "De alterna temporis successione"). Der Inhalt beruht auf kosmologischem Gedankengut des Bernardus Silvestris und der sogenannten "Schule von Chartres", wie Könsgen nachgewiesen hat.

h) Stephanus Tornacensis, *In commune theatrum* 19, -4 [73-76]

*Vocat Annus copiam toto cornu pleno,
quatuor temporibus mense duodeno:
flore uer cunabula cingit, estas feno,
stat autumpnus grauidus, caret hyemps ceno.*

i) Mattheus Vindocinensis, *Ars uersificatoria* 107-108

*Similiter poterit poni familiare exemplum, ut quatuor tempora anni sub
castigato breuiloquio describantur hoc modo:*

*Ver roseum tenero lasciuit flore, laborat
picturare Ream floridiore coma.
Solis amica calet estas, estuque redundans
nititur interpres nominis esse sui.
Vinitor autumpnus, Bachi pincerna, propinat
uue delicias, horrea messe replet.
Horret hyemps triplici panno pellita, nouerca
florum, lasciui pectoris egra comes.*

Vel sic

*Sunt partes anni bis bine: uer tepet, estas
estuat, autumpnus uina dat, alget hyemps.*

Vel sic

*Ver florum genitor, estas nutricula fructus,
uinitor autumpnus, prodiga uestis hyemps.*

j) Galterus de Castellione, *Alexandreis* 3, 142-146

... *quo sydere frugis
defectum patiaturs ager, quis frugifer annus,
unde niues producat hyemps, que ueris in ortu
temperies inpregnet humum, cur ardeat estas,
quid dedit autumpno maturis cingier uuis ...*

k) Alanus de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus* 1, 200-202:

... *cur contristata pruinis
luget hyems canis, ridet uer, estuat estas,
effluit autumnus rerum torrente profundo.*

l) Alexander Neckam, *De laudibus diuine sapientie* 2, 105-108:

*Tempora perficiunt solarem quatuor annum;
da ueniam, lector, nota referre iuuat.
Colligit autumnus, que feruens decoquit estas,
que uer producit semina, nutrit hiems.*

m) Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti* 1489-1490 (den Hinweis verdanke ich dem Aufsatz von Thomas GÄRTNER, *Zu den klassischen und zeitgenössischen Vorbildern im Liber ad honorem Augusti des Petrus von Eboli*, in: *Deutsches Archiv* 55 [1999] 477-498, hier 495 Anm. 35):

*Nam quod friget yemps, uer umet, torret et estas,
siccitat autumnus, creditur esse tuum.*

Das in der Handschrift A überlieferte Epigramm Nr. 16 stimmt in der ersten Zeile mit zwei bzw. drei der genannten Dichtungen überein: der erste Halbvers *Ver laxat, quod stringit hyens* übernimmt in veränderter Reihenfolge die Formulierung des Bernardus Silvestris *Cur constringat hyemps, uer laxet* (*cosm.* 2, 8, 17; Beispiel e); der zweite Halbvers *quod decoquit estas* jedoch entspricht wörtlich einem Versschluss in *De laudibus diuine sapientie* 2, 107 des Alexander Neckam (Beispiel l) und im *Anticlaudianus* des Alanus de Insulis (1, 68):

Hunc non urit hyems, non decoquit estas.

Da sich diese Versteile sonst nicht haben nachweisen lassen (die CD-Rom *PoetriaNova* nennt nur diese Stellen!), liegt mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit

eine literarische Abhängigkeit der drei Texte vor. Da nun das Alter und Herkunft der Handschrift A und die anderen hier überlieferten Gedichte für eine frühe Entstehung, vielleicht noch in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jh. in der Loire-Gegend sprechen, darf man wohl vermuten, dass hier ein älterer Merksvers vorliegt, den die drei Autoren in ihren Werken zitieren.

(17) In WIC und WPS nicht nachgewiesen.

(18) Chevalier 32947, WIC 16778, WPS 26863 (außerdem Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 106 [s. 14] fol. 2r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 53 [s. 12/13] fol. 26r in margine); gedruckt bei André WILMART, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris 1932; Reprint Paris 1971) 413; ID., *Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937) 121-169 und 322-365, hier 135. Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN, *Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (MS. XVI Q 14)*, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002) 61-109, hier 101 Nr. 59.

Zitiert wird das Distichon in den anonymen, aus dem Beginn des 13. Jh. stammenden *Distinctiones monasticae* "De cibo" (Jean Baptiste PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* III [Paris 1855] 257):

Cibi nomine designatur corpus Christi; unde: "Caro mea uere est cibus," [Ioh. 6, 56] id est uera refectio, quia digne sumenti ea[m] dat uitam eternam; unde quidam ait:

*Rex sedet in cena, turba cinctus duodena:
se tenet in manibus, se cibatur, ipse cibus.*

Gervasius von Melkley zitiert das Distichon in seiner *Ars poetica* (p. 206) als Beispiel einer fehlerhaften Zäsur nach der Hebung im fünften Fuß des Hexameters, die er nach dem Vorbild der klassischen Dichter vermeiden wissen will:

Item uersus exametri prima sillaba quinti pedis et secunda in diuersas dictiones cedere non presumant, nisi eiusdem pedis secunda sillaba dictio enclitica fuerit. ... Hic autem uitiosus:

*Rex sedet in cena, turba cinctus duodena:
se tenet in manibus, se cibatur, ipse cibus.*

(19) Chevalier 35321, WIC 1389 (nennt 4 weitere Hss.; ergänze Paris, BN Baluze 120). Gedruckt ist das Distichon als Anhang zu Hildeberts *Versus de mysterio missae* in PL 171, 1194 A (mit zwei weiteren Versen); Alexander Neckam schreibt in seinen *Corroaciones Promethei* (S. 669) die Verse ausdrücklich Hildebert zu *unde Hildebertus: Ara crucis ...* (nach MANITIUS III [1931] 791). In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 53 (s. 12 /13) fol. 14v wird *Hermannus Christi pauperum peripsima*

(d. h. Hermannus contractus) als Verfasser genannt (vgl. WILMART, *Le florilège de Saint-Gâtien* [Anm. 29] 176 Anm. 3).

(20) WIC 20543; (nur A). Es handelt sich um eine Kurzfassung (s. o. Nr. 3) der Weihnachtsgeschichte in *uersus rapportati*, vgl. die ähnlichen Verse WIC 20439, 20530. Mit anderem Textanfang *Preco puella Deus ...* (WIC 14399) ist das Epigramm in PL 171, 1281 B und 1282 B Nr. XIII gedruckt Zur Überlieferung und Interpretation vgl. Rudolf PÖRTNER, *Eine Sammlung lateinischer Gedichte in der Handschrift Wien ÖNB 806 aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Diss. phil. Tübingen 1989) 223-228 Nr. 14.

(21) ICL 10951, WIC 12802, WPS 19511a; Eugenius von Toledo *carm.* 2; zur reichen hochmittelalterlichen Überlieferung dieses Gedichts vgl. Yves-François RIOU, *Quelques aspects de la tradition manuscrite des Carmina d'Eugène de Tolède: du Liber Catonianus aux Auctores octo morales*, in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 2 (1972) 11-44, bes. 40-42.

(22) ICL 10168 [*Nescia*], ICL 10177 [*Nescit*], WIC 11749 [*Nescit mens*]; Eugenius von Toledo *carm.* 3.

Benutzte Repertorien und Editionen:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Chevalier | Ulysse CHEVALIER, <i>Repertorium Hymnologicum</i> I-VI (Louvain / Bruxelles 1892-1920). |
| ICL | Dieter SCHALLER / Ewald KÖNSGEN, <i>Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum</i> (Göttingen 1977). |
| WIC | Hans WALTHER, <i>Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina I/1. Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum</i> (Göttingen 21969). |
| WPS | Hans WALTHER, <i>Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina II/1-5. Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi</i> I-V (Göttingen 1963-1967). |

Adelardus Bathoniensis, *De eodem et diuerso*, hrsg. Hans WILLNER (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 4, 1; Münster 1903).

Alanus de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*, hrsg. Robert BOSSUAT (Paris 1955).

Alexander Neckam, *De laudibus diuine sapientie*, hrsg. Thomas WRIGHT (Rolls Series 34; London 1863).

Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, hrsg. Dietrich REICHLING (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica 12; Berlin 1893).

- Anonymus Reginensis, *Carmina*, hrsg. Peter ORTH, *Hildeberts Prosimetrum De Querimonia und die Gedichte eines Anonymus* (Wiener Studien Beihefte 26; Wien 2000).
- Arnulfus Lexouiensis, *Carmina*, PL 201, 195-200; Hermann HAGEN, *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita* [Bern 1877 / Reprint Hildesheim 1975] 188-199 Nr. CX-CXXII; Ewald KÖNIGEN (Hrsg.), *Die Gedichte Arnulfs von Lisieux (gest. 1184)* (Editiones Heidelbergenses 32; Heidelberg 2002).
- Bernardus Siluestris, *Cosmographia*, hrsg. Peter DRONKE (Textus minores 53; Leiden 1978).
- Bernardus Siluestris, *Mathematicus*, hrsg. Jan PRELOG / Manfred HEIM / Michael KIEßLICH, *Bernardus Silvestris, Mathematicus* (Studien zur Theologie und Geschichte 9; St. Ottilien 1993); Teresa D'ALESSANDRO, in: Ferruccio BERTINI (Hrsg.), *Tragedie latine del XII e XIII secolo* [Genua 1994] 7-160; Deirdre M. STONE, *Bernardus Silvestris, Mathematicus. Edition and Translation*, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 63 [1996] 209-283).
- Eugenius Toletanus, *Carmina*, hrsg. Friedrich VOLLMER (MGH AA 14, 1; Berlin 1905).
- Galterus de Castellione, *Alexandreis*, hrsg. Marvin L. COLKER (Padua 1978).
- Gervasius von Melkley, *Ars poetica*, hrsg. Hans-Jürgen GRÄBENER (Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie 17; Münster 1965).
- Giraldus Cambrensis, *Symbolum electorum*, in: *Giraldi Cambrensis De rebus a se gestis, libri III. Invectionum libellus. Symbolum electorum*, hrsg. J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series 21, 1; London 1861).
- Mattheus Vindocinensis, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* I-III, hrsg. Franco MUNARI (Storia e letteratura 144, 152, 171; Roma 1977 / 1982 / 1988).
- Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti siue de rebus Siculis*, hrsg. Theo KÖLZER / Marlis STÄHLI / Gereon BECHT-JÖRDENS (Sigmaringen 1994).
- Petrus Riga, *Aurora* I-II, hrsg. Paul E. BEICHNER (Publications in Mediaeval Studies 19; Notre Dame Ind. 1965).
- Stephanus Tornacensis, *In commune theatrum* (WIC 8866), hrsg. Lucien AUVRAY, *Un poème rythmique et une lettre d'Étienne de Tournai*, in: *Mélanges Paul Fabre. Études d'histoire du Moyen âge* (Paris 1902; Reprint Genf 1972) 279-291.

Poetria Nova, a CD-ROM of Latin Medieval Poetry (650-1250 A. D.),
hrsg. Paolo MASTANDREA / Luigi TESSAROLO (Florenz 2001).

Initienverzeichnis

Angers cod. 303	ICL	WIC	WPS
19 Ara, crucis, tumulique calix, lapidisque patena,		1389	
9 Aurea tempora, primaque robora preteriere.		1817	
10 Cur, homo, miraris? Morte nec tu moriaris		3922	
12 Denigrat meritum dantis mora captaque raptim			5376
7 A Dic, homo, responde, quid sit homo, cur sit, et unde!		4364	5560
17 Dispono leges, regnant me preside reges,			
4 Luci pretendor, ne ledat lumina splendor,	-	10413	
22 Nescia mens nostri fixum seruare tenorem	10168/	11749	
	10177		
2 Non Bernardus obit, sed abit; non interit, immo	-	11981	-
21 O mortalis homo, mortis reminiscere casus	10951	12802	19511 a
11 Penitet, erraui, redeo, miserere, paraui			
1 Petrus eram, quem petra tegit, dictusque Comestor.		14050	
[20 Preco, puella, Deus, grex, pastor, stella, Sabeus,		14399	
7 B Pulvis, humus, cineresque sumus, quid homo n. f.?			
18 Rex sedet in cena, turba cinctus duodena,		16778	26863
8 Si moriatur ouis, multum ualet illa ruina	-		28682 :
5 Sum, ne lux lumen molet, ne cera uolu<men>.			
15 Tunc fieri cineres, gemmas, ebur, ostra uideres			
16 Ver laxat, quod stringit hyens; quod decoquit estas,		20130	-
3 Veruex, et pueri, puer unus, sponsa maritus,		20263	-
[8 Vilior est humana caro quam pellus ouina		20331	33353]
20 Virgo, puella, Deus, grex, pastor, stella, Sabeus,		20543	-
6 Vnde superbit homo, cuius concepcio culpa,		19639	32163
14 Vrit amor Paridem, nuptam rapit, armat Atridem		19746	32266
13 Vt cito promissum reddatur, amice, labora	-		32340

Summary

The *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris* (WIC 11981; *Non Bernardus obit sed abit non interit immo*), anonymously preserved in Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, Reserve Ms. 303 (294) fol. 127v, is published here for the first time. The fact that the short poem is almost entirely made up of expressions found both in Matthew of Vendôme's Biblical poem *Tobias* and the *Epitaphium cuiusdam pueri*, itself belonging to Petrus Riga's *Floridus Aspectus* (A 76), leads to the surmise that the *Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris* was written about 1160 by Matthew, showing the influence of his contemporary Petrus Riga. The earliest quotations from Petrus Riga's *Floridus Aspectus* have been collected from the writings of Peter of Blois (*Flores rethorici* and *Libellus*) and

Matthew of Vendôme (*Ars uersificatoria*). They give fresh evidence for an early date of composition and an immediate popularity of the *Floridus Aspectus*, a collection of poems that can be assigned perhaps to the 1160s. Both Petrus Riga and Matthew of Vendôme are still waiting to find their due place in the history of Medieval Latin poetry.

Compilation et réinvention à la fin du douzième siècle.

André de Marchiennes, le *Chronicon Marchianense* et
l'histoire primitive d'une abbaye bénédictine
(édition et critique des sources)

par

St. VANDERPUTTEN*

(Gand)

Il existe, parmi les œuvres du bénédictin André de Marchiennes († 1202), un texte peu étudié et en majeure partie inédit, dont l'objectif est de décrire l'histoire de son abbaye. Mieux connu pour son *Historia succincta* des souverains de France (écrite vers 1191-1196), il nous reste de cet auteur encore deux remaniements des *miracula* de Rictrude des années 1160-1170, et, en dernier lieu, la chronique dont je présente ici l'édition ainsi qu'une brève introduction¹. Dans le passé, les chercheurs ont eu tendance à négliger l'étude de ce texte, principalement parce qu'il révisé des faits bien connus du dossier hagiographique et historique de Marchien-

* Chargé de Recherches du Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique - Flandre (F.W.O.-Vlaanderen)

¹ L'article de K. F. WERNER, Andreas von Marchiennes und die Geschichtsschreibung von Anchin und Marchiennes in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts, dans *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, t. 9 (1952), pp. 404-407, reste le meilleur point de départ pour la critique de ses œuvres. L'attribution des *Genealogiae Aquicinctinae*, de la continuation Aquicinctine de la chronique de Sigebert de Gembloux et des *Annales Aquicinctini* à cet auteur a été fort disputée, surtout par George Despy, dans *Scriptorium*, IX (1955), pp. 156-158.

nes². Néanmoins, ce *Chronicon Marchianense* (NaSo A054), comme on le connaît d'après le seul manuscrit³, mérite l'attention des chercheurs pour une tout autre raison.

Du point de vue de la composition, le *Chronicon* et l'*Historia succincta* (NaSo A053) sont les précurseurs d'une nouvelle vague d'activité historiographique, dans laquelle des auteurs monastiques, cléricaux et laïcs se sont mis à réorganiser le contenu de textes plus anciens en vue d'un accès thématique et rationalisé au vaste réservoir de connaissances historiques⁴. Dans un contexte où les historio-graphes avaient à leur disposition des œuvres de référence à l'usage facile, il ne faut pas s'étonner de voir paraître des œuvres qui apportaient peu de renseignements neufs, mais dont la composition permettait au lecteur de voir le passé d'un angle tout à fait différent⁵. Cette tendance à resserrer la thématique des ouvrages historiques à l'aide d'une méthode de compilation raisonnée⁶ est devenue très

² L'œuvre d'André de Marchiennes et de ses collègues est répertoriée de façon exemplaire dans *Narrative Sources from the Low Countries* (<http://www.narrative-sources.be>). Issue d'un projet de recherche du Département d'histoire médiévale de l'Université de Gand et de l'Institut de Recherches Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain et soutenue par le Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique - Flandres, cette base de données permet aux chercheurs de se rendre compte de l'état de recherches sur plus de 1800 textes narratifs. Comme dans la *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, chaque texte dans *Narrative Sources* a reçu une code unique que j'utiliserai ici pour renvoyer à son dossier.

³ Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 850, f. 103v-118v. Le titre lui-même semble dater du XVI^e ou du XVII^e siècle. La dernière édition (fragmentaire) de ce texte est celle d'Ernst Sackur, dans *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, t. 15 (1890), pp. 452-462; voir les pages 452-453 pour les autres éditions partielles à partir du dix-septième siècle.

⁴ On pourrait dire «[qu']on passait du cadre au contenu du tableau» (P. BREZZI, *Chroniques universelles du moyen âge et histoire du salut*, dans *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du Colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*, éd. J. P. GENET, Paris, 1991, p. 241).

⁵ Voir le commentaire dans K. F. WERNER, *Andreas*, p. 463.

⁶ «...Compiler une chronique est devenu le rêve de l'érudit médiéval...» (B. GUENEE, *Histoire et chronique. Nouvelles réflexions sur les genres historiques au moyen âge*, dans *La chronique et l'histoire du moyen âge. Textes du colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982*, éd. D. POIRION, Paris, 1986, p. 9).

⁷ Voir J. SPÖRL, *Sozialer Wandel im Geschichtsdenken und in der Geschichtsschreibung des späten Mittelalters*, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, éd. H. PATZE, Sigmaringen, 1987, pp. 237-286.

populaire au cours des siècles suivants⁷. Elle est bien documentée pour les textes ambitieux comme *l'Historia Succincta*, alors que les histoires locales ou régionales de ce type sont souvent considérées comme des exemples frappants du déclin de l'historiographie monastique pendant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. Ne mentionnons que deux œuvres mieux connues qui appartiennent à ce dernier type, comme le *Chronicon Sancti Bavonis* (NaSo J197) de Jean de Thielrode († vers 1297)⁸ ou les *Annales Hannoniae* (NaSo J015) par Jacques de Guise (fin du quatorzième siècle)⁹. Comme les textes que je viens de citer, la *Chronique* de Marchiennes est restée négligée en tant que témoin de l'application de cette nouvelle méthode historique. Ce texte nous permet de voir comment un historien de la fin du douzième siècle a reconstruit l'histoire primitive de sa communauté à l'aide de sources bien connues, mais dont la chronologie et la composition laissaient à désirer quand on cherchait à s'informer systématiquement sur le passé de l'abbaye en tant qu'institution. La valeur première de ce récit ne réside donc pas dans les informations originales qui pourraient s'y trouver, mais dans l'expression d'une méthode historique en transformation.

1. André de Marchiennes, historien local malgré lui

Selon le *Chronicon Marchianense*, le manque de *Gesta* des abbés de Marchiennes s'est d'abord fait sentir durant l'abbatiat de Simon (1199-1202). En voyant la production prolifique de son prieur André, il s'est trouvé irrité par le manque d'un tel récit, et il aborda la question pendant une réunion du chapitre, un jour de Carême. Le prologue de notre chronique a préservé une version paraphrasée de la discussion qui s'ensuit entre Simon et André, et l'on peut bien voir comment les deux hommes approchaient l'histoire de manière tout à fait différente. Se référant implicitement à *l'Historia succincta*¹⁰, dont le but était de légitimer et de rejoindre

⁷ Voir mon article Clusterpatronen in de middeleeuwse monastieke historiografie, dans *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, t. 78 (2000), p. 792 et l'ouvrage de V. LAMBERT, *Chronicles of Flanders. Chronicles written independently from «Flandria Generosa»*, Gand, 1993, pp. 34-41.

⁹ G. SMALL, *Chroniqueurs et culture historique au bas Moyen Âge*, dans *Valenciennes aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, éd. L. NYS et A. SALAMANGE, Valenciennes, 1996, pp. 272-274.

¹⁰ J. PLATELLE, *Clovis et la succession des dynasties royales en France. Le point de vue légitimiste: 'L'Historia succincta' d'André de Marchiennes (XII^e siècle)*, dans *Childéric-Clovis. 1500^e anniversaire. 482-1982*, Tournai, 1982, pp. 222-223.

les trois « races » de rois de France, l'abbé s'est exprimé en faveur d'une historiographie « ad utilitatem filiorum huius ecclesie », qui serait à préférer à la description « des actes de rois et les guerres d'empereurs. » Il faut donner raison et à Bernard Delmaire quand il dit que, en matière d'histoire, « ce qui intéressait André, c'est l'histoire générale, la « grande » histoire, pas l'histoire locale »¹¹.

D'après le prologue du *Chronicon*, il a fallu quelque temps avant qu'André ne soit convaincu de la nécessité d'une histoire constitutionnelle de son abbaye au sens strict du mot. N'y avait-il pas le *Poleticum Marceniensis cenobii* (NaSo P062), une espèce de terrier rédigé vers 1116-1121¹²? Conçu à la suite de l'abbatit catastrophe de Fulcard (1103-1115), ce document avait eu pour but de réorganiser le gouvernement de l'abbaye et de revendiquer les biens perdus et supposés perdus à l'aide d'un dossier historique et diplomatique bien soutenu¹³. La section narrative de cet ensemble se présente comme une introduction justificative aux premiers documents du *Poleticum*, s'intéressant surtout aux arguments qui soutiennent la validité du soi-disant « testament » de la sainte Rictrude, par lequel un grand nombre de biens sont rattachés à l'abbaye¹⁴. De plus, les remaniements des miracles de Rictrude (BHL 7252 et 7252b; NaSo A055) indiquent bien que le passé de Marchiennes a fasciné les contemporains d'André, sans que ceux-ci aient senti le besoin de le décrocher du cadre semi-mythique de l'hagiographie¹⁵.

Bien que le texte lui-même reste muet sur l'identité de son auteur, tous les indices à notre disposition nous font croire que l'on doit ajouter la chronique à l'œuvre d'André (Karl-Ferdinand Werner a attiré l'attention sur le récit d'une guérison miraculeuse qui s'était produite durant l'abbatit de Amandus de Castello (1119-1133) et dont l'auteur se vante d'être un témoin oculaire (*Andreas*, pp. 405-407)).

¹¹ B. DELMAIRE (éd.), *L'histoire-polyptyque de l'abbaye de Marchiennes (1116/1121). Etude critique et édition*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985, p. 42.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 26-29.

¹³ « Sed vae! vae! malignitatibus hominum pessimorum quorum infernalis improbitas et tyrannica rabies atque atrocitas diabolica pacis jura comminuit et amoenitatem in jocundo aere, in pascuis uberrimis, opulentiam in fertilis terrae frugibus diversis, sublato cultore et fugatis habitatoribus, inviam, desolatam inhabitabilemque reddidit. » (*Ibidem*, p. 74).

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 77, note 28.

¹⁵ Les miracles de Rictrude ont été remaniés à deux reprises par André, une fois vers 1164-1166, l'autre juste avant 1174 (*AASS Mai III* (édition de 1680), pp. 89-118 (première version) et *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XX (1901), pp. 448-460 (deuxième version)).

Bref, André de Marchiennes ne croyait pas dans une histoire "profane" de l'abbaye. Pourtant, la chronique est bien la preuve qu'André a finalement suivi le conseil de l'abbé, ne fût-ce qu'après que ce dernier eut répété sa demande. En dépit de ses réserves, l'auteur s'est donc mis à produire un texte dont le concept local ne l'inspirait guère. La solution était de mettre en évidence les arguments qui, selon lui, permettraient au texte d'être pertinent par rapport aux nouveaux critères qu'il voulait imposer à l'historiographie contemporaine¹⁶. Le résultat est un texte hybride, dont l'originalité réside dans la volonté d'associer les éléments supposés historiques du culte des saints avec l'histoire de l'empire franc, puis de retrouver la place qu'occupait l'abbaye de Marchiennes dans cet ensemble¹⁷.

L'œuvre traite l'histoire de l'abbaye en commençant par décrire la biographie d'Amand et de Rictrude, les saints tenus pour responsables de la fondation de l'abbaye et par situer leurs exploits dans l'histoire de la dynastie mérovingienne (ch. I à V). Les chapitres suivants (VI-XIX) discutent en détail l'histoire primitive des abbayes de Marchiennes et d'Hamage et les vies des saints Amé, Mauront, Gertrude et Eusèbe jusqu'à la fin du septième siècle. Après avoir admis que l'histoire de l'abbaye durant des siècles suivants reste pour la majeure partie inconnue, l'auteur discute la fin du monastère de femmes à Marchiennes en 1024. Heureux de voir l'abbaye à présent gérée par des hommes, André s'emploie dans le chapitre XX de sa chronique à critiquer la gestion par des moniales entre les années 700 et 1024 et à imputer la responsabilité de la perte de tant de biens à la « mollities » des femmes. Il paraît déterminé, non seulement à sanctifier la communauté de Marchiennes et à légitimer son existence comme institution, mais aussi à mettre

¹⁶ Des entreprises semblables de la même époque sont décrites dans l'article de F. GÓMEZ REDONDO, *Historiografía medieval: constantes evolutivas de un género*, dans *Anuario de estudios medievales*, t. 19 (1989), pp. 3-4 et 7-8.

¹⁷ Le manuscrit du *Chronicon* comprend une collection hybride de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Marchiennes, soit en matière de culte, soit en ce qui concerne ses droits et les possessions. La majeure partie du manuscrit est occupée par deux livres à miracles de sainte Rictrude (f. 1v-39r; BHL 7249 et f. 40v-87r; BHL 7251; NaSo G139) et un miracle du saint Jonat à Sailly-en-Ostrevent (f. 87v-99v; BHL 4449 et NaSo G140). Suivent alors une lettre de l'hagiographe Galbert à Sawalon de Reims (f. 99v-102r; BHL 7250; voir NaSo G139) le *Chronicon Marchianense* (f. 103r-118v), une liste des revenus de l'abbaye en Artois (f. 119r) et, finalement, le *Poeticum* (f. 119v-142r).

le doigt sur la négligence des gérants de l'abbaye, le pillage par les Normands et les seigneurs des environs, qui sont accusés d'avoir usurpé un nombre important de territoires. Comme dans le *Poleticum* et ses propres *Miracles de Rictrude*, André se plaint des pauvres redevances du *castrum* de Douai, de la libération des *servi et ancillae* du droit de tonlieu de la même ville, de la perte du village d'Orchies et des problèmes concernant le village de Reninge (près d'Ypres). Le langage combattif des passages relatifs à ces questions semblent annoncer un discours déterminé à glorifier la lutte de la communauté masculine pour récupérer l'héritage de Rictrude. Malheureusement, le fait que l'œuvre est restée inachevée ne permet pas de voir comment l'auteur a trouvé les arguments nécessaires pour continuer son récit jusqu'à son époque. L'on ne sait pas pourquoi il s'est arrêté, bien que sa mort en 1202 en puisse bien être la raison simple. Même sans ce récit des deux derniers siècles, rien ne permet de conclure qu'André a négligé d'écrire son *Chronicon* avec un œil attentif sur l'histoire contemporaine.

2. Les sources du *Chronicon Marchianense*

La liste des sources qui ont été utilisées pour rédiger cette chronique est assez brève. Avant de visualiser la composition du *Chronicon Marchianense*, il est impératif d'attirer l'attention sur le danger de tirer des conclusions hâtives sur la méthode de cet auteur. Bien que l'édition montrera que quelques chapitres entiers ont été repris du texte original du *Poleticum* et compilés à partir des vies de Rictrude et d'Amé, une deuxième lecture montre que le dossier préparatoire d'André consistait au moins en sept autres textes. On peut ainsi reconnaître l'usage de l'hagiographie de saint Amand, ainsi que les *miracula* de Rictrude et d'Eusèbe¹⁸. Puisqu'il s'agit de paraphrases de faits bien documentés dans le dossier hagiographique de ces saints, il est souvent impossible de déterminer la version exacte utilisée par l'auteur. Ajoutons à cette liste l'*Historia succincta*, dont le texte définitif (ou un dossier préparatoire) a servi d'esquisse pour les passages touchant à l'histoire franque. En com-

¹⁸ Un bon survol de l'hagiographie de ces saintes est donné par H. PLATELLE, *Crime et châtement à Marchiennes. Etude sur la conception et le fonctionnement de la justice d'après les Miracles de sainte Rictrude (XII^e s.)*, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, t. XXIV (1980), pp. 160-161.

posant ses dossiers généalogiques et hagiographiques, André s'est donc délibérément distancié du *Poleticum*, même si cela n'a pas toujours résulté en un texte plus que marginalement différent du modèle. En ce qui concerne les archives de l'abbaye, le dernier étant révisé dans les dernières années du douzième siècle, il est improbable qu'André les ait réellement consultés¹⁹. On peut supposer que la mémoire institutionnelle de l'abbaye se voyait également transmise par voie orale, valorisée ici comme source de crédibilité égale aux documents originaux. Résumons maintenant comment le *Chronicon Marchianense* a été compilé :

- BS = *Biblia sacra*
- HS = *Historia succincta*, écrite vers 1191-1196 par André de Marchiennes (NaSo A053)
- P = *Poleticum Marcenensis Cenobii*, écrit vers 1116-1121 (NaSo P062)
- VA = Hagiographie de saint Amand
- VAM = *Vita Sancti Amati*, écrite entre 907 et 918 par Hucbald de Saint-Amand (BHL 363-4; NaSo H057)
- VE = *Vita Eusebiae*, écrite vers 1000 (BHL 2736)
- VEM = *Vita Eusebiae metrica*, écrite vers 1164 (BHL 2737)
- VME = *Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae*, écrites vers 1164 (BHL 2738)
- VMR = *De vita et Miraculæ Sanctae Rictrudis libri tres*, écrit vers 1164 par André de Marchiennes (BHL 7252; NaSo A055)
- VR = *Vita Sanctae Rictrudis*, écrite en 907 par Hucbald de Saint-Amand (BHL 7247; NaSo H060)
- VRa = Hagiographie de Sainte Rictrude

¹⁹ Vu le caractère incomplet du *Chronicon*, une comparaison intéressante entre les sections pour les années 1120-1200 et le premier vrai cartulaire de l'abbaye (dont la première partie a été rédigée dans les dernières années du douzième siècle) est impossible (Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 10 H 323 (Musée 23a). Voir M. LE GLAY, *Mémoire sur les archives de l'abbaye de Marchiennes*, Douai, 1854, pp. 13-14 et DE LOISNE, Les miniatures du cartulaire de Marchiennes, dans *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, (1903), pp. 476-489. K.F. Werner a voulu identifier André comme l'archiviste de Marchiennes et l'homme derrière le cartulaire, mais la base sur laquelle il essaya de prouver cette thèse est pour le moins douteuse (voir *Andreas*, présenté comme hypothèse pages 459-460, puis comme un fait établi page 462).

<i>Chronicon</i> d'André	Original/Non original	Emprunts littéraires	Ouvrages dont l'influence ou l'usage est attestée
Prologue	original sauf	P (une phrase du ch. 1)	
1	original		HS, P, VA
2	original		HS, VA
3	original		VE, HS (?), VR, VRa
4	original sauf	P (deux phrases du ch. 3)	HS, VR
5	emprunté en partie au	P (deuxième moitié du ch. 3), VR (une phrase du ch. 11)	HS (?), VEM
6	emprunté en partie au	P (début du ch. 3, fin du ch. 5, fragments du ch. 17)	VMR (?)
7	emprunté au	P (ch. 6, sauf la fin)	
8	original		HS, VAM
9	emprunté au	P (ch. 8)	
10	original sauf	VAM (ch. 14)	VRa, VAM
11	emprunté au	P (ch. 4)	
12	emprunté au	P (ch. 10., sauf la fin et début du ch. 13)	VME (?)
13	emprunté au	P (ch. 7)	
14	emprunté au	P (ch. 15)	HS (?)
15	emprunté au	P (fin du ch. 13, dernière phrase du ch. 10, ch. 11 entier)	VR, VME (?)
16	emprunté au	P (ch. 9, sauf la fin)	VME
17	emprunté au	P (ch. 14) ou VME (ch. 8) (?)	
18	original		VMR
19	original		HS (influence), BS
20	emprunté en partie au	P (ch. 28 et 29) ²⁰	VMR
21	original		HS

Ce tableau nous permet de faire deux observations importantes. En premier lieu, on aurait tort de condamner ce « montage » de citations, puisqu'il est question d'une nouvelle manière de composer. L'intention de l'auteur n'était pas d'apporter de nouveaux renseignements historiques, mais de les réorganiser dans un style « historique » proprement dit et de montrer comment l'histoire dynastique et l'hagiographie pouvaient soutenir un récit dans lequel une institution occupait la place centrale. En second lieu, l'usage intensif du *Poeticum* est également trompeur par regard à l'heuristique de cet auteur. Comme dans son histoire des rois de France, André a rouvert des dossiers bien explorés et repris des faits historiques bien connus pour les remettre dans un contexte tout neuf. Familiarisé avec l'histoire de son abbaye depuis au moins trois décennies (de l'époque de la rédaction des *Miracula Sanctae*

²⁰ B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 41, cite par distraction les chapitres 29 et 30.

Rictrudis) et avec l'histoire de la région et du royaume français depuis au moins une dizaine d'années (l'*Historia succincta*, écrite vers 1191-1196), André a composé sa Chronique en se servant d'un vaste réservoir de références, dont on peut encore reconnaître les traces indirectes²¹.

Les indices que je viens de présenter ici, qu'ils concernent la composition ou le contenu du texte, montrent qu'on se trouve en toute probabilité devant un concept inachevé, dont le discours se concentrerait pour chaque phase dans l'histoire de l'abbaye sur les arguments légitimants les plus efficaces. Il est séduisant de croire que cette chronique était originalement conçue comme un diptyque de l'histoire de cette institution, dans laquelle l'année 1024 jouait un rôle de pivot. Ceci expliquerait pourquoi le texte dont nous disposons à présent n'est qu'une exécution fragmentaire d'un concept original, qui dépassait les ambitions du polyptyque de 1116-1120. Outre un résultat de la *Verschulung* de la méthode historique dès le deuxième moitié du douzième siècle²², on pourrait parler de ce texte comme le résultat d'une réorientation du discours historique en faveur d'une approche moins orientée vers l'histoire du salut, mais plutôt vers la raison d'être d'institutions monastiques à l'égard du monde contemporain²³. Quoiqu'un peu naïve, l'initiative que prit André afin de présenter des faits bien connus dans un contexte plus prémédité mérite donc l'attention des chercheurs.

3. Édition du *Chronicon Marchianense*

Note sur le manuscrit

Le *Chronicon Marchianense* a été transmis dans un seul manuscrit des premières années du treizième siècle (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 850, fol. 103r°-118v°), sur lequel sont basées toutes les éditions partielles. Avec peu de grattages, de rasures ou de corrections, le texte nous est parvenu sous forme d'une copie proche

²¹ Une référence à l'histoire des Goths de Jordanès dans le ch. III semble être une expression explicite de son expérience bibliographique.

²² C. ONDRACEK, Die lateinischen Weltchroniken bis in das 12. Jahrhundert, dans *Weltbild und Realität: Einführung in die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung*, éd. U. KNEFELKAMP, Pfaffenweiler, 1992, p. 11.

²³ P. JOHANEK, Weltchronistik und regionale Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter, dans *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, éd. H. PATZE, Sigmaringen, 1987, p. 329.

de l'original²⁴. Comme Delmaire a déjà présenté une description du manuscrit dans son édition du *Poleticum*²⁵, il nous suffira d'attirer l'attention sur quelques caractéristiques spécifiques des feuilles que nous publions ici. Exécutée à l'encre brune et noire par au moins deux mains qui alternent, l'écriture est sobre mais bien lisible. La décoration du texte est assez sobre, avec les titres en rouge et des initiales de trois à cinq lignes de hauteur en rouge et en vert. Quelques initiales sont exécutées en deux couleurs et portent des motifs floraux.

Des notes du quinzième siècle en écriture bien soignée indiquent quelques passages relatifs à l'histoire des saints (comme «Sanctus Amandus nascitur» f. 104r et «De origine Sancti Adalbaldi» f. 105r). Une ou plusieurs mains modernes, peut-être du dix-septième siècle, aident le lecteur à convertir des dates indiquées seulement par le début ou la fin d'un règne (comme f. 105r) ou à rassembler des informations concernant certains sujets historiques (voir la remarque «Materia ducis Adalbaldi genealogia» f. 104v). La preuve que certaines de ces remarques ont été inscrites par un moine de Marchiennes est à retrouver f. 117v, où l'on peut lire la remarque «Castrum Duacense olim inter bona nostra conumerabatur» dans la marge droite²⁶.

²⁴ Seule une phrase ajoutée au bas du f. 117r semble appartenir à une époque un peu plus tardive, sans doute encore la première moitié du treizième siècle.

²⁵ B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 3-9.

²⁶ Il ne me reste qu'à remercier le Prof. Dr. Ludo Milis, Mme Lieve de Mey (Université de Gand), le Dr. Eric Bousmanne et le Dr. Ann Kelders (Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles), Mme Véronique Trémault (IRHT, Orléans), André Vanderputten et Melissa Proviin pour leur aide précieuse.

Edition du texte

CHRONICON MARCHIANENSE

f. 103r

BREVIS EPILOGUS SEQUENTIS OPUSCULI

Cum quadam die in diebus quadregesime post lectionem collationis
 dumnus abbas Symon huius Marcianensis ecclesie abbas XXIus cum qui-
 busdam fratribus de rebus necessariis haberet colloquium, fortuitu inter-
 5 rogavit si haberemus abbatum huius monasterii gesta vel scriptum catha-
 logum. Cui unus respondit hec in scriptis non haberi, tamen ex relatione
 antiquorum et quibusdam cronicis ac historiis de ecclesie prima construc-
 10 tione, de beate Rictrudis adventu, de sanctimonialium regimine, de
 monasterii combustione a Northmannis tunc paganis facta et inhabitant-
 ium interfectione, de sanctimonialium eiectione et monachorum restitu-
 tione cordetenus aliqua se scire. Cumque aliqua inde pro tempore retulis-
 set, domnus abbas illi qui hec narrabat mansueta voce dicit: magis hec
 eum scribere debuisse ad utilitatem filiorum huius ecclesie, quam gesta
 15 regum et bella imperatorum in chronicis componere. Hoc vespere, hoc
 mane facto idem pater secundo repetiit. Multi ex fratribus nostris iam
 ante idipsum petierant, non ferventer, sed tepide, unde et ille segnis fuit
 in operis executione. Igitur secundum abbatis venerabilis imperium licet
 inculto sermone de statu ecclesie nostre aliqua dicemus, sed et de tempo-
 20 ribus regum aliquid interseremus et de vita specialium sanctorum nostro-
 rum pauca scribemus. Quod si quisquam istud opusculum rusticanum obli-
 quo oculo reprehenderit forsitan aut riserit, compositionis istius auctor hoc par-
 vipendit, quia nec laudem minis affectat, nec viterupationem curat, nex lucrum
 inde requirit. Collegimus autem hec prima, que scribimus, ex annalibus et
 25 chronicis ac sanctorum gestis et pontificum Cameracensium actis.
 Postremo perspeximus oculis nostris. Nunc igitur quod venerabilis patris
 iniungit sagacitas, implere debet humilis monachi obedientia sancti spiri-
 ti adiuvante gratia.

104r

Ep., 2 *Initiale à cinq lignes décorée.* 10 *Deuxième main à partir de eiectione.*
Sackur lit erectione. 17 *Ms. lit lias au lieu de licet.*

Ep., 3 Simon de Marchiennes (1199-1202). 20/23 Citation du *Poleticum*
Marceniensis cenobii; B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 65. 23/24
 Paraphrase du *Poleticum Marceniensis cenobii*; *Ibidem*, p. 66.

CAPITULUM I. DE ORTU BEATI AMANDI FUNDATORIS ECCLESIE MARCIANENSIS

- Anno ab Incarnatione Domini quingentesimo septuagesimo primo, anno sexto Johannis papae tercii, Justini II° imperatoris sedis VII°,
- 5 Chilperici autem Francorum regis VIII°, sanctus Amandus Marciensis ecclesie fundator ex nobilissimis parentibus in Aquitania natus est. Qui in puerilibus annis, spreto patre et temporali hereditate, habitum religionis assumpsit et in urbe Bituricensi sub beato Dustrigisilo episcopo annis quindecim in cellula solitarius mansit. Dein Romam profectus, a beato
- 10 Petro apostolo in visu est ammonitus ut ad Gallias rediret et verbum Dei gentibus predicaret. Episcopus itaque absque ullo titulo ab episcopis est consecratus et instanter euglitabat infidelibus. Postmodum igitur in Treiectensi opido, Johanne episcopo defuncto, a Dagoberto rege cathedra episcopali sublimatur. In qua per triennium residens, propter duritiam et
- 15 infecunditatem illius gentis cathedra relicta, rursus ad predicandum Domini verbum gentilibus accingitur. Gandenses et Morinos super fluvium Scaldi manentes, Brabactenses, Sclavos, et multos alios fecit Christianos. f. 104r

II. QUO TEMPORE ET SUB QUO REGE FUNDATA SIT ECCLESIA MARCIANENSIS

- Chilperico igitur rege Francorum anno regni sui XXIII° astu Fredegundis uxoris sue et Landrici comitis palatini in palatio suo Parisius
- 5 fraudulenter interfecto, Lotharius puer filius eius VII mensium succedit in regno. Hunc enim genuerat per eadem Fredegunde. Eo tempore agebat beatus Amandus sextumdecimum etatis annum. Regnabant quoque eodem tempore Theodebertus et Theodericus filii Childeberti filii Sigeberti patrum eiusdem Lotharii et Guntrannus patruus eiusdem,
- 10 Theodebertus in Germania, Theodericus in Aquilonari Burgundia, Guntrannus in Orientali. Bellum itaque intestinum surrexit inter

I, 1 *Première main à partir de capitulum.* 3 *Initiale à cinq lignes décorée.* II, 3 *Initiale à trois lignes décorée.* 6 *Ecrit sur un grattage.*

I, 8 Bourges. 9/11 L'on peut reconnaître de fortes ressemblances entre ces phrases et la description des mêmes faits dans l'*Historia succincta* (voir R. DE BEAUCHAMPS (éd.), *Historiae Franco-Merovingicae synopsis*, Douai, 1633, p. 626). 14 647-650. II, 4/5 Il s'agit de Lothaire II, roi de Neustrie jusqu'en 629, qui succéda son père Chilpéric I en 584. 8 Childebert II, roi d'Austrasie et de Bourgogne (575-595). 10/11 Theudebert II (595-612), Théoderic II (595-613) et Gontran (562-595).

Theodebertum et Theodericum fratrem eius per immissionem Brunecildis regine avie eorum. Theodebertus a Theoderico iuxta prophetiam beati Columbani primum capitur, post interficitur. Theodericus
 15 post modicum tempus pessima morte moritur. Filii eius qui omnes erant ex concubina a Lothario cesi sunt. Guntrannus patruus eius ante hos omnes Cabilone in monasterio sancti Marcelli sancta morte moritur et sic
 20 omnis monarchia regni Francorum ad Lotharium iuxta prophetiam beati Columbani revertitur. Hic duxit uxorem Beretrudam quamdam nobilem et elegantem puellam, ex qua genuit Dagobertum regem et Blitildem
 25 sororem eius. Secundum quosdam cronographos alii dicunt hanc filiam fuisse primi Lotharii avi istius. Hec nupsit Autberto duci nobili in Germania, unde processit Karolida progenies regia. Ex hac progenie nati sunt tres clarissimi principes: Adalbaldu dux et fratres eius
 30 Herchenoldus, maior domus Occidentalis Francie, et Sigebertus comes. Huic Adalbaldo nupsit gloriosa matrona Rictrudis, sicut sequens scriptura declarabit. Hic vir generosus multis locupletabatur possessionibus in pago Flandrensi, Legiensi, Adartensi, Austrebatensi et Pabulensi. In huius pagi limite ad australem plagam situs est locus Marcianensis super fluvium Scarpi. Anno regni Lotharii regis XXIII^o porro a nativitate sancti Amandi quadragesimo construxit idem beatus Amandus ecclesiam sancti Petri in Blandinio et post Marcianensem in honore eiusdem apostoli in prefati ducis Adalbaldi alodio. f. 105r

QUOMODO BEATA RICTRUDIS VENERIT IN GALLIAS. III

Lotharius rex, Beretrude regina mortua, secundam duxit uxorem nomine Sichildam, de qua genuit Hairbertum. Anno regni sui XLV^o

30 *Petite initiale.* 31 *Deuxième main à partir de ce mot.* III, 1 *Première main. a partir de quomodo.* 2 *Initiale à cinq lignes modestement ornée.*

17 Chalon-sur-Saône. 28 Il s'agit des *pagi* de Flandres, de la Lys, d'Artois, d'Ostrevant et de la Pévèle (voir C. PIOT, *Les pagi de la Belgique et leurs subdivisions pendant le Moyen Age*, Bruxelles, s.d. et E. DELCAMBRE, *L'Ostrevant du IX^e au XIII^e siècle*, dans *Le Moyen Age*, t. XXVIII (1927), pp. 241-279). 32 L'auteur suggère qu'Amand aurait fondé l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre au Mont Blandin à Gand vers 610. Une note du douzième siècle dans les annales de Marchiennes propose également la date de 610 (*MGH SS XVI*, p. 610). En réalité, il semble que la date de cette fondation se situe entre 650 et 673-674 (voir G. BERINGS et C. VAN SIMAEY, dans *Monasticon Belge. Tome VII, Province de Flandre Orientale. Premier volume*, Liège, 1988, p. 96 et G. DECLERCQ, *Heiligen, lekenabten en hervormers. De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs tijdens de eerste Middeleeuwen (7^{de}-12^{de} eeuw)*, dans *Ganda en Blandinium. De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs*, Gand, 1997, p. 19). III, 3 629.

- Lotharius diem clausit ultimum. Cui successit Dagobertus filius eius, uni-
 5 versam optinens monarchiam. Hairberto fratri suo, non tamen uterino,
 dedit partem regni animo spontaneo, a flumine Ligeri Aquitaniam scili-
 cet et provintiam et quidquid ulterius utquid Pirineos montes armis et
 virtute posset acquirere. At iuvenis egregius laudis et virtutis cupidus
 Wasconiam, beate Rictrudis genuinam patriam, acquisivit suis viribus.
 10 Habitabant tunc in ea Gethe, qui alio nomine Gothi dicuntur, gens bel-
 licosissima et militari exercitatione egregia. Et qui vult plenius scire hec
 gens que fuerit, librum legat de actibus Getharum quem Jordanis episco-
 pus Ravennatis scripsit. Hairberto igitur et filio eius defuncto, omnia que
 adquisierat sub Dagoberti rediguntur imperio. Ex illo tempore usque in
 15 presens, Wasconia et Francia duo scilicet regna unum sunt facta. Dux igi-
 tur Adalbaldus in Wasconiam profectus, beatam Rictrudem puellam alto
 sanguine ortam vidit, dilexit, legitimam uxorem duxit et in his ultimis
 Gallie finibus secum adduxit. Fuit autem filia Hernoldi clarissimi et for-
 tissimi, cognomento Nobilis, de gente Getharum. Cuius gesta militaria
 20 rithmice composita et eius fratrum adhuc decantantur in palaciis regum
 et theatris populorum.

105v

DE REEDIFICATIONE DUACENSIS CASTRI ET LIBERIS QUOS BEATA RICTRUDIS
 GENUIT. IIII

Eo tempore, Adalbaldus dux et Herchenaldus frater eius maior domus
 reedificaverunt Duacum castrum et infra castrum edificaverunt ecclesiam

IIII, 3 *Initiale à trois lignes ornée.*

4/5 Il s'agit de Dagobert I (629-639) et de Charibert II (630-632). 6 La Loire.
 5/8 Le passage précédent montre de fortes ressemblances avec les *Miracles*
 d'Eusébie (*AASS Mars II*, I, 3 (édition de 1668), p. 452). 15/18 «...Rictrudis
 puella bonae indolis, iam facta nubilis, videtur, diligitur, atque eligitur a quodam
 Francigena, Adalbaldo nomine...» (Vie de Rictrude par Hucbald de Saint-
 Amand, (BHL 7247); *AASS Mai III*, I, 9 (édition de 1680), p. 83). 19/21 Dans
 les chansons de geste françaises, on rencontre deux héros appelés Ernaut ou
 Hernaut. Le premier est l'un des quatre fils de Garin de Monglane, il apparaît
 dans la *Geste de Monglane* et dans *Girart de Vienne* de Bertrand de Bar-Sur-Aube
 (vers 1180) sous le nom d'Ernaut de Beaulande; le second est l'un des sept fils
 d'Ameri de Narbonne, il apparaît dans *Les Narbonnais* et *Le département des*
enfanx Aymeri sous le nom d'Ernaut de Gironde. Ce dernier est le petit-fils
 d'Ernaut de Beaulande. Voir K. UGÉ, The legend of Saint Rictrude: formation
 and transformations (tenth-twelfth century), dans *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIII.*
Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2000, éd. J. GILLINGHAM, Woodbridge, 2001,
 pp. 281-297.

- 5 Beate Dei Genitricis Marie que nunc dicitur Sancti Amati. Beata igitur Rictrudis, ut dictum est ex generosa Wasconum prosapia, regium stema, ac senatorum genus optimum, nobiliter orta, Adalbaldo Francorum duci potentissimo sub rege Dagoberto Clodovei videlicet patre fratrisque ipsius Sigeberti f. 106r
- 10 Austrasiorum regis qui ipsius erant consanguinei, nobiliter nupta. Genuit ex ea filium nomine Maurontum et tres filias virgines sanctissimas: Closendem, Eusebiam et Adalsendem. Mauronto sanctus Richarius Pontivensis pater spiritualis extitit, Closendi sanctus Amandus Elnonensis, Eusebie regina Mathildis uxor Dagoberti regis. Regalium nominum equivocam apellationem, diligens lector animadvertet et ex indicibus
- 15 accidentibus proprietatem uniuscuiusque vel statum temporis diligenter observa. Anno igitur Domini DC^oXLVI^o, Dagobertus rex, anno imperii sui XVI^o profluvio ventris egrotare cepit. Qui perlatus ad basilicam Sancti Dionisii quam excruxerat et magnis donis decoraverat preciosisque intus ornamentis decoraverat, diviso regno duobus filiis suis, de hac vita decessit. Cuius animam cum ad inferos duceretur ab impiis angelis beatus
- 20 Dionisius eripuit et requiei sanctorum coniunxit. Filii eius Clodoveus et Sigebertus in regno succedunt. In regno Clodovei princeps et patricius fuit Erchenaldus frater ducis Adalbaldi de genere Dagoberti, in regno Sigeberti Pipinus Saxo, pater sancte Gertrudis virginis Nivalensis, cognatus prefati principis. Hii duo principes magne fuerunt iusticie et religionis et studiosi in excruendis cenobiis. Primum eius construxit Launiacum et Perronam, Fontanellense illustre cenobium. Sequens autem Nivialense f. 106v
- 25 et Andennense.

7 Au-dessus de l'espace entre les mots optimum et nobiliter, une autre main a ajouté un mot difficile à lire. Le même ajout dans le passage original du *Poleticum* est plus clair et permet de l'identifier comme étant ducens (voir notre ms., f. 121v).

III, 3/9 Citations et paraphrases du *Poleticum Marcenensis cenobii*; B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 67-68. Il est intéressant de voir comment André a préféré ne pas utiliser la forme romane de *Morandus* du *Poleticum*. 9/11 Paraphrase d'une phrase dans la vie de Rictrude par Hucbald (*AASS Mai III*, I, 10 (édition de 1680), p. 83). 12 Ponthieu. 13/16 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE (éd.), *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 68). 21/22 Clovis II, roi de Neustrie et de Bourgogne (639-657) et Sigebert III, roi d'Austrasie (639-656). 26/28 Laon, Péronne, Saint-Wandrille, Nivelles et Andenne.

DE DUCIS ADALBALDI INTERFECTIONE ET BEATE RICTRUDIS CONVERTIO-
NE. V

- Dux igitur Adalbaldus necessitate urgente a pago Austrebatensi quem vulgati nomine Ostreban nunc vocant in Wasconiam proficitur. Cumque
 5 per Aquitaniam iter perageret et ad Petragoricum solum pervenisset, insidiis malignorum et uxoris sue consaguineorum vir iustus appetitur, vulneratur, perimitur. Indigne enim ferebant tam humili matrimonio utpote Francigene quam gentem Gethe vilipendebant sororem suam fuisse coniunctam. Cum autem ab impiis capite multatus fuisset, ut quedam
 10 scriptura refert, ambabus manibus caput suum assumens ad ecclesiam in qua tumultandus erat devexit. Ad cuius sepulcrum multa illo tempore miracula facta sunt. Corpus eius postea inde sublatum est et ad ecclesiam Sancti Amandi Helnone delatum. Sed quo tempore et a quibus personis id factum sit nobis est incognitum. Rex igitur, audita nece tanti viri, turbatus est et omnis curia Francorum lugent patriam tanto principe desolatam. Cogit rex beatam Rictrudem secundum inire matrimonium, ne terram quam debebat regere virili egeret defensore. At illa, secundum beati Amandi consilium spreto regis precepto, celesti se iunxit matrimonio et se et sua ac liberos suos tradidit Christo. At beata Rictrudis inopina insignis
 20 mariti morte repentina viduata, omnem spem quam prius habebat in seculo postponens, divinis cultibus totam semetipsam mancipandam devoverat et ad edificandam domum Dei atque ad exercitationem practice simul ac theoricæ vite non femineo sensu, sed virili animo sese accinxit, auro texto peplo capitis mutato in sacro velamine divine religionis. In huius edificationis constructione vir
 25 sanctus domini Amandus cooperatore assumptus est. Qui ex Aquitanica regione ortus, bonorum operum gratia celeberrimus, divinitus, fortitus fuerat peregrinus Dei hoc magnifice virtutis privilegium ut per diversa terrarum loca constructet oratoria ad religiosum omnipotentis Dei servitium. Huic autem egregio Dei famulo beata Rictrudis vidua Deo devotissima, in sanctitate et iusticia spiritualiter adherens eiusdem fabrice novelle diligentiam omnium prediorum suorum
 30 cunctarumque operum suarum vernaculorum ac mancipiorum et universe super-

f. 107r

V, 3 Initiale à trois lignes ornée.

V, 3/4 Les limites du *pagus* d'Ostrevent étaient formées par l'Escaut (au nord et à l'ouest) et (jusqu'à un certain point) la Scarpe (voir la carte dans E. DELCAMPRE, *L'Ostrevent*, entre pp. 272-273). 5 Périgueux. 5/7 Cité de la vie de Rictrude par Hucbald (*AASS Mai III*, I, 11 (édition de 1680), p. 83). 9/10 Peut-être André renvoie-t-il au passage d'une vie versifiée d'Eusèbe (voir *AASS Février I* (édition de 1658), pp. 302-303). 19/42 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polypyque*, pp. 68-69).

- lectili sue considerationem in eius consilii dispositione constituit, non tamen sine benedictione et auctoritate presulis Cameracensis, qui ea tempestate erat Autbertus memorabilis celesti doctrina et predicatione ubique insignis.
- 35 Inspiratione ergo divina, per qua beatorum pontificum consulta femina virtutis totius patrimonii sui substantiam bonorum omnium largitori Christo libenter refundere decrevit, aliis ecclesiis de utriusque sexus fidelibus personis multa largissime distribuens. Suis vero locis in quibus pie actionis exercitio Deo militatura erat usque ad finem, ut paupertatis sancte amatrix minus et pauca reservans,
- 40 *nichil hesitans in fide*, sed dominicorum verborum continue memor: «*Omni habenti dabitur et abundabit*», et quod iterum scriptum est: «*Timentibus Dominum*» nichil deerit.
- f. 107v

DE SITU MARCIANENSI ET CONSTRUCTIONE CENOBII ET DEDICATIONE ECCLESIE. VI

- Marcianensis igitur locus circumfluentibus aquis et palustri harundine circumdatur, tellus arenosa et in reducto sinu paululum eminentior. Ad aquilonarem eius plagam extenditur grandis silva lignorum germinantium hinc et inde habilis materiei ad quecumque volueris closure, habilis ad conficiendos rogos, utillima usibus diversis. Ad australem partem fluvius Scarpi per fines contiguos orientem versus mediterraneus labitur. Ex utraque parte huius fluminis prata adiacent larga et undique diffusa et
- 10 satis superque abundantissime palustris herba. Omnis circumiacens terra licet colentibus angusta et rara, quia fluminis alveus molli lapsu defluens atque molendinorum sclusis obsistentibus pigrior effectus frequenti alluvione redundans quondam humum fructiferam nunc in annem (*sic*) producit et generat paludem. Ad orientalem Marcianensis ville partem cenobio rite composito et
- 15 a duobus venerabilis episcopis Autberto videlicet et Amando monasterio in honore
- f. 108r

VI, 1 Ms. *lit* construtione. 3 *Initiale à trois lignes ornée*. 5 Ms. *lit* lingnorum. 6 *Le h dans les deux habilis a été ajouté par une autre main*. 18 *Sackur lit* legitimum.

35/38 Voir K. F. WERNER, Le rôle de l'aristocratie dans la christianisation du Nord-Est de la Gaule, dans *Revue de l'histoire de l'église de France*, t. LXII (1976), pp. 45-73, surtout p. 66. 40 Jacques 1:6. 41 Matthieu 25:29. 41/42 Psaumes 33:10; Ecclésiaste 1:19. VI, 3/4 Cité du *Poeticum* (*Ibidem*, p. 67). En 1248, les moines se plaignaient encore du climat insalubre dans la région (R. NAZ, *L'avouerie de l'Abbaye de Marchiennes (1038-1262)*, Paris, 1924, p. 13). 10/14 Cité du *Poeticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 80-81). 14/19 Cité du *Poeticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 69-70). Delmaire fait remarquer que cette dédicace n'est pas mentionnée dans le dossier hagiographique de Rictrude. Une thèse probable est que la dédicace du 24 juillet 1177 ait été reportée à une date du septième siècle. La consécration par Aubert et Amand semble être le fait le plus sûr de tout ce passage (H. PLATELLE, *La Vita*

re apostolorum Petri et Pauli sexto Kalendas Novenbris sollempniter dedicato, nobilis matrona Rictrudis voti compos universa, que sibi residua videbantur esse, testamentum legitimum faciens, perpetuo iure possidenda liberaliter sanctis Dei et eidem contulit monasterio. Obtulit quoque secum tres filias suas virgines infantulas regi Christo celesti sponso fore carissimas.

QUOT BEATE RICTRUDIS CAUSA IN LOCO MONACHORUM SANCTIMONIALES
SUBSTITUTE SINT. VII

- In eodem cenobio primum monacis ad serviendum Deo a beato Amando delegatis, pastor vigilantissimus et procurator interius exteriusque vir
5 fidelis et simplex Ionatus donatus est eis. Qui beati Amandi pontificis discipulo-
rum unus eius sacra eruditione admodum informatus ad hoc officium idoneus
inventus est. Sed non post multum temporis altiori investigatione consultum est
ut, quia gloriosa mater Rictrudis loci fundatrix et universorum que ibi contradi-
ta fuerant domina in illo sancto contubernio inter servos Dei famulari videbatur,
10 congruentius foret secundi sexus fideles ibidem ad serviendum admittere et illius
sancta inhabitationis primatum sanctimonialium ordinem aptius optinere.
Semoto siquidem pace eorum illo adhuc modico conventiculo, nobiles matrone
illuc undique certatim confluunt, religiose vidue que vere vidue erant alacriter
concurrunt, puellaris etiam pudoris iuventus casta introducit, spiritualis gym-
15 nasii palestram omnis in commune aggrediuntur. Fit interim locus pudicitie
domicilium, scola virtutum, ovile dominicarum ovium, ad que omnia Rictrudis
ter beatæ animus vehementer exultat in Domino dominorum. Que super ceteras
dominari omnimodis renuit, immo, magis inter ceteras sub alterius regimonia
conversari regulariter et innocenter vivere delegit. *In cuius vita ibi religio magni-*
20 *ficentissime semper excrevit, ususque ecclesiasticus* in diebus suis laudabiliter *adole-*
vit.

108v

VII, 2 Ms. lit substitute 3 Initiale à six lignes.

Amandi Prima et les fondations monastiques de S. Amand, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. LXVII (1949), p. 462). 16 En 610, selon une note du début du treizième siècle dans les Annales de Marchiennes (*MGH SS XVI*, p. 610). 19/20 Voir les Miracles de Rictrude (*AASS Mai III*, I, 6 (édition de 1680), p. 90). VII, 5 André a changé le nom de Jonas en Ionatus (voir le B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 35 et 70). Une note du douzième siècle dans les annales de Marchiennes date l'ascension de Jonat en 641 (*MGH SS XVI*, p. 610). 4/21 Cité du *Poeticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 69-70). Les fragments en italique renvoient à une phrase des *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (*MGH SS VII*, p. 461).

DE CONVERSIONE BEATI MAURONTI ET EXILIO BEATI AMATI ARCHIEPISCOPI. VIII

Anno Domini D°CLXIII°, Clodoveus rex moritur et successit ei Lotharius filius eius. Mortuo etiam Erchenaldo maiore domus fratre
 5 Adalbaldi ducis, Franci Ebroinum quendam maiorem domus statuunt. Sanctus Amatus eo tempore Senonensi ecclesie presidebat archiepiscopo. Anno Domini D°CLXVII°, Lothario rege mortuo, Hildericus frater eius post eum regnat. Quo assumpto in regno, Ebroinus a principatu ducitur et Leudisius filius Erchenaldi consobrius beati Mauronti maior domus
 10 statuitur. Anno Domini D°CLXXVIII°, Hildericus rege interfecto, Theodericus frater eius in regno restituitur. Audiens Ebroinus Hildericum mortuum et Theodericum in regno restitutum, a Luxovio, ubi monachus erat, aufugit et Leudisium cum thesauris regis Childerici casu obvium
 15 habuit et occidit. Thesauros tulit, quos Theoderico regi presentans principatum suum redemit. Eodem tempore beatus Maurontus sancte Rictrudis primogenitus in aula regis Theoderici clarus fulgebat et honoratus utpote regis consanguineus. Qui hortatu sacre matris contempnens seculum et sponsam quam uxorem accipere decreverat relinquens, habitum sumpsit religionis. Rex autem Theodericus ad se revocatum et suum
 20 tradens anulum fecit eum totius curie cancellarium. Construxit autem ecclesiam in predio suo qui Broilus tunc dicebatur, nunc autem Menrivilla quasi Mauronti villa vocatur. Ibi monachos congregavit et illis necessaria sufficienter tribuit. Ebroinus autem supradictus ex monacho maior domus cepit exosos habere eos qui se quondam a principatu deiecerant et apostasie eius reprehensores erant. Unde factum est ut per regis
 25 potentiam quosdam exere daret, alios exules reddere, nonnullos etiam interficeret. Sanctum enim Leodegarium Augustudunensem episcopum variis iniuriis affectum occidit. Sanctum Philibertum abbatem

VIII, 3 *Initiale à trois lignes.*

VIII, 3/4 L'auteur propose une date erronée; Lothaire III succéda son père en 657. 4/11 La chronologie de ces événements telle qu'elle est présentée ici est imprécise. Lothaire III mourut en 673, laissant le gouvernement de Neustrie et de Bourgogne à son frère Théodéric III. Childéric II d'Austrasie le chassa presque immédiatement du trône. Sa mort en 675 permit à Théodéric de revenir, après quoi celui-ci a également pris le trône d'Austrasie des fils de Lothaire III en 679. Il régna seul jusqu'en 690. 12 Luxeuil. 22 Merville. 22/25 Voir le récit dans l'*Historia succincta* (R. DE BEAUCHAMPS (éd.), *Historia*, p. 631). 27/28 En 685 (Annales de Marchiennes, *MGH SS XVI*, p. 611). 28/41 Les phrases de *Sanctum...* à ... *Eusebia* forment la version condensée du récit d'Hucbald, dans

- Agimegiense cenobio eiectum in insula Herio incarcerationi fecit. Sanctum
 30 vero Amatam Senonensem archiepiscopum de infidelitate apud regem
 insimulatum in Perrona monasterio abbati Ultano fratri sancti Fursei cus-
 todendum. Vultano autem abbate defuncto, tradidit eum beato
 Mauronto ut eum custodie manciparet in suo monasterio. Beatus autem
 Maurontus iuxta regis preceptum sanctum assumens episcopum pernit
 35 Cameracum. Ingressus autem beatus Amatus ecclesiam Sancte Domini
 Genitricis Marie cum suis custodibus, maturus cappam de collo substulit
 et cirothecas de manibus abstraxit et super solem putans porticam
 ligneam suspendit. Quo viso beatus Maurontus in stupore versus, quem
 proditorem regis putabat sanctum Dei esse est admiratus. Quem secum
 40 assumens ad Hamagiense cenobium adduxit ubi eius proavia Gertrudis
 fuerat abbatisa et successerat eius soror Eusebia.

109v

DE SITU HAMATICENSI ET ANTIQUA DIGNITATE EIUSDEM LOCI. IX

- Extat preterea a littore Marcenienti spatio stadiorum ferme quatuor
 Amagiensis simul locus amenus, in quo multorum annorum basilica antiquissi-
 ma cernitur apostolorum principis Petri honore et nomine a proluxa retro etata
 5 dicata. Quem locum multa laude inscriptis suis extulerunt qui ante nos fuerunt,
 quod videlicet paradisiace ibi fuerit exercitatio vite, quod servorum ancilla-
 rumque Dei frequentia conventicula, quod ibi in quibusdam tricesimus, in quis-
 busdam sexagesimus, in quibusdam centesimus fructus spirituali fecunditate pul-
 lulaverit celestibus horreis inferendus, quod ibi degentium Deoque servientium
 10 conversatio in celis erat. Ibi aliquanto tempore angelice dignitatis persone
 utriusque sexus conmorantes atque sub castris regis eterni strenua milicia fortiter
 decertantes crebris ictibus congresses antiquum hostem Salvatoris auxilio efficaci-
 15 ter prostraverunt. Fuerunt hii beatus scilicet archiepiscopus Amatus, cuius super-
 ius mentio habita est, vir Domini Maurontus domine Rictrudis filius, Gertrudis
 venerabilis domne Gerberte matris Adalbaldi ducis genitrix. Hunc ergo locum
 terris magis omnibus unum virgo gloriosa Eusebia, post habitis aliis, coluisse
 refertur.

10r

IX, 2 Initiale à trois lignes.

sa *Vita sancti Amati* (BHL 363-4; *AASS Septembre IV*, 4-7 (édition de 1753), p. 129). 29 Jumièges; Noirmoutier. 31 Péronne. 41 Hamage. IX, 3/4 Voir B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 35, pour l'origine virgilienne de la phrase. 3/17 Cité du *Poeticum* (*Ibidem*, p. 71-72).

DE TRANSITU BEATI AMATI, QUI EST IDUS SEPTEMBRIS, ET SEPULTURA EIUS
IN MENRIVILLA. X

Beata Rictrudis indignum ferens tantum presulem scilicet beatum Amatum cum puellulis manere apud Hamaticum, eo ad se vocato Marcianis aliquanto tempore cum ea mansit. Deinde hortat sanctum virum, orat, obsecrat ut ad Broilum monasterium Mauronti filii sui pergat et pastorem curam monachorum ibi Deo servientium assumat. Qui precibus beate matrone adquiescens apud Menrivillam secessit et anno VI° exulatus sui porro anno XII° regis Theoderici, anno DC°XC° ab Incarnatione Domini ad Dominum migravit. Sepelivit autem eum ibi beatus Maurontus in propria et omnia sua ei tradidit per cartarum instrumenta. Audiens autem rex Theodericus miracula que fiebant ad eius sacrum tumulum, penitentia ductus venit ad sanctum, plorans et gemens pro his que malo consilio commiserat in eum.

CUR BEATUS MAURONTUS POSSESSIONEM MATRIS SIBI RELICTAM DETRUNC- f. 10v
CAVERIT ET BEATUS AMATUM INDE HEREDEM FECERIT. XI

- Sed inter hec mirari et conqueri solent quidam: filius eius sanctus Maurontus, cur matris possessionem sibi detruncaverit et beatum confessorem
- 5 Amatum quasi adoptionis sorte eiusdem partis sue heredem constituere voluerit. Fecit hoc fortasse divini amoris instinctu ut, quoniam idem Senonensium fidelis archiepiscopus regali tyrannide ab honore proprie sedis iniuste fuerat expulsus et in hac regione sine culpa exilio religatus, illius exilii calamitatisque erumnam
- 10 *probabilem se Deo* exhibere contendebat, vir iustus larga munificentia pie solaretur et futurum olim existeret, ut post felicem ex hoc mundo eius transitum, ubi sacratissimum ipsius corpus certa sede requiesceret famulantes inibi Domino, et in perpetuis reliquiarum excubiis pernoctantes sumptus communes et vite necessaria copiosissime inde perciperent.

X, 3 *Initiale à trois lignes.* XI, 3 *Initiale à deux lignes modestement ornée.*

X, 3/14 Citation et paraphrase de la *Vita sancti Amati* (BHL 363-4; *AASS Septembre IV*, respectivement du ch. 14 (p. 130) et 9-11 (pp. 129-30) (édition de 1753)). XI, 3/14 Cité du *Poeticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 69). 9/10 2 Timothée 2:15.

DE OBITU SANCTE GERTRUDIS ET PROMOTIONE BEATE EUSEBIE VIRGINIS.
XII

- Transmigratis autem a loco Hamaticensi beatis viris Dei famulis Amato episcopo et levita Mauronto cum quibus sibi visum fuerat ad alia loca, hoc est ad
- 5 Menrivillam, supra fluvium Legie sitam que de partitione hereditatis matris sue fundus prestantissimus sortito sibi provenerat, ipsa Eusebia eius loci abbatissa cum religiosus cultus matronis et ceteris fidelibus usque in finem decreverunt ibidem persistere in bonorum operum exercitatione, Christo fideliter servientes die nocteque. Que post laboriosam amministrationem huius transeuntis vite, post
- 10 agones continue perpressos in bonis actionibus et sancta conversatione, unaqueque earum in hora finis et vocationis sue feliciter egrediuntur de corpore, tendentes ad Dominum remuneratorem omnium cum certa spe pietatis illius et misericordie. Cadaverum vero membra tumulata sunt in eadem Beati Petri basilica cum magnifico honore. Quod et si per Dei dispositionem quarundam earum
- 15 ossa exinde videnter esse sublata, carnis tamen et sanguinis, cinis residuus et pulvis ibi relictus est in terra, corpori proprio et spetiei sue restituendus in generali resurrectione et ultima. Anno Domini D^oCLV^o, post sanctissime Gertrudis famule Christi tranquillam dormitionem, flos virgineus candidissimus ut lilium, proneptis eius Eusebia virgo prudentissima, non ventose ambitionis dominatu
- 20 sed caritate, cura et sollicitudine in loco successit, geminam plebem sagici industria contuendo sollerter perlustrans, celestis exortationis verbo et pie operationis exemplo, universis semetipsam virtutis speculum indesinenter ostensans secundum Salvatoris eloquium, dicentis: «*Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona et glorificent patrem vestrum qui in celis est.*» Quod enim in bonis
- 25 maturum esse intellexerat, forti perseverantia finetenus tueri et in hoc persistere semper hortabatur, quod vero in quibusdam minus perfectum forte noverat, crebris conatibus ad meliorem profectum sese paulatim extendere et ad virtutum culmina usque crescendere corroborando inculcabat assidue. Huius sacratissime

f. 111r

f. 111v

XII, 3 *Initiale à quatre lignes.* 6 Comme dans le *Poleticum*, Eusebia est écrit d'une encre plus foncée, sur un grattage, dont les parties visibles indiquent pourtant que le même mot a été rasé. Une main du XVI^e siècle a écrit Gertrudis au-dessus d'Eusebia, ce qui semble plus logique dans le contexte du récit. La même correction se voit dans le *Poleticum*, f. 125v. 7 Ms. *lit religiosi*.

XII, 5 *La Lys.* 3/17 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 73-74). Ce fragment, allant de *Que...* à *ultima* se retrouve presque littéralement dans les *Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae* (AASS Mars II, 5 (édition de 1668), p. 458). 17/28 Ce fragment, allant de *Anno...* à *assidue* se retrouve presque littéralement dans les *Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae* (AASS Mars II, 2 (édition de 1668), p. 457). 13/24 Matthieu 5:16.

30 virginis vitam vel actionum gesta non michi propositum est currente calamo plenius explicare, quoniam profundioris scientie quidam per prosa et metro ea luculentissime edidit. Hoc tamen dicendum et nullatenus alicui incredibile debet esse, quod in sancte conversationis proposito dum advixit, in eisdem suis locis norma iusticie et sanctitatis disciplina celeberrime floruerit, opinionis quoque sancte rumor odorque beatarum virtutum longe lateque exinde diffusus ac dilatatus sit.

DE OBITU BEATE RICTRUDIS ET SEPULTURA. XIII

Beata Rictrudis, decurso sane sue sincerissime vite tempore in bonorum omnium strenuissima exercitatione, etatis sue septuagesimo quarto anno, perceptura remunerationem eternam sanctorum laborum suorum, in pace feliciter quarto Idus Maii diem clausit extremum. Corpus autem sacratissimum illius in dextera parte ecclesie ante altare Sancti Johannis Baptiste Sanctique Apostoli Andree iuxta morem convenienti traditur sepulture a Dei sacerdotibus et fideli populo terre, presente ibidem filio eius beato Mauronti venerabili abbate et egregio levita, simulque sorore eius sancta virgine Eusebia, Closende quoque que duarum sororum maior natu erat, quorum decenti compositione fuerant ista omnia rite completa. Adalsendis enim adhuc matre vivente iam obierat, cuius sacrum funus pia genitrix planctu et luctu debitoque obsequio convenientissime in omnibus executata fuerat. 112r

XIII. DE TESTAMENTO QUOD FECIT ECCLESIE MARCIANENSI

His itaque pro tempore vel rerum varietate sufficienter expeditis, sicut superius promissum est nunc iam ordiri aggrediamur testamentum quod in vita sua ecclesie sue fecit domina Rictrudis, mater mirabilis et bonorum memoria digna, de donariis et allodiis suis. In hoc rite conficiendo firmiterque corroborando, sub rege Clodoveo Sigeberti fratre quorum pater fuit Dagobertus rex, magnorum

XIII, 2 *Initiale à trois lignes.* 12 Ms. *lit* plactu. XIII, 2 *Initiale à cinq lignes.*

30/31 Elles ne sont, toutefois, pas du même auteur (voir l'introduction). 31/34 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 75-76. Le fragment, allant de *Huius...* à *sit* se retrouve presque littéralement dans les *Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae* (AASS Mars II, 3 (édition de 1668), pp. 457-458). XIII, 2/13 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 71). 4/5 En 688, selon les *Annales Marchianenses* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 611). 5/11 Bernard Delmaire fait remarquer que ni le lieu exact de la tombe, ni le nom des enfants présents ne figurent dans l'hagiographie de Rictrude (*L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 71, note 12). XIII, 6 L'auteur semble avoir remarqué l'erreur dans la généalogie du *Poleticum*, qui mentionne Lothaire au lieu de Dagobert.

- virorum auctoritas sollempniter affuit et legitima testatio, memorati videlicet sancti Autberti antistitis, sancti quoque Vinditiani nondum episcopi, sed post eiusdem sancti Autberti successoris, Honorati Atrebatensis dioceseos archidiaconi, qui post vite sue excessum tumultus est in monte sancti Eligii iuxta sepulcrum sancti Vinditiani episcopi, sepedicti quoque pontificis sancti Amandi, Ionathi et Credebaldi servorum Christi, qui auditores fuerunt eiusdem viri Dei, plurimorum etiam canonicorum illustrium ordinis sui proprietatem conservantium. Canon etenim regula dicitur: inde canonicus regularis nuncupatur.
- 15 Interfuerunt etiam in huius donationis confirmatione proceres palatini laici: Maldegarius maior domus, Vincentius postea dictus, qui per revelationem angelicam Altummontem monasterium construxit, et in loco quem Soneias dicunt aliud construxit, Amalfrius quoque illustris qui in Honulfi curte monasterium fundavit, ubi deputatis sanctimonialibus filiam suam Aurinam prefecit, *Baidolo*
- 20 etiam, *qui corpus sancte Marie Magdalene de Hierusalem in Burgundiam in locum Vercelliacum attulisse fertur*. Beati denique predicti sacerdotes scilicet Amandus atque Autbertus quorum lingue divino munere facte sunt celi claves in virtute ligandi et solvendi, assensu regis et palatinorum procerum necnon et acclamatione cleri et populo horribili anathemate excommunicaverunt ut de collatis in presentia beneficiis ecclesie Marcenisi vel in futuro tempore conferendis nullus
- 25 umquam quippiam auferre seu diminuere quolibet modo presumat, sed ecclesia ibique famulantes Deo sua cum integritate possideant et Domino fideliter in omni tempore deserviant. f. 113r

XV. DE TRANSITU BEATE EUSEBIE VIRGINIS

Beata igitur virgo Eusebia post transitum beate Gertrudis in loco Hamaticensi successit etate duodennis, que eidem loco prefuit usque ad Xlimum annum regni Theoderici vita et miraculis laudabilis. Que mundo

18 *Troisième (?) main à partir de Honulfi.* 21 *Première main à partir de predicti* 26 *Au bas de la feuille on peut voir le mot cappam, dont la fonction dans ce texte reste obscure.* XV, 2 *Initiale à trois lignes.*

17 Hautmont; Soignies. 18 Honnecourt. 19 Le *Poleticum* cite cette personne sous le nom d'Auriana (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 78). 21 Vézelay. 19/21 Les fragments en italique renvoient à une citation des *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (MGH SS VII, p. 464). 22/23 Paraphrase de Matthieu 16:19. 2/28 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 77-79). Pour l'identification des personnages dans ce paragraphe, voir les notes de Delmaire. XV, 2/4 Paraphrase de la vie de Rictrude par Hucbald (*AASS Mai III*, III, 1 (édition de 1680), p. 87). 4/21 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 76). Ce fragment se retrouve littéralement dans les *Miracula Sanctae*

- 5 cum illecebris et concupiscentiis eius viriliter superato et hoste maligno cum pravis suggestionibus eius triumphato, virginitatis adeptura bravium et perpetuatis emolumentum, septimo decimo Kalendas Aprilis gratanter migravit ad Christum. Fabricata autem sibi fuerat minuscule quantitatis edicula, id est tredecim pedum longitudinis et septem latitudinis, adherens ecclesie ab australi plaga.
- 10 In hac ergo a parte pedum ara constructa et mausoleo composito omni auro pretiosior sancti corporis eius gleba in pace sepulta est. Hoc vero oratorium salubre sanctorum reliquiarum virtute prestans beneficia populis a quamplurimis vel febribus vel quibuslibet morbis gravatis sepius frequentatur, qui solamen querentes *in fide nichil hesitantes*, salutifero somno super tumbam cervice reflexa
- 15 soporati, statim celeste sentiunt medelam et integre sanitati restituuntur. Quod autem scriptorum tarditas et inertia, Dei omnipotentiam et miracula que in sanctis suis clementer operatur, occultari negligenter sinit, non mediocriter increpanda, sed vehementer culpanda est talis eorum incuria, quibus summi Largitoris prudentia et scientie donum et efficaciam scribendi contulit, ut notam faciant
- 20 filiis hominum potentiam suam et gloriam magnificentie regni sui et Scriptura testatur apertissime: « *Opera Domini revelare et confiteri honorificum est.* » Vere locus iste sanctus est, quamvis neglectus et quamvis regentium culpanda incuria non fuerit, ut dignum est, decentissime compositus et sublimatus. Nisi fallor narratum michi fuisse reminiscor a quodam boni testimonis presbitero et monacho
- 25 quod quidam naute cum onusta nave ad sua revertentes nocturnio tempore fluvium qui preterfluit remigando sulcabant. Inhorruerat vero tenebrarum densissima caligo, nec luna, nec sideribus apparentibus, sed, ut sibi videbatur a celo teratenus per inane aeris quasi omnem mundum tenebris eisdem occupantibus, cum ecce subito circa quartam vigiliam noctis per medium eiusdem terre calignis
- 30 a longe intuerentur per illius sancte basilice patentes fenestras magni splendoris lucem emicuisse, ita ut aqua que pre oculis prius latebat conspectibus eorum fieret perspicabilis. Hinc harundinetum, inde comam silvestrem clarius conspicerent, que lucis continuatio tamdiu ab eis visa est donec leni allapsu vicinius adessent. Factum est autem, cum paulatim rarecendo se fulgur ille diffusus reprimeret, ut indeficientis perspicuitate claritudinis odor quidam gratissimus nares
- 35 eorum perstringeret, qui nimirum terrore attonitos plenius recrearet. Sic autem predicti remiges animati patrocinia sanctorum et locum precipuum venerationi habentes et ammirationi ceptum iter perlegunt cum exultatione ingenti.

3v

14r

Eusebiae (AASS Mars II, 3 (édition de 1668), p. 458). La citation en italique est de Tobie 12:7. 14 Voir Jacques 1:6. 21/22 Ézéchiél 42:13. 21/38 Cité du *Poleticum* (*Ibidem*, p. 74). Ce fragment se retrouve littéralement dans les *Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae* (AASS Mars II, 5-6 (édition de 1668), p. 458). 24 Il s'agit, en fait, de l'auteur du *Poleticum* (voir B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 74).

DE EDIFICATIONE ECCLESIE SANCTI MARIE IN LOCO HAMATICENSI ET
TRANSLATIONE SANCTE EUSEBIE. XVI

- Post transitum beate virginis Eusebie a Gertrude, laudabilis meriti femina
que fuerat uxor cuiusdam Ingomari viri clarissimi et eidem sancte in loco
5 regendo successerat, quia ecclesia Beati Petri et sanctimonialibus erat
angusta et sanctorum corporibus custodiendis minus honesta et ab aliis
fidelibus circa Hamaticum manentibus, in honore beatissime virginis Marie
constructum est templum non longe a memorata basilica Beati Petri in dextro
latere fundatum. Quod Vinditianus sanctus Cameracensis Atrebatensisque sedis
10 honorabilis episcopus, beati Autberti successor emeritus, nomini et venerationi f. 114v
eiusdem sancta Dei genitricis Marie quartodecimo Kalendas Decembris celebri-
ter dedicavit, in cuius consecrationis officio oportuno cum aliis ecclesiasticis per-
sonis venerabilis Hatta interfuit, qui a rege Teoderico electus ab eodem
Vinditiano pontifice secundo ordinationis sue anno cenobii beati Vedasti confes-
15 soris Christi primus abba benedictus extiterat idemque simul Gandensem Sancti
Petri apostoli abbatiam que in monte Blandinio sita est nobiliter regebat.
Antequam hec ecclesie dedicatio celebraretur, V. Kalendas Novembris
corpora sanctarum Eusebie et Gertrudis de basilica Sancti Petri sunt leva-
ta, triduo peracto ieiunio iussione angelica, a predicto Hatta venerabili
20 abbate et aliis personis ecclesiasticis et in ecclesiam Dei Genitricis dedica-
tione peracta, presente iam dicto sancto Vindiciano Cameracensi atque
Atrebatensi episcopo, quartodecimo Kalendas Decembris translata.

DE TRANSLATIONE SECUNDA. XVII

De beate Eusebie virginis translatione secunda qua scilicet sacrum eius
corpus et a quibus personis de monasterio Hamaticensi sit Marcianis

XVI, 2 *Une autre main a ajouté prima après Eusebia.* 3 *Initiale à cinq lignes ornée.* 10 *Ms. lit eritus, sans aucune trace d'une abbréviation quelconque.*
XVII, 2 *Initiale à trois lignes ornée.*

XVI, 3 Cette Gertrude n'était pas la grand-mère d'Adalbold et l'arrière-grand-
mère d'Eusèbe, comme l'affirme l'auteur du *Poleticum*. Voici la preuve qu'André
a bien noté les erreurs et les divergences entre le *Poleticum* et l'hagiographie locale
(voir B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 72, note 15). 7/16 Cité du
Poleticum (*Ibidem*, pp. 72-73). Ce fragment se retrouve littéralement dans les
Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae (AASS Mars II, 4 (édition de 1668), p. 458). 11/12
Il apparaît qu'à Marchiennes, la translation d'Eusèbe était fêtée à cette date (B.
DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 72, note 16). 17/22 Paraphrase des
Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae (AASS Mars II, 4 (édition de 1668), p. 458). XVII,
2/4 La date exacte de cette deuxième translation reste inconnue; la liturgie de
Marchiennes la fêtait le 18 novembre.

- translatum, quod stilo evidentius prosequendum sit certum nichil occurrit, sed
 5 et de sanctis ceteris quorum menbra pretiosa meritis preclaris locum nostrum f. 5r
 illustrent, quorum patrocinia cotidiano veneramur officio, quorum cotidie sanc-
 ta intercessione et pio confovemur auxilio, nec littera, nec traditio insinuat quod
 merito conscribi oporteat. Quamobrem consultius de his censimus reticere, quam
 fabulosum aliquid commentando referre. Tradunt tantummodo qui nunc super-
 10 sunt et cenobite et loci incole quod, seculo adhuc in meliore pace et gratiori pro-
 speritate consistente, usus huiusmodi adoleverit, ut per singulos annos in dedica-
 tione ecclesie pridie ante diem festum illuc transferretur corpus sancte cum reli-
 quiis et crucibus de contione fratrum quibusdam simul comitantibus, qui cum
 15 reverentia et timore vespertinalem synaxim et nocturnalem consuetudinaliter qui-
 rent adimplere. In crastinum autem dominus abbas vel decanus superveniret cum
 collegii parte residua et sic pariter officii diurni percelebrarent festiva gaudia. Iam
 vero die festo mediante, celebratis missarum sollempniis et misteriorum celestium
 sacramentis, cum alacritate animi et iocunditate spiritali redirent ad sua in voce
 exultationis.

XVIII. DE TRANSITU BEATI MAURONTI ABBATIS ET SEPULTURA

- Post beatum sancti Amati transitum, sanctus Maurontus relicta regali
 curia ad suum in Menrivilla secessit monasterium, abbatis curam super
 ceteros fratres impendens vigilantissimam. Quam administrationem per 115v
 5 duodecim annos strenue complens, in monasterio Marcianense anno ab
 Incarnatione Domini septingentesimo primo, anno quarto Hildeberti
 regis, filii Theoderici migravit ad Dominum IIII. Nonas Maii. Sepultus
 est autem in eiusdem monasterii cripta in orientali parte constructa. Iuxta
 sepulchrum eius extitit puteus quem suis manibus fodisse traditur et
 10 usque hodie puteus Sancti Mauronti vocatur. Antiquis temporibus, ut
 scriptum invenimus, aqua huius putei infirmis illis qui morbo scroella-
 rum deturpabantur, salubris fuisse perhibetur. Nam ex eadem aqua bibe-
 bant et ulcera lavabant et ex ulceribus vermes cadebant. Tempore etiam

9 Ms. *lit* tantummodo. 13 Simul *manque* dans l'édition du *Poleticum*, bien qu'il figure dans le seul manuscrit (voir notre ms., f. 129r et l'édition, p. 77). 18 Ms. *lit* redirent. XVIII, 2 *Initiale* à cinq lignes ornée. 6 *Deuxième main* à partir de anno.

4/19 Cité du *Poleticum* (B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 76-77). Ce fragment se retrouve littéralement dans les *Miracula Sanctae Eusebiae* (AASS Mars II, 8 (édition de 1668), p. 459). 9/10 C'est à dire vers 1116-1120. XVIII, 6/7 L'auteur renvoie au roi Childebert IV, qui gouverna les Francs de 694 à 711. 9/10 Voir les *Miracles* de Rictrude (AASS Mai III, I, 6 (édition de 1680), p. 95).

- abbatis Amandi quidam monachus nomine Folquinus, qui illo tempore
 15 scriptor erat satis bonus, infirmitate unius pedis valde affligebatur. Qui
 fide plenus aqua huius putei pedem infirmum abluit, et statim convaluit.
 Et ne aliquis hec legens putet hoc esse falsum: ego qui scribo vidi mona-
 chum predictum et domnum Widonem huius loci subpriorem hoc ipsum
 20 testantem. Igitur post predictorum sanctorum in Christo dormitionem
 Ionati videlicet atque Mauronti et beate matrone Rictrudis, prima prefuit
 abbatissa in cenobio Marcianensi filia eius Clothsendis. Cui successerunt
 alie, quarum nomina preter unius nescimus, per CCC et XXII annos
 monasterii regimen optinentes, ab anno V^o Hildeberti regis usque ad
 XXVIII^o Roberti filii Hugonis Capet.

116r NOMINA QUORUNDAM SANCTORUM QUI FUERUNT BEATE RICTRUDIS TEM-
 PORE IN REGNO FRANCORUM. XIX

Dignum duximus indicare posteris nomina quorundam sanctorum qui
 beate Rictrudis tempore regnum Francorum illustrarunt sua sanctitate.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>16ra 5 Sanctus Livinus episcopus et martyr.
 Sanctus Foillanus episcopus et martyr.
 Sanctus Leodegarius Augustudunensis
 episcopus et martyr.
 Sanctus Theodardus Treiectensis epi-
 10 scopus et martyr.
 Sanctus Lambertus eiusdem urbis epi-
 scopus et martyr.
 Sanctus Genesius Lugdunensis archie-
 piscopus.</p> | <p>15 Sanctus Audoenus Rothomagensis
 archiepiscopus.
 Sanctus Ansbertus eiusdem urbis
 archiepiscopus.
 Sanctus Amatus Senonensis archiepi-
 20 scopus.
 Sanctus Wlfrannus eiusdem urbis
 archiepiscopus.
 Sanctus Austregisilus Bituricensis
 archiepiscopus.</p> |
|---|---|

22 Une autre main semble avoir voulu changer l'abréviation pour *per* en celle
 pour *Christus*. 23 Le ° manque. XIX, 1 Première main à partir de nomina.
 2 Initiale à trois lignes ornée.

14/15 Amand, abbé de Marchiennes de 1116 à 1136. 22 Deux actes de 975
 et 976 (voir B. DELMAIRE, *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 84, note 47) et le continuateur
 des *Annales Marchianenses* de la fin du treizième siècle l'identifient sous le nom de
 Judith, qui gouverna l'abbaye autour de 986 (MGH SS XVI, p. 613). 24 Robert
 le Pieux (996-1031). André fait allusion à 1024, année de la conversion du
 monastère en communauté d'hommes. Cette opération s'est effectuée avec l'aide
 du comte de Flandre, Baudouin IV, qui invita Léduin, abbé de Saint-Vaast, à
 réformer l'abbaye (R. NAZ, *L'avouerie*, p. 17 et MGH SS XVII, p. 614). XIX,
 1/2 L'inclusion de cette liste est la suite d'ambitions déjà exprimées dans
 l'*Historia succincta*, où une liste beaucoup plus concise de saints contemporains
 est incorporée dans l'histoire de la fondation de Marchiennes (voir R. DE
 BEAUCHAMPS (éd.), *Historiae*, p. 627).

16rb	25	Sanctus Amandus Treieccensis episcopus. Sanctus Hubertus eiusdem urbis episcopus. Sanctus Wilbrordus Ultraiectensis episcopus.	70	Sanctus Waningus confessor. Sanctus Gislenu abbas Cellensis. Sanctus Landelinus abbas Crispinii. Sanctus Wlmarus abbas Alti Montis. Sanctus Humbertus abbas Maricolis.
	30	Sanctus Aurbertus Cameracensis episcopus. Sanctus Vindicianus eiusdem urbis episcopus.	75	Sanctus Ionatus abbas Marcianensis. Sanctus Maurontus abbas Broilensis. Sanctus Bertinus abbas Sithiensis. Sanctus Richarius abbas Centule. Sanctus Iudocus abbas.
	35	Sanctus Audomarus Morinensis episcopus. Sanctus Aicharius Noviomensis et Tornacensis episcopus. Sanctus Eligius et	80	Sanctus Winnocus abbas. Sanctus Walericus abbas. Sanctus Killianus ex episcopo abbas. Sanctus Vltanus abbas Montis Sancti Quintini
	40	Sanctus Mummolenus earundem urbium episcopi. Sanctus Vltanus abbas Montis Sancti Quintini Sanctus Vrsmarus episcopus.	85	Sanctus Furseus confessor. Sanctus Etto confessor. Sanctus Eurardus confessor. Sanctus Vincentius confessor de Songeais.
	45	Sanctus Erminus episcopus. Sanctus Drausius Suessionensis episcopus.	90	Eodem tempore floruit venerabilis presbiter et monachus Beda in Anglia, doctor egregius et vita sanctissimus. Sancta Eusebia virgo Hamaticensis.
	f. 116va	Sanctus Sulpitius Bituricensis episcopus.		Sancta Gertrudis virgo Nivialensis.
	50	Sanctus Faro Meldensis episcopus. Sanctus Salvius Anbianensis episcopus. Sanctus Arnulfus Mettensis episcopus. Sanctus Feriolus Uticensis episcopus.	95	Sancta Aldegundis virgo Malbodiensis. Sancta Ragenfledis virgo Doniniensis. Sancta Hunegundis virgo Humolariensis.
	55	Sanctus Modericus Aridensis episcopus. Sanctus Vigor Baiocensis episcopus. Sanctus Eucharius Aurelianensis episcopus.	100	Sancta Maxelendis virgo Cameraensis. Sancta Balthildis regina uxor Clodovei regis Francorum.
	60	Sanctus Bavo quondam comes. Sanctus Columbanus abbas Luxoviensis. Sanctus Eustasius abbas eiusdem loci. Sanctus Agilus abbas Resbacensis.	105	Sancta Ita mater sancte Gertrudis Nivialensis. Sancta Waldetrudis soror sancte Aldegundis uxor sancti Vincentii. Sancta Gertrudis vidua Marcianensis. Sancta Begga soror sancte Gertrudis Nivialensis, uxor Ansigisi ducis, Andellensis.
	65	Sanctus Philibertus abbas Gimegiensis. Sanctus Aichardus abbas ibidem. Sanctus Wandregisilus abbas Fontanellensis.	110	Sancta Berta Blanziacensis uxor Sigefridi comitis.
ivb				

f. 117ra

17rb

58 Ms. *lit* Aurelianensis. 67 Ms *lit*. Aichadrus. 86 Une autre main (plus tardive?) a ajouté Letiis. 90 *Petite initiale*. 110 Sackur *lit* Nivialensis, Andellensis, uxor Ansigisi ducis.

- 115 Horum sanctorum nomina, vitas et gesta auctor huius opusculi legit et neminem sanctum descripsit, quem in sanctorum gestis sanctum scriptum non invenerit.

NOMINA PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM ET REGUM

Et qui Salomon dicit: « *Gloria patris filius sapiens* », iustum est, ut pontifices Romanos et Francorum reges qui tempore beate Rictrudis fuerunt, posteris indicemus.

Romani pontifices			Reges
Bonifacius III.	Martinus.	Johannes III.	Clotharius II.
Deusedit.	Eugenius I.	Conon.	Dagobertus I.
Bonifacius V.	Vitalianus.	Sergius I.	Clodoveus II.
Honorius I.	Donus.	In hoc quod predicti Romani pontifices prefuerunt tempore beate Rictrudis potes perpendere, in quo anno orta sit seu defuncta.	
10 Severinus.	Agatho.		
Johannes III.	Leo iunior II.		Hildericus II.
Theodorus.	Benedictus II.		Theodericus V.

XX. QUOD POST TRANSITUM SANCTE RICTRUDIS EIUS FILIE SANCTIMONIALES PREFUERUNT

- 5 Clothsende igitur filia sancte Rictrudis abbatissa Marcianensi defuncta, [ecclesia] ab anno Domini septingentesimo usque ad millesimum XXIII per sanctimoniales est administrata. Per tam longa temporum spacia magnam rerum suarum iacturam pertulit Marcianensis ecclesia per f. 117
feminarum mollietiem, per barbarorum et Northmannorum incursione,

115 *Le mot sanctum est écrit deux fois après gestis; le premier des deux a été rasé. Nomina, 3 Deuxième main. Sackur lit Clothende. 4 La construction de cette phrase mène à supposer qu'on doit ajouter ecclesia ou abbatissa. XX, 7 Petite initiale. 7 Ms. lit Deusedid.*

Nomina, 2 Proverbes 10:1. **XX, 3/5** Les Annales de Marchiennes citent la même date (1024) comme début du monastère masculin, bien qu'un diplôme de 976 du roi Lothaire pour l'abbesse Judith mentionne les «frères» de l'abbaye (H. PLATELLE, *Crime*, p. 158, note 7; voir aussi son article La religion populaire entre la Scarpe et la Lys d'après les miracles de Sainte Rictrude de Marchiennes (XII^e siècle), dans *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Gielée et leur temps*, éd. H. ROUSSEL et F. SUARD, Lille, 1980, pp. 366-367). 6/7 «Nec enim omnia quae [Rictrudis] vivens possederat conscripta sunt, quia per incuriam sanctimonialium, et eorum vitam magis secularem quam religiosam, iam multa male distracta erant, et in seculares usus redacta.» (AASS Mai III, II, 10 (édition de 1680), p. 92).

per principorum et tyrannorum avaritiam, qui ecclesie agros iniuste et
 violenter suis agris copulaverunt. Cernit hoc et sentit in presenti ecclesia,
 10 cum in castro Duacensis sibi proximo nichil preter V solidos et I dena-
 rium ad marsupium comparandum de turre comitis, que quondam fuit
 domus beate Rictrudis, accipit, et quod servi et ancille eius a theloneo
 sunt liberi. Quamvis profectus nobis nullus sit modo, si inter cetera compona-
 mus quod de Orceis assertione certissima refertur, tamen nichil obstat, si presen-
 15 tium futurorumque noticie insinuamus non solum que veraciter constant velque
 ipsi conspexisse potuimus, verum etiam que ab aliis fideli narratione audivimus.
 Sunt adhuc hodie longevi temporis persone non contempnende, que narrant et
 veraciter profitentur quod nondum centenarius annorum numerus evo evolutus
 20 sicut et cetera supradicta iure legitimo possidebat, nullo resistente, nullo penitus
 refragante, sed abbatissa, que tunc locum regere videbatur, potens erat tribuere et
 auferre et ad omnes ecclesiasticos usus eiusdem predii cuncta secundum nutum
 suum redigere et disponere. Nunc vero amissionis huiusce dispendium dolens
 25 ecclesia sustinet et longanimiter ferens prestolatur humiliter misericordiam Dei et
 consolationem spiritus sancti. Aliud quoque infortunium huic simile quadam ex
 parte, sed isto gravius suimet quantitate in anteriori aliquanto iam contigit etate.
 Referunt namque qui hoc optime noverunt quod in comitatu Flandrensi pagus
 opulentissimus sit cum appenditiis suis, quem Rinengas forte lingua eorum
 nominavit antiquitas. Hunc domine nostre Rictrudis asserunt fuisse et iureiuran-
 30 do confirmant quod ab antiquis diebus in usibus famulantium ecclesie universi
 consuetudinarii redditus exinde huc deferebantur plenoque copia cornu minis-

f. 18r

9/12 La phrase In hoc... seu defuncta a été ajoutée en encre plus foncée par une main un peu plus tardive. 12 Troisième (?) main à partir de tamen. 29 Deuxième main à partir de hunc.

10/12 Vers 1269-1270, la rente annuelle sur les biens de l'abbaye à Douai comp-
 tait 32 livres parisis (B. DELMAIRE, Un état des recettes affermées de l'abbaye de
 Marchiennes en 1269-1270, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, t. XXIV (1980), p. 270).
 13/16 «Supersedeo narrare propter fastidium legentium innumera, quae
 Marchianensi ecclesiae per harum tam longam inhabitationem acciderunt, scilicet
 amissionem Orchiensis villae, Duacensis redditus, silve de Rinengis, et cetera-
 rum rerum quas scimus et quarum non redordamur.» (Miracles de Rictrude,
AASS Mai III, II, 14 (édition de 1680), p. 92). 14 Orchies. Vers 1269-1270,
 il ne restait qu'une rente annuelle de 14 sous parisis (B. DELMAIRE, *Un état*, p.
 270). 13/35 Cité du *Poeticum* (B. DELMAIRE (éd.), *L'histoire-polyptyque*, p. 86-
 87). 27/35 Le dossier diplomatique touchant à la dîme de ce village situé près
 d'Ypres est assez important (voir, en premier lieu, B. DELMAIRE (éd.), *L'histoire-
 polyptyque*, p. 98). Déjà en 877, une charte de Charles le Chauve la cite comme
 appartenant aux moines de Marchiennes (voir le *Thesaurus Diplomaticus* (cd-
 rom), éd. P. TOMBEUR, P. DEMONTY, W. PREVENIER ET M. P. LAVIOLETTE,

trans hilariter stipendariis necessaria diffundebat. Procedente vero tempore, potestatum dominantium violentie gravi cupiditatis spiritu afflatorum primum istud, postmodum illud de abbacie honore ac venustate utcumque resecantes
 35 miserabili perditionis sue facinore omnia subripuere.

DE FINE REGNI MEROVINGORUM ET SUCCESSIONE KARLENSIUM. XXI

Anno igitur Dominice Incarnationis DCCXVI, defuncto Hildeberto rege, Dagobertus iunior filius eius successit in regno. Apud Lotharingos

XXI, 2 *Initiale à quatre lignes ornée. Les deux dernières lettres de DCCXVI qui ressemblent plutôt à ti qu'à VI, ont été corrigées par une autre main en encre plus foncée.*

Turnhout, 1997). Raoul Naz a fait remarquer qu'une charte du comte de Flandres, daté en 1046, ne les accorde que deux tiers de la dîme (*L'avouerie*, pp. 17-18). Dans les décennies qui ont suivi cet acte, la dîme a été usurpée par plusieurs parties. En 1123, Calixte II a voulu mettre fin à un conflit touchant à ces droits entre les moines de Marchiennes et les chanoines réguliers de Voormezele en ordonnant une normalisation de la situation (voir le *Thesaurus Diplomaticus*). Une charte de l'archevêque Samson de Reims de 1140 régla que les chanoines recevraient un tiers de la dîme (voir T. DE HEMPTINNE, A. VERHULST et L. DE MEY (éds), *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (Juli 1128-September 1191)*. II. *Uitgave – Band I. Regering van Diederik van de Elzas (Juli 1128-17 Januari 1168)*, Bruxelles, 1988, p. 301, note 5). Par un acte du 10 Août 1135, Thierry d'Alsace décida de remettre à l'abbaye les deux tiers de la dîme qui avaient été usurpés par le seigneur de Termonde (*Ibidem*, no. 28, pp. 57-59). La translation des reliques de Rictrude à Reninge en 1140 confirma les succès de l'abbé Amand (1116-1136) dans sa politique de récupération de biens (*AASS Mai III*, IV, 45 (édition de 1680), p. 109). Néanmoins, les archives de Marchiennes démontrent que ce ne serait pas la fin des soucis de moines. En l'espace de quelques décennies, la forêt de Reninge se voyait rasée au bénéfice de colons, alors que le seigneur de Termonde donna les deux tiers de la dîme en fief à Gerard de Reninge. Une excommunication du premier ne changeait en rien la situation sur le terrain et ce n'est qu'en 1163 que Gérard renonça à ses droits (*De oorkonden*, pp. 330-331). En 1160/1, le comte donna aux moines de Marchiennes un dixième des terres défrichées et un terrain pour y ériger une église et quelques cellulae (*De oorkonden*, pp. 300-301, note 5). Dans une charte de 1191, la comtesse Mathilde ordonna que la partie de la dîme que l'acte de Thierry n'avait pas explicitement mentionnée devait être divisée en cinq parties, dont deux reviendraient au nommé Gérard et trois à l'abbaye (voir le *Thesaurus Diplomaticus*). L'archarnement des moines dans ces conflits s'explique par l'importance économique de la dîme de Reninge. Un document des années 1269-1270 montre que les revenus annuels de ce village étaient très importants (200 livres parisis et quelques revenus en nature; voir B. DELMAIRE, *Un état*, p. 270 et 284). XXI, 1 La plupart de ce chapitre est un remaniement de l'*Historia succincta* (voir R. DE BEAUCHAMPS (éd.), *Historiae*, pp. 650-658 et 686). 2/3 Dagobert III succéda à Childebart IV en 711.

- 5 et Saxones quoque, defuncto Pippino duce filio Ansigisi ducis ex Begga
sorore beate Gertrudis Nivalensis, successit Karolus filius eius cogno-
mento Martellus in principatu. Qui Ansegisus fuit filius beati Arnulfi
prius ducis postmodum episcopi urbis Mettensis. Ipse autem beatus
Arnulfus est genitus ex Arnoldo filio Ansberti ducis ex Blithilde sorore
Dagoberti primi magni et incliti regis. Isti principes illo in tempore
10 maiores domus vocabantur regni Francorum et Merovingis regibus a pris-
tina virtute et fortitudine decidentibus ad arbitrium horum per regnum
omnia disponebantur. Ex quo enim Theodericus rex consilio Ebrioni
sanctum Leodegarium interfecit et sanctum Amatam exulavit, sanctum
quoque Philibertum a Gimegiensi cenobio expulit, nobiles etiam
15 Francorum interfecit et exhereditavit. Iusto Dei iudicio tam ipse quam
eius successores honore debito sunt privati, Clodoveus scilicet filius eius
et Hildebertus frater eius, Dagobertus quoque, filius Hildeberti et
Lotharius puer filius eius, Chilpericus quoque, qui ex clerico Danihele se
Chilpericum nominari fecit. Iste est qui cum Ragenfredo apud
20 Viniacum cum Karolo duce Martello pugnavit. Ex quo bello
Ragenfredus fugiens iuxta villam Marcianensem in aquis est suffocatus.
Chilperico successit Theodericus, Theoderico Hildericus. Isto precepto
pape Zacharie tonsolato et in monasterio clauso, Pipinus, filius Karoli
Martelli, maior domus unctus est in regem et Merovingorum regnum
25 fecit finem.

Summary

The Benedictine monk Andreas of Marchiennes conceived and compiled his *Chronicon Marchianense* between the years 1199 and 1202. Andreas is best known for his *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum*, but was asked by his abbot to relate the history of his community from the birth of Saint Amand until the year 1024, when a female community was replaced by a group of Benedictine monks. Andreas reluctantly acceded to this request. In many ways, the *Chronicon* is indebted to the prologue of the *Poeticum Marcenensis Cenobii* (written 1116-1121), although Andreas's intimate knowledge of local hagiography and the history of the Frankish dynasties clearly influenced the structure and content of the *Chronicon*. The present article argues that Andreas's work is not merely a revised edition of the prologue to the *Poeticum* but reflects a new approach to local history in which the author has attempted to present his community's past in a broader political and 'hagiological' context. An appendix to this article comprises a full, critical edition of the *Chronicon Marchianense*. The text here presented for the first time should demonstrate that this work and other 'unoriginal' local histories from this period deserve to be studied in their own right as examples of particular discursive or compositional strategies.

Index codicum

Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 303 (294) 369-401
 Athos, Batopediou, 475 283 n. 13

Bozen, Hauptstaatsarchiv Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift 388
 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár 42 393

Cambridge, Trinity College, O.3.48 285

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 475 284 n. 14
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 504 285 n. 16
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 2195 284 n. 14
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis gr. 37 284 n. 13

Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 850 403-435

Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana Ms. 20.41 393

Genève, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 32 284 n. 13

Halle, Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Qued.
 127 327 n. 3; 328 n. 6, n. 7, n. 8; 329; 331-333; 335 n. 33; 337-367

Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale 106 397

London, Bernard Quaritch Bookshop, Schøyen Collection, Ms 110 327
 n. 1; 328 n. 5; 338-359; 363

London, British Library, Ad. 30851 124; 127; 132; 135; 152; 160; 168;
 188; 194; 208; 218; 223; 230; 238; 258

London, British Library, Ad. 30844 124; 128; 194; 258

London, British Library, Ad. 30845 124; 128; 160; 214; 218

London, British Library, Ad. 30846 124; 128; 275

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasianus B.XIII 391; 393

London, British Library, Egerton 2951 376; 378 n. 19

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 10001 124; 126; 135; 143; 152; 160; 168;
 179; 218; 223; 230; 258; 267; 275

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional R 7179 124; 129; 135; 143; 152; 160;
 168; 175; 214; 218; 223; 238; 245; 258; 267; 275

Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aem. 30 124;
 126; 138; 168; 175; 194; 245; 267

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 45 sup. 284 n. 14

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660 394

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 363 284 n. 13

- Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 62 (65) 327 *n.* 4; 328-367
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 128 284 *n.* 13
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 53 390; 391; 393; 397; 398
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Misc. Lat. D 15 390-391
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College 59 388; 390

 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1136 374 *n.* 12; 376
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1097 285
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 494 312 *n.* 103; 313 *n.* 110; 314 *n.* 112-113
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8247 392

 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8491 394
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12302 302 *n.* 60

 Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 120 284 *n.* 13

 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale 115 376; 391
 Santo Domingo de Silos, Archivo Monástico 7 124; 127; 135
 Sinai, gr. 1726 284 *n.* 13

 Tokyo, International Christian University, Palaeography Collection, No. 1 327 *n.* 1, *n.* 2; 328-337; 360-367
 Toledo, Archivo Catedral 35.6 124; 127-128; 160; 275
 Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 890 393
 Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 923 312 *n.* 105; 315-316 *n.* 117-118; 316 *n.* 120-121; 317 *n.* 123; 371 *n.* 3

 Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek 33 (olim 111)

 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 806 398
 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 940 328 *n.* 5; 347; 348; 367
 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, M.p.th. 328 *n.* 5; 337 *n.* 42, *n.* 44; 347; 348; 354; 363; 367

 Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C. 58/275

Conspectus materiae

G. W. LOREIN, <i>The Antichrist in the Fathers and their Exegetical Basis</i>	5-60
G. D. DUNN, <i>A survey of Tertullian's soteriology</i>	61-86
Th. GÄRTNER, <i>Ein christologisches Paradoxon in der Gattungstradition der lateinischen Bibeldichtung (Sedul. carm. pasch. II 54-62)</i>	87-95
E. ROSE, <i>Liturgical Latin in the Missale Gothicum (Vat. Reg. lat. 317). A reconsideration of Christine Mohrmann's approach</i>	97-121
CASTRO SÁNCHEZ, <i>Himnos de la antigua liturgia hispánica. Edición crítica, traducción y fuentes</i>	123-280
B. JANSSENS, <i>Does the Combination of Maximus' Ambigua ad Thomam and Ambigua ad Iohannem go back to the Confessor himself?</i>	281-286
E. MÉGIER, <i>Otto of Freising's revendication of Isaiah as the prophet of Constantine's "exaltation of the Church" in the context of Christian Latin exegesis</i>	287-326
A. J. FORTE, <i>Bengt Löfstedts Fragmente eines Matthäus-Kommentars : Reflections and Addenda</i>	327-367
C. WOLLIN, <i>Das Epitaphium Bernardi Siluestris in der Handschrift Angers B. M. 303</i>	369-402
St. VANDERPUTTEN, <i>Compilation et réinvention à la fin du douzième siècle. André de Marchiennes, le Chronicon Marchianense et l'histoire primitive d'une abbaye bénédictine (édition et critique des sources)</i>	403-436
<i>Index codicum</i>	437-438

Adresses of the contributors

- J. CASTRO SANCHEZ, Universidad de Córdoba, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Área de Filología Latina, Plaza del Cardenal Salazar 3, E-14071 Córdoba (Spain)
- G. D. DUNN, Australian Catholic University National, Centre for Early Christian Studies, PO Box 456 Virginia, Queensland 4014 (Australia)
- A. J. FORTE, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Via della Pilotta, 25, I-00187 Roma (Italia)
- Th. GÄRTNER, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, Albertus-Magnus-Platz, D-50923 Köln (Germany)
- B. JANSSENS, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Instituut voor Vroegchristelijke en Byzantijnse Studies, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)
- G. W. LOREIN, Rietgors 24, B-3010 Kessel-Lo (Belgium)
- E. MÉGIER, 289 rue Saint-Jacques, F-75005 Paris (France)
- E. ROSE, Universiteit Utrecht, Faculteit der Letteren, Afdeling Antieke en Middeleeuwse Cultuur, Onderzoeksinstituut voor Geschiedenis en Cultuur, Muntstraat 2A, NL-3512 EV Utrecht (The Netherlands)
- St. VANDERPUTTEN, Universiteit Gent, Vakgroep Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis, Blandijnberg 2, B-9000 Gent (Belgium)
- C. WOLLIN, Thomasweg 3, D-21244 Buchholz in der Nordheide (Germany)